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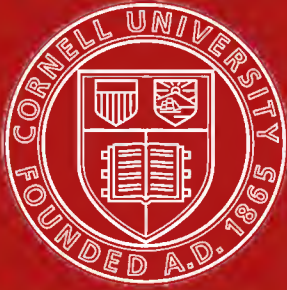
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**Early English meals and manners..John Rus**



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Meals and Manners

in

Olden Time.

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Early English  
Meals and Manners:

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John Russell's Boke of Nurture,  
Wynkyn de Worde's Boke of Herynge,  
The Boke of Curtaspe,  
R. Wente's Booke of Demeanor,  
Seager's Schoole of Vertue,

The Babees Book, Aristotle's A B C, Urbanitatis,  
Stans Puer ad Mensam, The Tytyle Childrenes Tytil Boke,  
For to serbe a Lord, Old Symon, The Birched School-Boy,  
&c. &c.

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with some  
Forewords on Education in Early England.

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EDITED BY  
FREDERICK J. FURNIVALL, M.A.,  
TRIN. HALL, CAMBRIDGE.

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DEDICATED

TO

THE HISTORIAN OF "THE EARLY & MIDDLE AGES OF ENGLAND,"

*Charles H. Pearson, Esq., M.A.,*

FELLOW OF OBEIL COLLEGE, OXFORD, LATE PROFESSOR OF HISTORY AT  
KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON,

IN ADMIRATION OF HIS LEARNING

AND

IN GRATITUDE FOR HIS HELP,

BY THE EDITOR.

**Notice.** The *Russell* and *De Worde* of this work were issued, with *Rhodes's Boke of Nurture*, to the Roxburghe Club, in 4to, in 1867. The whole of the work (except p. 361), with Rhodes, and some short poems in English, French, and Latin, was issued to the Early English Text Society, in 8vo, in 1868, with the title *The Babees Book, &c. (Manners and Meals in Olden Time)*.

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## FOREWORDS.

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“THE naturall maister Aristotell saith that euery body be the course of nature is enclined to here & se all that refressth & quickeneth the spretys of man<sup>1</sup> / wherfor I haue thus in this boke folowinge<sup>2</sup>” gathered together diuers treatises touching the Manners & Meals of Englishmen in former days, & have added therto diuers figures of men of old, at meat & in bed,<sup>3</sup> to the end that, to my fellows here & to come, the home life of their forefathers may be somewhat more plain, & their own minds somewhat rejoiced.

The treatises here collected consist of a main one—John Russell’s *Boke of Nurture*, to which I have written a separate preface<sup>4</sup>—extracts and short books illustrating Russell, like the *Booke of Demeanor* and *Boke of Curtasy*, and certain shorter poems addressed partly to those whom Cotgrave calls “*Enfans de famille*, Yonkers of account, youthes

<sup>1</sup> The first sentence of Aristotle’s *Metaphysics* is ‘All men by nature are actuated by the desire of knowledge.’ Mr Skeat’s note on l. 78 of *Partenay*, p. 228.

<sup>2</sup> Lawrens Andrewe. *The noble lyfe & natures of man, of bestes, &c.* Jöhnes Desborrowe. Andewarpe.

<sup>3</sup> The woodcuts are Messrs Virtue’s, and have been used in Mr Thomas Wright’s *History of Domestic Manners and Customs, &c.*

<sup>4</sup> If any one thinks it a bore to read these Prefaces, I can assure him it was a much greater bore to have to hunt up the material for them, and set aside other pressing business for it. But the Boke of Curtasye binding on editors does not allow them to present to their readers a text with no coat and trowsers on. If any Members should take offence at any expressions in this or any future Preface of mine, as a few did at some words in the last I wrote, I ask such Members to consider the first maxim in their Boke of Curtasye, *Don’t look a gift horse in the mouth*. Prefaces are gift horses; and if mine buck or shy now and then, I ask their riders to sit steady, and take it easy. On the present one at least they’ll be carried across some fresh country worth seeing.

of good houses, children of rich parents (yet alieue),” partly to carvers and servants, partly to schoolboys, partly to people in general, or at least those of them who were willing to take advice as to how they should mend their manners and live a healthy life.

The persons to whom the last poems of the present collection are addressed, the

yonge Babees, whome blood Royalle  
Withe grace, feture, and hye habylite  
Hathe enourmyd,

the “Bele Babees” and “swete Children,” may be likened to the “young gentylnen, Henxmen,—VI Enfautes, or more, as it shall please the Kinge,”—at Edward the Fourth’s Court; and the authors or translators of the Bokes in this volume, somewhat to that sovereign’s Maistryr of Henxmen, whose duty it was

“to shew the schooles<sup>1</sup> of urbanitie and nourture of Englonde, to lerne them to ryde clenely and surely; to drawe them also to justes; to lerne them were theyre harneys; to haue all curtesy in wordes, dedes, and degrees; dilygently to kepe them in rules of goynges and sittinges, after they be of honour. Moreover to teche them sondry languages, and othyr lerninges vertuous, to harping, to pype, sing, daunce, and with other honest and temperate behaviour and patience; and to kepe dayly and wekely with these children dew conuenity, with correctiones in theyre chambres, according to suche gentylnen; and eche of them to be used to that thinge of vertue that he shall be moste apt to lerne, with remembraunce dayly of Goddes servyce accustomed. This maistryr sittith in the halle, next unto these Henxmen, at the same boarde, to haue his respecte unto theyre demeanynges, howe manerly they ete and drinke, and to theyre communication and other formes curiall, after *the booke of urbanitie*.” (Liber Niger in *Household Ordinances*, p. 45.)

That these young Henxmen were gentlemen, is expressly stated,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> scholars?

<sup>2</sup> Sir H. Nicolas, in his Glossary to his *Privy Purse Expenses of Henry VIII.*, p. 327, col. 2, says, “No word has been more commented upon than ‘Henchmen’ or Henxmen. Without entering into the controversy, it may be sufficient to state, that in the reign of Henry the Eighth it meant the pages of honour. They were the sons of gentlemen, and in public processions always walked near the monarch’s horse: a correct idea may be formed of their appearance from the representation of them in one of the pictures in the meeting room of the Society of Antiquarians. It seems from these entries (p. 79,\* 125, 182, 209, 230, 265) that they lodged in the

\* p. 79, Item the same daye paied to Johnson the mayster of the king’s barge for the Rent of the house where the henxe men lye xl s.



and they had "everyche of them an honest servaunt to keepe theyre chambre and harneys, and to aray hym in this courte whyles theyre maisters be present in courte." I suppose that when they grew up, some became Esquires, and then their teaching would prove of use, for

"These Esquiers of houshold of old [were] accustomed, wynter and sumer, in aftyrnoonnes and in eveninges, to drawe to lordes chambres within courte, there to kepe honest company aftyr theyre cunnynge, in talkyng of cronycles of Kings and of other polycyes, or in pypeyng or harpyng, synging, or other actes martialles, to help occupy the courte, and accompany straungers, tyll the tyme require of departing."

But that a higher station than an Esquier's was in store for some of these henchmen, may be known from the history of one of them. Thomas Howard, eldest son of Sir John Howard, knight (who was afterwards Duke of Norfolk, and killed at Bosworth Field), was among these henchmen or pages, 'enfauntes' six or more, of Edward IV.'s. He was made Duke of Norfolk for his splendid victory over the Scots at Flodden, and Anne Boleyn and Catherine Howard were his granddaughters. Among the 'othyr lerninges vertuous' taught

house of Johnson, the master of the king's barge, and that the rent of it was 40s. per annum. Observations on the word will be found in Spelman's *Etymol.*, Pegge's *Curialia*, from the Liber Niger, Edw. IV., Lodge's *Illustrations*, vol. i. p. 359, the *Northumberland Household Book*, Blount's *Glossary*."

The *Promptorium* has "Heyncemann (henchemanne) *Gerolocista, duorum generum (gerolocista)*," and Mr Way in his note says, "The pages of distinguished personages were called henxmen, as Spelman supposes, from Ger. *hengst*, a war-horse, or according to Bp. Percy, from their place being at the side or *haunch* of their lord." See the rest of Mr Way's note. He is a most provokingly careful editor. If ever you hit on a plum in your wanderings through other books you are sure to find it afterwards in one of Mr Way's notes when you bethink yourself of turning to the *Promptorium*.

In Lord Percy's Household (*North. H. Book*, p. 362) the Henchemen are mentioned next to the Earl's own sons and their tutor (?) in the list of "Persones that shall attende upon my Lorde at his Borde Daily, ande have no more but his Revercion Except Brede and Drynk."

My Lordes Secounde Son to serve as Kerver.

My Lordes Thurde Son as Sewer.

A Gentillman that shall attende upon my Lord's Eldest Son in the rewarde, and appoynted Bicause he shall allwayes be with my Lord's Sonnes for seynge the Orderynge of them.

My Lordes first *Hauneshman* to serve as Cupberer to my Lorde.

My Lords ij<sup>de</sup> *Hanshman* to serve as Cupherer to my Lady.

See also p. 300, p. 254, The *Hansmen* to be at the fyndynge of my Lord,  
p. 47.

him at Edward's court was no doubt that of drawing, for we find that 'He was buried with much pomp at Thetford Abbey under a tomb designed by himself and master Clarke, master of the works at King's College, Cambridge, & Wassel a freemason of Bury S. Edmund's.' Cooper's *Ath. Cant.*, i. p. 29, col. 2.

The question of the social rank of these Bele Babees, children, and *Pueri* who stood at tables, opens up the whole subject of upper-class education in early times in England. It is a subject that, so far as I can find, has never yet been separately treated<sup>1</sup>, and I therefore throw together such few notices as the kindness of friends<sup>2</sup> and my own chance grubblings have collected; these as a sort of stopgap till the appearance of Mr Anstey's volume on early Oxford Studies in the *Chronicles and Memorials*, a volume which will, I trust, give us a complete account of early education in our land. If it should not, I hope that Mr Quick will carry his pedagogic researches past Henry VIII.'s time, or that one of our own members will take the subject up. It is worthy of being thoroughly worked out. For convenience' sake, the notices I have mentioned are arranged under six heads:

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. Education in Nobles' houses.                              | 4. At Foreign Universities, p. xl.            |
| 2. At Home and at Private Tutors', p. xvii. (Girls, p. xxv.) | 5. At Monastic and Cathedral Schools, p. xli. |
| 3. At English Universities, p. xxvi.                         | 6. At Grammar Schools, p. lii.                |

One consideration should be premised, that manly exercises, manners and courtesy, music and singing, knowledge of the order of precedence of ranks, and ability to carve, were in early times more important than Latin and Philosophy. 'Aylmar þe kyng' gives these directions to Athelbrus, his steward, as to Horn's education:

<sup>1</sup> When writing this I had forgotten Warton's section on the Revival of Learning in England before and at the Reformation, *Hist. English Poetry*, v. iii. ed. 1840. It should be read by all who take an interest in the subject. Mr Bruce also refers to Kynaston's *Museum Minervæ*. P.S.—Mr Bullein and Mr Watts have since referred me to Henry, who has in each volume of his *History of England* a regular account of learning in England, the Colleges and Schools founded, and the learned men who flourished, in the period of which each volume treats. Had I seen these earlier I should not have got the following extracts together; but as they are for the most part not in Henry, they will serve as a supplement to him.

<sup>2</sup> First of these is Mr Charles H. Pearson, then the Rev. Prof. Brewer, and Mr William Chappell.

Stiwarde, tak nu here Mi fundlyng for to lere Of þine mestere, Of wude <i>and</i> of riuere ; <i>And</i> tech him to harpe Wiþ his nayles scharpe ;	228     232
Bioure me to kerue, And of þe cupe serue ; þu tech him of alle þe liste (craft, AS. <i>list</i> ) þat þu eure of wiste ; [And] his feiren þou wise (mates thou teach) Into opere <i>seruise</i> . Horn þu underuonge, <i>And</i> tech him of harpe <i>and</i> songe.	236      240
<i>King Horn</i> , E. E. T. Soc., 1866, ed. Lumby, p. 7. <sup>1</sup>	

So in Romances and Ballads of later date, we find

The child was taught great nurterye ;  
a Master had him vnder his care,  
& taught him *curtesie*.

*Tryamore*, in Bp. Percy's Folio MS. vol. ii. ed. 1867.

It was the worthy Lord of learen,  
he was a lord of hie degree ;  
he had noe more children but one sonne,  
he sett him to schoole to learne *curtesie*.

*Lord of Learne*, Bp. Percy's Folio MS. vol. i. p. 182, ed. 1867.

Chaucer's Squire, as we know, at twenty years of age

hadde ben somtyme in chivachie,  
In Flaundres, in Artoys, and in Picardie,  
And born him wel, as in so litel space,  
In hope to stonden in his lady grace . . .  
Syngynge he was, or flowtyng, al the day . . .  
Wel cowde he sitte on hors, and wel cowde ryde.  
He cowde songes wel make and endite,  
Justne and eek daunce, and wel purtray and write . . .  
Curteys he was, lowly, and servysable,  
And carf befor his fadur at the table.<sup>2</sup>

Which of these accomplishments would Cambridge or Oxford teach?  
Music alone. That, as Harrison says, was one of the Quadrivials,

<sup>1</sup> Mr Wm. Chappell gave me the reference.

<sup>2</sup> In the Romance of Blonde of Oxford, Jean of Dammartin is taken into the service of the Earl of Oxford as *escuier*, esquire. He waits at table on knights, squires, valets, boys and messengers. After table, the ladies keep him to talk French with them.

‘arithmetike, musike, geometrie, and astronomie.’ The Trivium was grammar, rhetoric, and logic.

1. The chief places of education for the sons of our nobility and gentry were the houses of other nobles, and specially those of the Chancellors of our Kings, men not only able to read and write, talk Latin and French themselves, but in whose hands the Court patronage lay. As early as Henry the Second’s time (A.D. 1154-62), if not before<sup>1</sup>, this system prevailed. A friend notes that Fitz-Stephen says of Becket :

“The nobles of the realm of England and of neighbouring kingdoms used to send their sons to serve the Chancellor, whom he trained with honourable bringing-up and learning; and when they had received the knight’s belt, sent them back with honour to their fathers and kindred: some he used to keep. The king himself, his master, entrusted to him his son, the heir of the realm, to be brought up; whom he had with him, with many sons of nobles of the same age, and their proper retinue and masters and proper servants in the honour due.”—*Vita S. Thomæ*, pp. 189, 190, ed. Giles.

Roger de Hoveden, a Yorkshireman, who was a clerk or secretary to Henry the Second, says of Richard the Lionheart’s unpopular chancellor, Longchamps the Bishop of Ely :

“All the sons of the nobles acted as his servants, with downcast looks, nor dared they to look upward towards the heavens unless it so happened that they were addressing him; and if they attended to anything else they were pricked with a goad, which their lord held in his hand, fully mindful of his grandfather of pious memory, who, being of servile condition in the district of Beauvais, had, for his occupation, to guide the plough and whip up the oxen; and who at length, to gain his liberty, fled to the Norman territory.” (Riley’s *Hoveden*, ii. 232, quoted in *The Cornhill Magazine*, vol. xv. p. 165.)<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It was in part a principle of Anglo-Saxon society at the earliest period, and attaches itself to that other universal principle of fosterage. A Teuton chieftain always gathered round him a troop of young retainers in his hall who were voluntary servants, and they were, in fact, almost the only servants he would allow to touch his person. T. Wright.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Skelton’s account of Wolsey’s treatment of the Nobles, in *Why come ye not to Courte* (quoted in Ellis’s *Letters*, v. ii. p. 3).

<p>—“ Our barons be so bolde,          Into a mouse hole they wold          Runne away and creep          Like a many of sheep :          Dare not look out a dur</p>	<p>For drede of the maystife eur,          For drede of the boucher’s dog            “ For and this curre do gnarl,          They must stande all afar</p>
---	--

All Chancellors were not brutes of this kind, but we must remember that young people were subjected to rough treatment in early days. Even so late as Henry VI.'s time, Agnes Paston sends to London on the 28th of January, 1457, to pray the master of her son of 15, that if the boy "hath not done well, nor will not amend," his master Greenfield "will truly belash him till he will amend." And of the same lady's treatment of her marriageable daughter, Elizabeth, Clere writes on the 29th of June, 1454,

"She (the daughter) was never in so great sorrow as she is now-a-days, for she may not speak with no man, whosoever come, ne not may see nor speak with my man, nor with servants of her mother's, but that she beareth her on hand otherwise than she meaneth; and she hath since Easter the most part been beaten once in the week or twice, and sometimes twice on a day, and her head broken in two or three places." (v. i. p. 50, col. 1, ed. 1840.)

The treatment of Lady Jane Grey by her parents was also very severe, as she told Ascham, though she took it meekly, as her sweet nature was :

"One of the greatest benefites that God ever gave me, is, that he sent me so sharpe and severe Parentes, and so jentle a scholemaster. For when I am in presence either of father or mother, whether I speake, kepe silence, sit, stand, or go, eate, drinke, be merie or sad, be sewyng, plaiyng, dauncing, or doing anie thing els, I must do it, as it were, in soch weight, mesure, and number, even so perfitelie as God made the world, or els I am so sharplie taunted, so cruellie threatened, yea presentlie some tymes, with pinches, nippes, and hobbes, and other waies which I will not name for the honor I beare them, so without measure misordered, that I thinke my self in hell till tyme cum that I must go to *M. Elmer*, who teacheth me so jentlie, so pleasantlie, with soch faire allurementes to learning, that I thinke all the tyme nothing whiles I am with him. And when I am called from him, I fall on weeping."—*The Scholemaster*, ed. Mayor.

The inordinate beating<sup>1</sup> of boys by schoolmasters—whom he

To holde up their hand at the bar.  
For all their noble hloude,  
He pluckes them by the hood  
And shakes them by the eare,  
And bryngs them in such feare;  
He bayteth them lyke a beare,

Like an Ox or a Bul.  
Their wittes, he sayth, are dul;  
He sayth they have no brayne  
Their estate to maintaine:  
And make to bowe the knee  
Before his Majestie."

<sup>1</sup> Compare also the quotation from Piers Plowman's Crede, under No. 5, p. xlv, and Palsgrave, 1530 A.D., 'I mase, I stonysshe, *Je bestourne*. You mased the boye so sore with beatyng that he coude not speake a worde.' See a gross instance of

calls in different places 'sharp, fond, & lewd'<sup>1</sup>—Ascham denounces strongly in the first book of his *Scholemaster*, and he contrasts their folly in beating into their scholars the hatred of learning with the practice of the wise riders who by gentle allurements breed them up in the love of riding. Indeed, the origin of his book was Sir Wm. Cecil's saying to him "I have strange news brought me this morning, that divers scholars of Eton be run away from the school for fear of beating."

Sir Peter Carew, says Mr Froude, being rather a troublesome boy, was chained in the Haccombe dog-kennel till he ran away from it.

But to return to the training of young men in nobles' houses. I take the following from Fiddes's Appendix to his Life of Wolsey :

*John de Athon*, upon the Constitutions of *Othobon*, tit. 23, in respect to the Goods of such who dyed intestate, and upon the Word *Barones*, has the following Passage concerning *Grodsted* Bishop of *Lincoln*<sup>2</sup> (who died 9th Oct., 1253),—

"Robert surnamed Grodsted of holy memory, late Bishop of Lincoln, when King Henry asked him, as if in wonder, where he learnt the Nurture in which he had instructed the sons of nobles (&) peers of the Realm, whom he kept about him as pages (*domisellos*<sup>3</sup>),—since he was not descended from a noble lineage, but from humble (parents)—is said to have answered fearlessly, 'In the house or guest-

cruelty cited from Erasmus's Letters, by Staunton, in his *Great Schools of England*, p. 179-80.

<sup>1</sup> "And therefore do I the more lament that soch [hard] wittes commonlie be either kepte from learning by fond fathers, or bet from learning by lewde scholemasters," ed. Mayor, p. 19. But Ascham reproves parents for paying their masters so badly: "it is pitie, that commonlie more care is had, yea and that emonges verie wise men, to finde out rather a cunnyng man for their horse than a cunnyng man for their children. They say nay in worde, but they do so in deede. For, to the one they will gladlie give a stipend of 200. Crounes by yeare, and loth to offer to the other, 200. shillings. God, that sitteth in heauen, laugheth their choice to skorne, and rewardeth their liberalitie as it should: for he suffereth them to have tame and well ordered horse, but wilde and unfortunate Children." *Ib.* p. 20

<sup>2-3</sup> *Sanctæ memoriæ Robertum Cognominatum Grodsted dudum Lincolnienstem Episcopum, Regi Henrico quasi admirando, cum interrogavit, ubi Noraturam didicit, quæ Filios Nobilium Procerum Regni, quos secum habuit Domisellos, instruxerat, cum non de nobili prosapia, sed de simplicibus traxisset Originem, fertur intrepide respondisse, In Domo seu Hospitio Majorum Regum quam sit Rex Angliæ; Quia Regum, David, Salomonis, & aliorum, vivendi morem didicerat ex Intelligentia scripturarum.*

<sup>3</sup> DOMICELLUS, Domicellus, diminutivum a *Domnus*. Gloss. antiquæ MSS.: *Herviles, Domini minores, quod possumus aliter dicere Domicelli*, Ugutio: *Domicelli et Domicelle dicuntur, quando pulchri juvenes magnatum sunt sicut servientes*. Sic porro primitus appellabant magnatum, atque adeo Regum filios. Du Cange.

chambers of greater kings than the King of England'; because he had learnt from understanding the scriptures the manner of life of David, Solomon, & other Kings<sup>2</sup>."

*Reyner*, in his *Apostol. Bened.* from *Saunders* acquaints us, that the Sons of the Nobility were placed with *Whiting* Abbot of *Glastenbury* for their Education, who was contemporary with the Cardinal, and which Method of Education was continued for some Time afterward.

There is in the Custody of the present Earl of *Stafford*, a Nobleman of the greatest Humanity and Goodness, an Original of Instructions, by the Earl of *Arundell*, written in the Year 1620, for the Benefit of his younger Son, the Earl of *Stafford's* Grandfather, under this Title;

*Instructions for you my Son William, how to behave  
your self at Norwich.*

In these Instructions is the following paragraph, "You shall in all Things reverence honour and obey my Lord Bishop of *Norwich*, as you would do any of your Parents, esteeming whatsoever He shall tell or Command you, as if your Grandmother of *Arundell*, your Mother, or my self, should say it; and in all things esteem your self as my Lord's Page; a breeding which youths of my house far superior to you were accustomed unto, as my Grandfather of *Norfolk*, and his Brother my good Uncle of *Northampton* were both bred as Pages with Bishoppes, &c."

Sir Thomas Mere, who was born in 1480, was brought up in the house of Cardinal Morton. Roper says that he was

"received into the house of the right reverend, wise, and learned prelate Cardinal Morton, where, though he was young of years, yet would he at Christmas-tide suddenly sometimes step in among the players, and never studying for the matter make a part of his own there presently among them, which made the lookers on mere sport than all the players beside. In whose wit and towardness the Cardinal much delighting would say of him unto the nobles that divers times dined with him, *This child here waiting at the table, whosoever shall live to see it, will prove a marvellous man.* Whereupon for his better furtherance in learning he placed him at Oxford, &c." (*Roper's Life of More*, ed. Singer, 1822, p. 3.)

Cresacre More in his *Life of More* (ed. 1828, p. 17) states the same thing more fully, and gives the remark of the Cardinal more accurately, thus:—"that that boy there waiting *on him*, whoever should live to see it, would prove a marvellous rare man."<sup>1</sup>

Through Wolsey's household, says Professor Brewer, almost all the

<sup>1</sup> Mr Bruce sends me the More extracts.

Officials of Henry the Eighth's time passed. Cavendish, in his *Life of Wolsey* (vol. i. p. 38, ed. Singer, 1825) says of the Cardinal, "And at meals, there was continually in his chamber a board kept for his Chamberlains, and Gentlemen Ushers, having with them *a mess of the young Lords*, and another for gentlemen." Among these young Lords, we learn at p. 57, was

"my Lord Percy, the son and heir of the Earl of Northumberland, [who] then attended upon the Lord Cardinal, and was also his servitor; and when it chanced the Lord Cardinal at any time to repair to the court, the Lord Percy would then resort for his pastime unto the queen's chamber, and there would fall in dalliance among the queen's maidens, being at the last more conversant with Mistress Anne Boleyn than with any other; so that there grew such a secret love between them that, at length they were insured together, intending to marry<sup>1</sup>."

Among the persons daily attendant upon Wolsey in his house, down-lying and up-rising, Cavendish enumerates "of Lords nine or ten, who had each of them allowed two servants; and the Earl of Derby had allowed five men" (p. 36-7). On this Singer prints a note, which looks like a guess, signed *Grove*, "Those Lords that were placed in the great and privy chambers were *Wards*, and as such paid for their board and education." It will be seen below that he had a particular officer called "Instructor of his Wards" (*Cavendish*, p. 38, l. 2). Why I suppose the note to be a guess is, because at p. 33 Cavendish has stated that Wolsey "had also a great number daily attending upon him, both of noblemen and worthy gentlemen, of great estimation and possessions,—with no small number of the tallest yeomen that he could get in all his realm; in so much that well was that nobleman and gentleman that might prefer any tall and comely yeoman unto his service."

In the household of the Earl of Northumberland in 1511 were " . . . young gentlemen at their fryndes fynding,<sup>2</sup> in my lords house for

<sup>1</sup> How Wolsey broke off the *insurance* is very well told. Mistress Anne was "sent home again to her father for a season; *whereat she smoked*"; but she "was revoked unto the Court," and "after she knew the king's pleasure and the great love that he bare her *in the bottom of his stomach*, then she began to look very hault and stout, having all manner of jewels or rich apparel that might be gotten with money" (p. 67).

<sup>2</sup> Under the heading "Gentylmen of Houshold, viz. Kervers, Sewars, Cupberers, and Gentillmen Waiters" in the *North. Household Book*, p. 40, we find



the hoole yere" and "Haunsmen ande Yong Gentlemen at thir Fryndes fynding v[j] (As to say, Haunshmen ij. And Yong Gentlemen ij" p. 254,) no doubt for the purpose of learning manners, &c. And that such youths would be found in the house of every noble of importance I believe, for as Walter Mapes (? ab. 1160-90 A.D.) says of the great nobles, in his poem *De diversis ordinibus hominum*, the example of manners goes out from their houses, *Exemplar morum domibus procedit eorum*. That these houses were in some instances only the finishing schools for our well-born young men after previous teaching at home and at College is possible (though the cases of Sir Thomas More and Ascham are exactly the other way), but the Lord Percy last named had a schoolmaster in his house, "The Maister of Gramer j", p. 254; "Lyverays for the Maister of Gramer<sup>1</sup> in Housholde: Item Half a Loof of Houshold Breide, a Pottell of Beere, and two White Lyghts," p. 97. "Every Scolemaister techyng Grammer in the Hous C s." (p. 47, 51). Edward IV.'s henxmen were taught grammar; and if the Pastours are to be taken as a type of their class, our nobles and gentry at the end of the 15th century must have been able to read and write freely. Chaucer's Squire could write, and though the custom of sealing deeds and not signing them prevailed, more or less, till Henry VIII.'s time, it is doubtful whether this implied inability of the sealers to write. Mr Chappell says that in Henry VIII.'s time half our nobility were then writing ballads. Still, the bad spelling and grammar of most of the letters up to that period, and the general ignorance of our upper classes were, says Professor Brewer, the reason why the whole government of the country was in the hands of ecclesiastics. Even in Henry the Eighth's

Item, Gentillmen in Housholde ix, Viz. ij Carvers for my Loords Boorde, and a Servant bitwixt theym both, *except thai be at their frendis fyndyng*, and than ather of theym to have a Servant.—Two Sewars for my Lordis Boorde, and a Servant bitwixt theym, *except they be at their Friendis fyndyng*, and than ather of theym to have a Servant.—ij Cupperers for my Lorde and my Lady, and a Servant allowed bitwixt theym, *except they be at their Frendis fyndyng*, And than ather of theym to have a Servant allowid.

Under the next heading "My Lordis Hansmen at the fyndyng of my Lorde, and Yonge Gentyllmen *at there Frendys fyndyng*," is

Item, my Lordis Hansmen ij. Yonge Gentyllmen in Houshold *at their Frendis fyndyng* ij = v.

<sup>1</sup> Grammar usually means Latin. T. Wright.

time, Sir Thomas Boleyn is said to have been the only noble at Court who could speak French with any degree of fluency, and so was learned enough to be sent on an embassy abroad. But this may be questioned. Yet Wolsey, speaking to his Lord Chamberlain and Comptroller when they

“ showed him that it seemed to them there should be some noblemen and strangers [Henry VIII. and his courtiers masked] arrived at his bridge, as ambassadors from some foreign prince. With that, quoth the Cardinal, ‘ I shall desire you, *because ye can speak French*, to take the pains to go down into the hall to encounter and to receive them, according to their estates, and to conduct them into this chamber’ (*Cavendish*, p. 51). Then spake my Lord Chamberlain unto them *in French*, declaring my Lord Cardinal’s mind (p. 53).”

The general<sup>1</sup> opinion of our gentry as to the study of Letters, before and about 1500 A.D., is probably well represented by the opinion of one of them stated by Pace, in his Prefatory Letter to Colet, prefixed to the former’s *De Fructu*<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The exceptions must have been many and marked.

<sup>2</sup> *Richardi Pacei, invictissimi Regis Angliæ primarii Secretarii, eiusque apud Elvetios Oratoris, De Fructu qui ex Doctrinâ percipitur, Liber.*

Colophon. *Basileæ apud Io. Frobenium, mense VIII. bri. an. M.D.XVII.*

Restat ut iam tibi explicem, quid me moueat ad libellum hoc titulo conscribendum et publicandum. Quum duobus annis plus minus iam præteritis, ex Romana urbe in patriam redijssem, inter-fui cuidam conuiuio multis incognitus. Vbi quum satis fuisset potatum, unus, nescio quis, ex conuiuio, non imprudens, ut ex uerbis uultuque conijcere licuit, cœpit mentionem facere de liberis suis bene instituendis. Et primum omnium, bonum præceptorem illis sibi quærendum, & scholam omnino frequentandam censuit. Aderat forte unus ex his, quos nos generosos uocamus, & qui semper cornu aliquod a tergo pendens gestant, acsi etiam inter prandendum uenarentur. Is audita literarum laude, percitus repentina ira, furibundus prorupit in hæc uerba. Quid nugaris, inquit, amice? abeant in malam rem istæ stultæ literæ, omnes docti sunt mendici, etiam Erasmus ille doctissimus (ut audio) pauper est, & in quadam sua epistola uocat τὴν καράπαρον πενίαν uxorem suam, id est, execrandam paupertatem, & uehementer conqueritur se non posse illam humeris suis usque in βαθυκῆρα πόνρον, id est, profundum mare excutere. (Corpus dei iuro) uolo filius meus pendeat potius, quam literis studeat. Decet enim generosorum filios, apte inflare cornu, perite uenari, accipitrem pulchre gestare & educare. Studia uero literarum, rusticorum filiis sunt relinquenda. Hic ego cohibere me non potui, quin aliquid homini loquacissimo, in defensionem bonarum literarum, responderem. Non uideris, inquam, mihi bone uir recte sentire, nam si ueniret ad regem aliquis uir exterus, quales sunt principum oratores, & ei dandum esset responsum, filius tuus sic ut tu uis, institutus, inflaret duntaxat cornu, & rusticorum filij docti, ad respondendum uocarentur, ac filio tuo uenatori uel aucupi longe anteponerentur, & sua erudita

It remains that I now explain to you what moves me to compile and publish a treatise with this title. When, two years ago, more or less, I had returned to my native land from the city of Rome, I was present at a certain feast, a stranger to many; where, when enough had been drunk, one or other of the guests—no fool, as one might infer from his words and countenance—began to talk of educating his children well. And, first of all, he thought that he must search out a good teacher for them, and that they should at any rate attend school. There happened to be present one of those whom we call gentle-men (*generosos*), and who always carry some horn hanging at their backs, as though they would hunt during dinner. He, hearing letters praised, roused with sudden anger, burst out furiously with these words. “Why do you talk nonsense, friend?” he said; “A curse on those stupid letters! all learned men are beggars: even Erasmus, the most learned of all, is a beggar (as I hear), and in a certain letter of his calls *τήν κατάρατον πενίαν* (that is, execrable poverty) his wife, and vehemently complains that he cannot shake her off his shoulders right into *βαθυκήτεια πόντον*, that is, into the deep sea. I swear by God’s body I’d rather that my son should hang than study letters. For it becomes the sons of gentlemen to blow the horn nicely (*apte*), to hunt skilfully, and elegantly carry and train a hawk. But the study of letters should be left to the sons of rustics.” At this point I could not restrain myself from answering something to this most talkative man, in defence of good letters. “You do not seem to me, good man,” I said, “to think rightly. For if any foreigner were to come to the king, such as the ambassadors (*oratores*) of princes are, and an answer had to be given to him, your son, if he were educated as you wish, could only blow his horn, and the learned sons of rustics would be called to answer, and would be far preferred to your hunter or fowler son; and they, enjoying their learned liberty, would say to your face, ‘We prefer to be learned, and, thanks to our learning, no fools, than boast of our fool-like nobility.’” Then he upon this, looking round, said, “Who is this person that is talking like this? I don’t know the fellow.” And when some one whispered in his ear who I was, he muttered something or other in a low voice to himself; and finding a fool to listen to him, he then caught hold of a cup of wine. And when he

*usi libertate, tibi in faciem dicerent, Nos malumus docti esse, & per doctrinam non imprudentes, quam stulta gloriari nobilitate. Tum ille hincinde circumspiciens, Quis est iste, inquit, qui hæc loquitur? hominem non cognosco. Et quum diceretur in aurem ei quisnam essem, nescio quid submissa uoce sibimet susurrans, & stulto usus auditore, illico arripuit uini poculum. Et quum nihil haberet respondendum, cœpit bibere, & in alia sermonem transferre. Et sic me liberavit, non Apollo, ut Horatium a garrulo, sed Bacchus a uesani hominis disputatione, quam diutius longe duraturam uehementer timebam.*

Professor Brewer gives me the reference.

could get nothing to answer, he began to drink, and change the conversation to other things. And thus I was freed from the disputing of this mad fellow,—which I was dreadfully afraid would have lasted a long time,—not by Apollo, like Horace was from his babbler, but by Bacchus.

On the general subject it should be noted that Fleeta mentions nothing about boarders or apprentices in his account of household economy; nor does the *Liber Contrarotulatoris Garderobæ Edw. I<sup>m</sup>* mention any young noblemen as part of the King's household. That among tradesmen in later times, putting out their children in other houses, and apprenticeships, were the rule, we know from many statements and allusions in our literature, and "The Italian Relation of England" (temp. Hen. VII.) mentions that the Duke of Suffolk was boarded out to a rich old widow, who persuaded him to marry her (p. 27). It also says

The want of affection in the English is strongly manifested towards their children; for after having kept them at home till they arrive at the age of 7 or 9 years at the utmost, they put them out, both males and females, to hard service in the houses of other people, binding them generally for another 7 or 9 years. And these are called apprentices, and during that time they perform all the most menial offices; and few are born who are exempted from this fate, for every one, however rich he may be, sends away his children into the houses of others, whilst he, in return, receives those of strangers into his own. And on inquiring their reason for this severity, they answered that they did it in order that their children might learn better manners. But I, for my part, believe that they do it because they like to enjoy all their comforts themselves, and that they are better served by strangers than they would be by their own children. Besides which, the English being great epicures, and very avaricious by nature, indulge in the most delicate fare themselves and give their household the coarsest bread, and beer, and cold meat baked on Sunday for the week, which, however, they allow them in great abundance. That if they had their own children at home, they would be obliged to give them the same food they made use of for themselves. That if the English sent their children away from home to learn virtue and good manners, and took them back again when their apprenticeship was over, they might, perhaps, be excused; but they never return, for the girls are settled by their patrons, and the boys make the best marriages they can, and, assisted by their patrons, not by their fathers, they also open a house and strive diligently by this means to make some fortune for themselves; whence it proceeds that, having no hope of their paternal inheritance, that all become so

greedy of gain that they feel no shame in asking, almost "for the love of God," for the smallest sums of money; and to this it may be attributed, that there is no injury that can be committed against the lower orders of the English, that may not be atoned for by money.—*A Relation of the Island of England* (Camden Society, 1847), pp. 24-6.

"This evidently refers to tradesmen.<sup>1</sup> The note by the Editor<sup>2</sup> however says it was the case with the children of the first nobility, and gives the terms for the Duke of Buckingham's children with Mrs Hexstall. The document only shows that Mrs Hexstall boarded them by contract 'during the time of absence of my Lord and my Ladie.'"

The Earl of Essex says in a letter to Lord Burleigh, 1576, printed in Murdin's *State Papers*, p. 301-2.

"Nevertheless, upon the assured Confidence, that your love to me shall dissend to my Childrenne, and that your Lordship will declare yourself a Frend to me, both alive and dead, I have willed Mr *Waterhouse* to shew unto you how you may with Honor and Equity do good to my Sonne *Hereford*, and how to bind him with perpetual Frenship to you and your House. And to the Ende I wold have his Love towardses those which are dissended from you spring up and increase with his Yeares, I have wished his Education to be in your Household, though the same had not bene allotted to your Lordship as Master of the Wardes; and that the whole Tyme, which he shold spend in *England* in his Minority, might be devided in Attendance upon my Lord *Chamberlayne* and you, to the End, that as he might frame himself to the Example of my Lord of *Sussex* in all the Actions of his Life, tending either to the Warres, or to the Institution of a Nobleman, so that he might also reverence your Lordship for your Wisdome and Gravyty, and lay up your Counsell and Advises in the Treasury of his Hart."

That girls, as well as boys, were sent out to noblemen's houses for their education, is evident from Margaret Paston's letter of the 3rd of April, 1469, to Sir John Paston, "Also I would ye should purvey for your sister [Margery] to be with my Lady of Oxford, or with my Lady of Bedford, or in some other worshipful place whereas ye think best, and I will help to her finding, for we be either of us weary of other." Alice Crane's Letter, in the Paston Letters, v. i. p.

<sup>1</sup> As to agricultural labourers and their children A.D. 1388-1406, see below, p. xlvi.

<sup>2</sup> Readers will find it advisable to verify for themselves some of the statements in this Editor's notes, &c.

35, ed. 1840, also supports this view, as does Sir John Heveningham's to Margaret Paston, asking her to take his cousin Anneys Loveday for some time as a boarder till a mistress could be found for her. "If that it please you to have her with you to into the time that a mistress may be purveyed for her, I pray you thereof, and I shall content you for her board that ye shall be well pleased." Similarly Anne Boleyn and her sister were sent to Margaret of Savoy, aunt of Charles V., who lived at Brussels, to learn courtesy, &c., says Prof. Brewer. Sir Roger Twysden says that Anne was "Not above seven yeares of age, Anno 1514," when she went abroad. He adds :

"It should seeme by some that she served three in France successively ; Mary of England maryed to Lewis the twelfth, an. 1514, with whome she went out of England, but Lewis dying the first of January following, and that Queene (being) to returne home, sooner than either Sir Thomas Bullen or some other of her frendes liked she should, she was preferred to Clauda, daughter to Lewis XII. and wife to Francis I. then Queene (it is likely upon the commendation of Mary the Dowager), who not long after dying, an. 1524, not yet weary of France she went to live with Marguerite, Dutchess of Alançon and Berry, a Lady much commended for her favor towards good letters, but never enough for the Protestant religion then in the infancy—from her, if I am not deceived, she first learnt the grounds of the Protestant religion ; so that England may seem to owe some part of her happyness derived from that Lady." (Twysden's Notes quoted by Singer in his ed. of Cavendish's Life of Wolsey, 1825, p. 57.)

As Henry VIII. fell in love with his wife's maid of honour,— "began to kindle the brand of amours" at the light of Anne Boleyn's beauty, "her excellent gesture and behaviour,"—so we find in later times rich young men became enamoured of poor young women staying in the same house with them. Mr Bruce sends me an instance :

"the young lady was niece, you will perceive, to a well-beneficed clergyman, and a thriving gentleman well-advanced in the public service. She had lost her mother, and her father was in debt and difficulties. She was therefore placed by the influence of her uncles in a well-known family in Wiltshire."

*State Papers. Dom. Car. I.* Vol. ccclii. No. 29. Dr Matthew Nicholas, afterwards Dean of St Paul's, to Edward Nicholas, Clerk of the Council, and afterwards Secretary of State. Dated, West Dean, April 4, 1637.

"I have spoken with Miss Evelyn since I wrote last unto you, and enquired of her the cause which moued her to displace my coson

Hunton. She told me much accordinge to what she had sayd unto my coson Hunton, with this addition, that she had respect in it as well unto her good as her owne convenience, for hauinge nowe noe employment for her but her needle, she founde that sittinge still at her worke made her sickly, and therefore thought she might doe better in another seruice where she might haue the orderinge of an huswifely charge, for *which* (she told me) she had made her very able. I expressed myselte tender of the disgrace *which* would lay uppon my coson in beinge displaced in such a manner by warninge giuen, wherof whatsoever were the cause, it would be imagined by all that knowe it not, to be in her ill carriage, and wished she had done me that fauour as to haue acquainted me with her intents in such time as I might haue taken some course to haue disposed of her before it had bin knowne that she was to leaue her: she slubbered it ouer with a slight excuse that she had acquainted my wife . . . but for my satisfaction she told me that she would be as mindfull of her when God should call her as if she were with her, and in testimony of her good likinge of her seruice she would allowe her forty shillings yearly towarde her maintainance as longe as herself should liue. I am soe well acquainted with what she hath as yet disposed to her by will, and soe little value forty shillings to my coson Hunton's credit, as I gaue her noe thanks. Mr Downes (I heare) is sent for home by his father with an intent to keepe him with him, but I doe imagine that when my coson Hunton shall be other where disposed off, he shall returne; for my conceit is stronge that the feare of his beinge match'd to his disadvantage, who was placed with Mr Evelyn a youth to be bred for his preferment, hath caused this alteration; howsoeuer there be noe wordes made of it. I confess that when I have bin told of the good will that was obserued betweene my coson Hunton and Mr Downes, I did put it by with my coson Hunttons protestation to the contrary, and was willinge by that neglect to haue suffered it to haue come to pass (if it mought haue bin) because I thought it would haue bin to her aduantage, but nowe that the busines is come to this issue (as whatsoever be pretended I am confident this is the cause of my cosons partinge) I begin to question my discretion. . . . Good brother, let me haue your aduise what to do."

2. *Home and Private Education.* Of these, more or less must haue been going on all over England, by private tutors at home, or in the houses of the latter. "In five years (after my baptism) I was handed over by my father to Siward, a noble priest, to be trained in letters, to whose mastery I was subdued during five years learning the first rudiments. But in the eleventh year of my age I was given up by my own father for the love of God, and destined to enter the service of the eternal King."—*Orderic*, vol. ii. p. 301, ed. Prevost.

From Adam de Marisco's Letters, 53, we find that Henry and Almeric, the eldest and youngest sons of the Earl of Montfort, were put under Grosseteste for tuition, he being then a Bishop. At Paris, John of Salisbury (who died in 1180) gained a living by teaching the sons of noblemen,—(*instruendos susceperam*, I took them in to board).—*Metalogicus*, lib. 11, c. 10.

Henry of Huntingdon says, "Richard, the king's (Henry I.'s) bastard son, was honourably brought up (*festive nutritus*) by our Bishop Robert (Blote of Lincoln), and duly revered by me and others in the same household I lived in."—*Anglia Sacra*, vol. ii. p. 696. Giraldus Cambrensis speaks of beating his *coetanei et conscolares terræ suæ*, of being reproved for idleness by his uncle, the Bishop of St David's, and of being constantly chaffed by two of his uncle's chaplains, who used to decline *durus* and *stultus* to him. Also he alludes to the rod. Probably there was some sort of school at either Pembroke or St David's.—*De Rebus a se Gestis*, lib. 1, c. 2.<sup>1</sup>

The Statutes of a Gild of young Scholars formed to burn lights in honour of some saint or other, and to help one another in sickness, old age, and to burial, will be printed for us by Mr Toulmin Smith in the Early English Text Society's books this year.

Under this head of Private Tuition we may class the houses of Abbots, where boys of good birth were educated. In his History of English Poetry, section 36, vol. iii. p. 9, ed. 1840, Warton says:

"It appears to have been customary for the governors of the most considerable convents, especially those that were honoured with the mitre, to receive into their own private lodgings the sons of the principal families of the neighbourhood for education. About the year 1450, Thomas Bromele, abbot of the mitred monastery of Hyde near Winchester, entertained in his own abbatial house within that monastery eight young gentlemen, or *gentiles pueri*, who were placed there for the purpose of literary instruction, and constantly dined at the abbot's table. I will not scruple to give the original words, which are more particular and expressive, of the obscure record which preserves this curious anecdote of monastic life. '*Pro octo gentilibus pueris apud dominum abbatem studii causa perhendinantibus, et ad mensam domini victitantibus, cum garcionibus suis ipsos comitantibus, hoc anno, xviii. ixs. Capiendo pro*<sup>2</sup> . . ." This, by the way,

<sup>1</sup> The foregoing three extracts are sent me by a friend.

<sup>2</sup> From a fragment of the *Computus Camerarii Abbat. Hidens.* in *Archiv. Wulves.* apud Winton. ut supr. (? *Hist. Reg. Angl.* edit. Hearne, p. 74.)



was more extraordinary, as William of Wykeham's celebrated seminary was so near. And this seems to have been an established practice of the abbot of Glastonbury, "whose apartment in the abbey was a kind of well-disciplined court, where the sons of noblemen and young gentlemen were wont to be sent for virtuous education, who returned thence home excellently accomplished."<sup>1</sup> Richard Whiting, the last abbot of Glastonbury, who was cruelly executed by the king, during the course of his government educated near three hundred ingenuous youths, who constituted a part of his family; beside many others whom he liberally supported at the universities.<sup>2</sup> Whitgift, the most excellent and learned archbishop of Canterbury in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, was educated under Robert Whitgift his uncle, abbot of the Augustine monastery of black canons at Wellhow in Lincolnshire, "who," says Strype, "had several other young gentlemen under his care for education." (Strype's Whitgift, v. i. ch. i. p. 3.)

Of Lydgate—about 1420-30 A.D. I suppose—Prof. Morley says in his *English Writers*, vol. ii. Pt. I. p. 423 :

"After studying at Oxford, Paris, and Padua, and after mastering with special delight the writings of such poets as Dante, Boccaccio, and Alain Chartier, Lydgate opened at his monastery of Bury St Edmund's a school of rhetoric in which he taught young nobles literature and the art of versifying!"

Richard Pace says in his *De Fructu*, 1517 :

"Now the learning of music too demands its place, especially from me whom it distinguished when a boy amongst boys. For Thomas Langton, bishop of Winchester (the predecessor of him who is now living), whose secretary I was, when he had marked that I was making a proficiency in music far beyond my age (as himself—perchance from his too great affection for me—would point out and repeatedly say), 'The talent of this lad,' he said, 'is born for greater things,' and a few days afterwards he sent me, to pursue the study of literature, into Italy, to the school at Padua, which then was at its greatest prime, and benevolently supplied the annual expenses, as he showed wonderful favour to all men of letters, and in his day played the part of a second Mæcenas, well remembering (as he ofttimes said) that he had been advanced to the episcopal dignity on account of his learning. For he had gained, with the highest commendation, the distinctions of each law<sup>3</sup> (as they say now-a-days). Also he so highly prized the study of Humanity<sup>4</sup> that he had boys and youths

<sup>1</sup> Hist. and Antiq. of Glastonbury. Oxon. 1722, 8vo, p. 98.

Reyner, Apostolat. Benedict. Tract. 1, sect. ii. p. 224. Sanders de Schism. page 176.

<sup>3</sup> *utriusque juris*, Canon and Civil.

<sup>4</sup> *Lit. humaniores*. Latin is still called so in Scotch, and French (I think), universities. J. W. Hales.

instructed in it at a school in his house; And he was vastly delighted to hear the scholars repeat to him at night the lessons given them by the teacher during the day. In this competition he who had borne himself notably went away with a present of something suitable to his character, and with commendation expressed in the most refined language; for that excellent governor had ever in his mouth the maxim that merit grows with praise."<sup>1</sup>

Palsgrave in 1530 speaks of "maister Petrus Vallensys, scole maister to his [Charles, Duke of Suffolk's] excellent yong sonne the Erle of Lyncolne."

Roger Ascham, author of the *Scholemaster*, &c., born in 1515,

"was received at a very youthful age into the family of Sir Antony Wingfield, who furnished money for his education, and placed Roger, together with his own sons, under a tutor whose name was Bond. The boy had by nature a taste for books, and showed his good taste by reading English in preference to Latin, with wonderful eagerness. This was the more remarkable from the fact that Latin was still the language of literature, and it is not likely that the few English books written at that time were at all largely spread abroad in places far away from the Universities and Cathedral towns. In or about the year 1530, Mr Bond the domestic tutor resigned the charge of young Roger, who was now about fifteen years old, and by the advice and pecuniary aid of his kind patron Sir Antony, he was enabled to enter St John's College, Cambridge, at that time the most famous seminary of learning in all England. . . he took his bachelor's degree in 1531, Feb. 18, in the 18th year of his age ["being a boy, new bachelor of art," he says himself,] a time of life at which it is now more common to enter the University than to take a degree, but which, according to the modes of education

(*Pace de Fructu*, p. 27.) Exigit iam suum musica quoque doctrina locum, a me præsertim, quem puerum inter pueros illustravit. Nam Thomas Langton Vyntoniensis episcopus, decessor huius qui nunc [1517 A.D.] uiuit, cui eram a manu minister, quum notasset me longe supra ætatem (ut ipse nimis fortasse amans mei iudicabat, & dictitabat) in musicis proficere, Huius, inquit, pueri ingenium ad maiora natum est. & paucos post dies in Italiam ad Patauinum gymnasium, quod tunc florentissimum erat, ad bonas literas discendas me misit, annuasque impensas benigne suppeditauit, ut omnibus literatis mirifice fauebat, & ætate sua alterum Mecenatem agebat, probe memor (ut frequenter dictitabat) sese doctrinæ causa ad episcopalem dignitatem prouectum. Adeptus enim fuerat per summam laudem, utriusque iuris (ut nunc loquuntur) insignia. Item humaniores literas tanti æstimabat, ut domestica schola pueros & iuuenes illis erudiendos curarit. Et summopere oblectabatur audire scholasticos dictata interdum a præceptore, sibi nocta reddere. In quo certamine qui præclare se gesserat, is aliqua re personæ suæ accommodata, donatus abibat, & humanissimis uerbis laudatus. Habebet enim semper in ore illæ optimus Præsul, uirtutem laudatam crescere.

then in use, was not thought premature. On the 23rd of March following, he was elected fellow of the College." Giles's *Life of Ascham*, Works, vol. i. p. xi-xiv.

Dr Clement and his wife were brought up in Sir T. More's house. Clement was taken from St Paul's school, London, appointed tutor to More's children, and afterwards to his daughter Margaret, p. 402, col. 1.

What a young nobleman learnt in Henry the Eighth's time may be gathered from the following extracts (partly given by Mr Froude, *Hist.*, v. i. p. 39-40) from the letters of young Gregory Cromwell's tutor, to his father, the Earl of Essex, the King's Chief Secretary.

"The order of his studie, as the houres lymtyed for the Frenche tongue, writinge, plaienge att weapons, castinge of accomptes, pastimes of instruments, and suche others, hath bene devised and directed by the prudent wisdome of Mr Southwell; who with a ffatherly zeale and amitie muche desiringe to have hime a sonne worthy suche parents, ceaseth not aswell concerninge all other things for hime mete and necessary, as also in lerninge, t'expresse his tendre love and affection towards hime, serchinge by all meanes possible howe he may moste proffitte, dailie heringe hime to rede sumwhatt in thenglishe tongue, and advertisenge hime of the naturell and true kynde of pronuntiacōn therof, expoundinge also and declaringe the etimologie and native signification of suche wordes as we have borrowed of the Latines or Frenche menne, not evyn so comonly used in our quotidiene speche. Mr Cheney and Mr Charles in lyke wise endevoireth and emploieith themselves, accompanienge Mr Gregory in lerninge, amonge whome ther is a perpetuall contention, strife, and conflicte, and in maner of an honest envie who shall do beste, not oonlie in the ffrenche tongue (wherin Mr Vallence after a wonderesly compendious, facile, prompte, and redy waye, nott withoute painfull delegeance and laborious industrie doth enstructe them) but also in writynge, playenge at weapons, and all other theire exercises, so that if continuance in this bihalf may take place, whereas the laste Diana, this shall (I truste) be consecrated to Apollo and the Muses, to theire no small profecte and your good contentation and pleasure. And thus I beseche the Lord to have you in his moste gracious tuition.

At Reisinge in Norff[olk] the last daie of April,

Your faithfull and most bounden servaunte

HENRY DOWES.

To his right honorable maister Mr Thomas Cromwell  
chief Secretary vnto the King's Maiestie."

Ellis, *Original Letters*. Series I. vol. i. p. 341-3.

The next Letter gives further details of Gregory's studies—

“But forcause somer was spente in the servyce of the wylde goddes, it is so moche to be regarded after what fashion yeouth is educate and browght upp, in whiche tyme that that is lerned (for the moste parte) will nott all holelie be forgotten in the older yeres, I thinke it my dutie to assertheyne yo<sup>r</sup> Maistershippe how he spendith his tyme. . . . . And firste, after he hath herde Masse he taketh a lecture of a Diologe of Erasmus Colloquium, called Pietas Puerilis, whereinne is described a veray picture of oone that sholde be vertuoselie brought upp; and forcause it is so necessary for hime, I do not onelie cause him to rede it over, but also to practise the preceptes of the same, and I have also translated it into Englishe, so that he may conferre theime both to-githers, whereof. (as lerned men affirme) cometh no smalle profecte<sup>1</sup> . . . after that, he exerciseth his hande in writing one or two houres, and redith uppon Fabian’s Chronicle as longe; the residue of the day he doth spende uppon the lute and virginalls. When he rideth (as he doth very ofte) I tell hime by the way some historie of the Romanes or the Greekes, whiche I cause him to reherse agayn in a tale. For his recreation he useth to hawke and hunte, and shote in his long bowe, which frameth and succedeth so well with hime that he semeth to be therunto given by nature.”

Ellis, i. 343-4.

Of the course of study of ‘well-bred youths’ in the early years of Elizabeth’s reign we have an interesting account by Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper, father of the great Bacon, in a Paper by Mr J. Payne Collier in the *Archæologia*, vol. 36, Part 2, p. 339, Article xxxi.<sup>2</sup> “Before he became Lord Keeper, Sir Nicholas Bacon had been Attorney of that Court” [the Court of Wards and Liveries] “a most lucrative appointment; and on the 27th May, 1561, he addressed a letter to Sir William Cecil, then recently (Jan., 1561) made Master of the Wards, followed by a paper thus entitled:—‘Articles devised for the bringing up in vertue and learning of the Queenes Majesties Wardes, being heires males, and whose landes, descending in possession and coming to the Queenes Majestie, shall amount to the cleere yearly value of c. markes, or above.’” Sir Nicholas asks the new Master of Wards to reform what he justly calls most “preposterous” abuses in the department:—“That the proceeding hath bin preposterous, appeareth by this: the chiefe thinge, and most of price, in wardeship, is the wardes mynde; the next to that, his bodie; the

<sup>1</sup> Ascham praises most the practice of double translation, from Latin into English, and then back from English into Latin.—*Schoolmaster*, p. 90, 178, ed. Giles.

<sup>2</sup> Mr Wm. Chappell gives me the reference, and part of the extract.

last and meanest, his land. Nowe, hitherto the chiefe care of governaunce hath bin to the land, being the meaneste ; and to the bodie, being the better, very small ; but to the mynde, being the best, none at all, which methinkes is playnely to sett the carte before the horse” (p. 343). Mr Collier then summarises Bacon’s Articles for the bringing up of the Wards thus : “The wards are to attend divine service at six in the morning : nothing is said about breakfast,<sup>1</sup> but they are to study Latin until eleven ; to dine between 11 and 12 ; to study with the music-master from 12 till 2 ; from 2 to 3 they are to be with the French master ; and from 3 to 5 with the Latin and Greek masters. At 5 they are to go to evening prayers ; then they are to sup ; to be allowed honest pastimes till 8 ; and, last of all, before they go to bed at 9, they are again to apply themselves to music under the instruction of the master. At and after the age of 16 they were to attend lectures upon temporal and civil law, as well as *de disciplinâ militari*. It is not necessary to insert farther details ; but what I have stated will serve to show how well-bred youths of that period were usually brought up, and how disgracefully the duty of education as regards wards was neglected. . . It may appear singular that in these articles drawn up by Sir Nicholas, so much stress is laid upon instruction in music<sup>2</sup> ; but it only serves to confirm the notion that the science was then most industriously cultivated by nearly every class of society.” Pace in 1517 requires that every one should study it, but should join with it some other study, as Astrology or Astronomy. He says also that the greatest part of the art had perished by men’s negligence ; “For all that our musicians do now-a-days, is almost trivial if compared with what the old ones (*antiqui*) did, so that now hardly one or two (*unus aut alter*) can be found who know what harmony is, though the word is always on their tongue.” (*De Fructu*, p. 54-5.) Ascham, while lamenting in 1545 (*Toxophilus*, p. 29) ‘that the laudable custom of

<sup>1</sup> When did *breakfast* get its name, and its first notice as a regular meal? I do not remember having seen the name in the early part of *Household Ordinances*, or any other work earlier than the *Northumberland Household Book*.

<sup>2</sup> On Musical Education, see the early pages of Mr Chappell’s *Popular Music*, and the note in *Archæol.*, vol. xx, p. 60-1, with its references. ‘Music constituted a part of the *quadrivium*, a branch of their system of education.’

England to teach children their plain song and prick-song' is 'so decayed throughout all the realm as it is,' denounces the great practise of instrumental music by older students: "the minstrelsy of lutes, pipes, harps, and all other that standeth by such nice, fine, minikin fingering, (such as the most part of scholars whom I know use, if they use any,) is far more fit, for the womanishness of it, to dwell in the Court among ladies, than for any great thing in it which should help good and sad study, to abide in the University among scholars."

By 1574 our rich people, according to Harrison, attended properly to the education of their children. After speaking "of our women, whose beautie commonlie exceedeth the fairest of those of the maine," he says:

"This neuerthelesse I vtterlie mislike in the poorer sort of them, for the wealthier doo sildome offend herein: that being of themselues without competent wit, they are so carelesse in the education of their children (wherein their husbands also are to be blamed,) by means whereof verie manie of them neither fearing God, neither regarding either manners or obedience, do oftentimes come to confusion, which (if anie correction or discipline had bene vsed toward them in youth) might haue prooued good members of their common-wealth & countrie, by their good seruice and industrie."—*Descr. of Britaine*, Holinshed, i. 115, col. 2.

This is borne out by Ascham, who says that young men up to 17 were well looked after, but after that age were turned loose to get into all the mischief they liked:

"In deede, from seven to seventene, yong gentlemen commonlie be carefullie enough brought up: But from seventene to seven and twentie (the most dangerous tyme of all a mans life, and most slipperie to stay well in) they have commonlie the rein of all licens in their owne hand, and speciallie such as do live in the Court. And that which is most to be merved at, commonlie the wisest and also best men be found the fondest fathers in this behalfe. And if som good father wold seek some remedie herein, yet the mother (if the household of our Lady) had rather, yea, and will to, have her sonne cunning and bold, in making him to lyve trimlie when he is yong, than by learning and travell to be able to serve his Prince & his countrie, both wiselie in peace, and stoutlie in warre, whan he is old.

"The fault is in your selves, ye noble mens sonnes, and therefore ye deserve the greater blame, that commonlie the meaner mens children cum to be the wisest counsellours, and greatest doers, in the weightie affaires of this realme."—*Scholemaster*, ed. Mayor, p. 39-40.

Note lastly, on this subject of private tuition, that Mulcaster in

his *Elementarie*, 1582, complains greatly of rich people aping the custom of princes in having private tutors for their boys, and withdrawing them from public schools where the spirit of emulation against other boys would make them work. The course he recommends is, that rich people should send their sons, with their tutors, to the public schools, and so get the advantage of both kinds of tuition.

*Girls' Home Education.* The earliest notice of an English Governess that any friend has found for me is in "the 34th Letter of Osbert de Clare in Stephen's reign, A.D. 1135-54. He mentions what seems to be a Governess of his children, '*quædam matrona quæ liberos ejus (sc. militis, Herberti de Furcis) educare consueverat.*' She appears to be treated as one of the family: e. g. they wait for her when she goes into a chapel to pray. I think a nurse would have been '*ancilla quæ liberos ejus nutriendos susceperat.*'" Walter de Biblesworth was the tutor of the "lady Dionysia de Monchensi, a Kentish heiress, the daughter of William de Monchensi, baron of Swanescombe, and related, apparently, to the Valences, earls of Pembroke, and wrote his French Grammar, or rather Vocabulary<sup>1</sup>, for her. She married Hugh de Vere, the second son of Robert, fifth earl of Oxford. (Wright.) Lady Jane Grey was taught by a tutor at home, as we have seen. Palsgrave was tutor to Henry VIII.'s "most dere and most entirely beloved suster, quene Mary, douagier of France," and no doubt wrote his *Lesclaircissement de la Langue Francoise* mainly for her, though also "desirous to do some humble service unto the nobilitie of this victorious realme, and universally unto all other estates of this my natyfe country." Giles Du Guez, or as Palsgrave says to Henry VIII., "the synguler clerke, maister Gyles Dewes, somtyme instructor to your noble grace in this selfe tong, at the especiall instaunce and request of dyvers of your highe estates and noble men, hath also for his partye written in this matter." His book is entitled "An Introductorie for to lerne to rede, to pronounce & to speke French trewly: compyled for the Right high, excellent, and most vertuous lady The Lady Mary of

<sup>1</sup> Le treytz ke moun sire Gauter de Bibelesworthe fist à MA DAME DYONISIE DE MOUNCHENSY, pur aprise de langage.

Englande, daughter to our most gracious soverayn Lorde Kyng Henry the Eight.”

3. *English University Education.* In early days Cambridge and Oxford must be looked on, I suppose, as mainly the great schools for boys, and the generality of scholars as poor men's children,<sup>1</sup> like Chaucer's 'poore scolares tuo that dwelten in the soler-halle of Cantebregge,' his Clerk of Oxenford, and those students, gifts to whom are considered as one of the regular burdens on the husbandman, in "God speed the Plough." Mr Froude says, *Hist. of England*, I. 37 :

"The universities were well filled, by the sons of yeomen chiefly. The cost of supporting them at the colleges was little, and wealthy men took a pride in helping forward any boys of promise<sup>2</sup> (*Latimer's Sermons*, p. 64). It seems clear also, as the Reformation drew nearer, while the clergy were sinking lower and lower, a marked change for the better became perceptible in a portion at least of the laity."

But Grosseteste mentions a "noble" scholar at Oxford (*Epist.* 129), and Edward the Black Prince and Henry V. are said to have been students of Queen's College, Oxford. Wolsey himself was a College tutor at Oxford, and had among his pupils the sons of the Marquess of Dorset, who afterwards gave him his first preferment, the living of Lymington. (Chappell.)

<sup>1</sup> Later on, the proportions of poor and rich changed, as may be inferred from the extract from Harrison below. In the 'exact account of the whole number (2920) of Scholars and Students in the University of Oxford taken anno 1612 in the Long Vacation, the *Studentes* of Christ Church are 100, the *Pauperes Scholares et alii Servientes* 41; at Magdalene the latter are 76; at New College 18, to 70 *Socii*; at Brasenose (*Æneasense* Coll.) the *Communarii* are 145, and the *Pauperes Scholares* 17; at Exeter, the latter are 37, to 134 *Communarii*; at St John's, 20 to 43; at Lincoln the *Communarii* are 60, to 27 *Batellatores et Pauperes Scholares.*' *Collectanea Curiosa*, v. i. p. 196-203.

<sup>2</sup> Was this in return for the raised rents that Ascham so bitterly complains of the new possessors of the monastic lands screwing out of their tenants, and thereby ruining the yeomen? He says to the Duke of Somerset on Nov. 21, 1547 (ed. Giles, i. p. 140-1),

Qui auctores sunt tantæ miseræ? . . . Sunt illi qui hodie passim, in Anglia, prædia monasteriorum gravissimis annis redditibus auxerunt. Hinc omnium rerum exactum pretium; hi homines expilant totam rempublicam. Villici et coloni universi laborant, parcent, corradunt, ut istis satisfaciant. . . Hinc tot familiæ dissipatæ, tot domus collapsæ . . . Hinc, quod omnium miserrimum est, nobile illud decus et robur Angliæ, nomen, inquam, *Yomanorum Anglorum*, fractum et collisum est. . . NAM VITA, QUÆ NUNC VIVITUR A PLURIMIS, NON VITA, SED MISERIA EST.

When will these words cease to be true of our land? They should be burnt into all our hearts.



The legend runs that the first school at Oxford was founded by King Alfred<sup>1</sup>, and that Oxford was a place of study in the time of Edward the Confessor (1041-66). If one may quote a book now considered to be 'a monkish forgery and an exploded authority,' Ingulfus, who was Abbot of Croyland, in the Isle of Ely, under William the Conqueror, says of himself that he was educated first at Westminster, and then passed to Oxford, where he made proficiency in such books of Aristotle as were then accessible to students,<sup>2</sup> and in the first two books of Tully's Rhetoric.—*Malden*, On the Origin of Universities, 1835, p. 71.

In 1201 Oxford is called a *University*, and said to have contained 3000 scholars; in 1253 its first College (University) is founded. In 1244, Hen. III. grants it its first privileges as a corporate body, and confirms and extends them in 1245. In his reign, Wood says the number of scholars amounted to 30,000, a number no doubt greatly exaggerated.

In the reign of Stephen it is said that Vacarius, a Lombard by birth, who had studied the civil law at Bologna, came into England, and formed a school of law at Oxford<sup>3</sup>. . . he remained in England in the reign of Henry II. On account of the difficulty and expense of obtaining copies of the original books of the Roman law, and *the poverty of his English scholars*, Vacarius [ab. 1149, A.D.] compiled an abridgment of the Digests and Codex, in which their most essential parts were preserved, with some difference of arrangement, and illustrated from other law-books. . . It bore on its title that it was "*pauperibus presertim destinatus*;" and hence the Oxford students of law obtained the name of *Pauperists*.—*Malden*, p. 72-3.

Roger Bacon (who died 1248) speaks of a young fellow who came

<sup>1</sup> "He placed Æthelweard, his youngest son, who was fond of learning, together with the sons of his nobility, and of many persons of inferior rank, in schools which he had established with great wisdom and foresight, and provided with able masters. In these schools the youth were instructed in reading and writing both the Saxon and Latin languages, and in other liberal arts, before they arrived at sufficient strength of body for hunting, and other manly exercises becoming their rank." Henry, *History of England*, vol. ii. pp. 354-5 (quoted from Asser):

<sup>2</sup> None were so. T. Wright.

<sup>3</sup> Professor Rogers says: "There is *no* evidence that Vacarius lectured at Oxford. The statement is a mistake made by Hallam on a passage in John of Salishury quoted by Selden."

to him, aged 15, not having wherewithal to live, or finding proper masters: "because he was obliged to serve those who gave him necessaries, during two years found no one to teach him a word in the things he learned."—*Opus Tertium*, cap. xx. In 1214 the Commonalty of Oxford agreed to pay 52s. yearly for the use of poor scholars, and to give 100 of them a meal of bread, ale, and pottage, with one large dish of flesh or fish, every St Nicholas day.—*Wood's An.* i. 185. *Wood's Annals* (ed. Gutch, v. i. p. 619-20) also notes that in 1461 A.D. divers Scholars were forced to get a license under the Chancellor's hand and seal (according to the Stat. 12 Ric. II., A.D. 1388, *Ib.*, p. 519) to beg: and Sir Thos. More says "then may wee yet, like poor Scholars of Oxford, go a begging with our baggs & wallets, & sing salve Regina at rich mens dores." On this point we may also compare the Statutes of Walter de Merton for his College at Oxford, A.D. 1274, ed. Halliwell, 1843, p. 19:

Cap. 13. De admissione scholarium.

Hoc etiam in eadem domo specialiter observari volo et decerno, ut circa eos, qui ad hujusmodi eleemosinæ participationem admittendi fuerint, diligenti solitudine caveatur, ne qui præter castos, honestos, pacificos, humiles, *indigentes*, ad studium habiles ac proficere volentes, admittantur. Ad quorum agnitionem singulis, cum in dicta societate fuerint admittendi sustentationis gratia in eadem, ad annum unum utpote probationis causa primitus concedatur, ut sic demum si in dictis conditionibus laudabiliter se habuerint, in dictam congregationem admittantur.

See also cap. 31, against horses of scholars being kept.

Lodgings were let according to the joint valuation of 2 Magistri (scholars) and two townsmen (probi et legales homines de Villa). *Wood*, i. 255. An. 15 Hen. III. A.D. 1230-1.

In the beginning of the 15th century it had become the established rule that every scholar must be a member of some college or hall. The scholars who attended the public lectures of the university, without entering themselves at any college or hall, were called *chamber dekyns*, as in Paris they were called martinets; and frequent enactments were made against them.—*Malden*, p. 85, ref. to *Wood's Annals*, 1408, -13, -22, and 1512, &c.

The following are the dates of the foundations of the different Colleges at Oxford as given in the University Calendar:—

University College, 1253-80 <sup>1</sup>	Magdalen College	.. 1458
Balliol Coll., betw. 1263 & 1268	The King's Hall and Col- lege of Brasenose	} 1509
Merton College, founded at Maldon, in Surrey, in 1264, removed to Oxford	Corpus Christi College	.. 1516
in .. .. . 1274	Christ Church "	.. 1526
Exeter College .. .. 1314	Trinity College .. .. 1554	
Oriel " .. .. 1326	St John's " .. .. 1555	
The Queen's College .. 1340	Jesus " .. .. 1571	
New " .. .. 1386	Wadham " .. .. 1613	
Lincoln " .. .. 1427	Pembroke " .. .. 1624	
All Souls " .. .. 1437	Worcester " .. .. 1714	

## HALLS

St Edmund Hall .. .. 1317	Magdalen Hall .. .. 1487
St Mary's " .. .. 1333	St Alban " .. .. after 1547
New Inn " .. .. 1438	

'The Paston Letters' do not give us much information about studies or life at Oxford, but they do give us material for estimating the cost of a student there (ii. 124<sup>2</sup>); they show us the tutor reporting to a mother her son's progress in learning (ii. 130), and note the custom of a man, when made bachelor, giving a feast: "I was made bachelor . . on Friday was se'nnight (18 June, 1479), and I made my feast on the Monday after (21 June). I was promised venison against my feast, of my Lady Harecourt, and of another person too, but I was deceived of both; but my guests held them pleased with such meat as they had, blessed be God." The letter as to the costs is dated May 19, 1478.

"I marvel sore that you sent me no word of the letter which I sent to you by Master William Brown at Easter. I sent you word that time that I should send you mine expenses particularly; but as at this time the bearer hereof had a letter suddenly that he should come home, & therefore I could have no leisure to send them to you on that wise, & therefore I shall write to you in this letter the whole sum of my expenses since I was with you till Easter last past, and

<sup>1</sup> This College is said to have been founded in the year 872, by Alfred the Great. It was restored by William of Durham, said to have been Archdeacon of Durham; but respecting whom little authentic information has been preserved, except that he was Rector of Wearmouth in that county, and that he died in 1249, bequeathing a sum of money to provide a permanent endowment for the maintenance of a certain number of "Masters." The first purchase with this bequest was made in 1253, and the first Statutes are dated 1280.—*Oxford Univ. Calendar*, 1865, p. 167.

<sup>2</sup> I refer to the modernized edition published by Charles Knight in two volumes.

also the receipts, reckoning the twenty shillings that I had of you to Oxon wards, with the bishop's finding :—

	£	s.	d.
The whole sum of receipts is . . . . .	5	17	6
And the whole sum of expenses is . . . . .	6	5	5 $\frac{3}{4}$
And that [=what] cometh over my receipts & my expenses I have borrowed of Master Edmund, & it draweth to . . . . .		8	0

and yet I reckon none expenses since Easter ; but as for them, they be not great."

On this account Fenn says,

" he (Wm. Paston) had expended £6 5s. 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. from the time he left his mother to Easter last, which this year fell on the 22nd March, from which time it was now two months, & of the expenses 'since incurred' he says 'they be not great.' We may therefore conclude the former account was from the Michaelmas preceding, and a moderate one ; if so, we may fairly estimate his university education at £100 a-year of our present money. I mean that £12 10s. 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. would then procure as many necessaries and comforts as £100 will at this day."

What was the basis of Fenn's calculation he does not say. In 1468, the estimates for the Duke of Clarence's household expenses give these prices, among others :

	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Wheat, a quarter	6	0	now, say	3	0	0
Ale, a gallon		1 $\frac{1}{2}$	"		1	0
Beves, less hide and tallow, each	10	0	"	15	0	0*
Muttons " "	1	4	"	2	10	0*
Velys " "	2	6	"	4	0	0*
Porkes " "	2	0	"	5	0	0
Rice, a pound		3	"			5
Sugar "		6	"			6
Holland, an ell (6d., 8d., 16d.)		10	"		1	3
Diapre "	4	6	"		3	0
Towelles "	1	8	"		1	6
Napkyns, a dozen, 12s., £1, £2,	17	4	"	2	0	0
	<hr/>			<hr/>		
	£2 7 0 $\frac{1}{2}$			£31 17 8		

This sum would make the things named nearly 14 times as dear now as in 1468, and raise Fenn's £100 to about £180 ; but no reliance can be placed on this estimate because we know nothing of the condition of the beves, muttons, velys, and porkys, then, as con-

\* Poor ones.

trusted with ours. Possibly they were half the size and half the weight. Still, I have referred the question to Professor Thorold Rogers, author of the *History of Prices 1250-1400 A.D.*, and he says :

“ In the year to which you refer (1478) bread was very dear, 50 per cent. above the average. But on the whole, wheat prices in the 15th century were lower than in the 14th. Fenn’s calculation, a little below the mark for wheat, is still less below it in most of the second necessities of life. The multiple of wheat is about 9, that of meat at least 24, those of butter and cheese nearly as much. But that of clothing is not more than 6, that of linen from 4 to 5. Taking however one thing with another, 12 is a safe general multiplier.”

This would make the cost of young Paston’s university education £150 11s. 6d. a year.

Mr Whiston would raise Fenn’s estimate of £100 to £200. He says that the rent of land in Kent in 1540 was a shilling or eighteenpence an acre,—see *Valor Ecclesiasticus*,—and that the tithes and glebes of the Dean and Chapter of Rochester, which were worth about £480 a-year in 1542, are now worth £19,000.

The remaining Oxford letter in the Paston volumes seems to allude to the students bearing part of the expenses of the degree, or the feast at it, of a person related to royal family.

“ I supposed, when that I sent my letter to my brother John, that the Queen’s brother should have proceeded at Midsummer, and therefore I beseeched her to send me some money, *for it will be some cost to me*, but not much.”

The first school at Cambridge is said to have been founded by Edward the Elder, the son of Alfred, but on no good authority. In 1223 the term *University* was applied to the place. The dates of the foundations of its Colleges, as given in its Calendar, are :

St Peter’s . . . . . 1257	St Catherine’s Hall . . . 1473
(date of charter, 1264)	Jesus . . . . . 1496
Clare Hall . . . . . 1326	Christ’s . . . . . 1505
Pembroke . . . . . 1347	St John’s . . . . . 1511
Caius . . . . . 1349	Magdalene . . . . . 1519
Trinity Hall . . . . . 1350	Trinity . . . . . 1546
Corpus Christi . . . . . 1351	Emmanuel . . . . . 1584
King’s . . . . . 1441	Sidney . . . . . 1598
Queen’s . . . . . 1446	Downing . . . . . 1800
(refounded 1465)	

Lord Henry Brandon, son of the Duke of Suffolk, died of the

sweating sickness then prevalent in the University, on the 16th July, 1551, while a student of Cambridge. His brother, Lord Charles Brandon, died on the same day. Their removal to Buckden was too late to save them (*Ath. Cant.*, i. 105, 541). Of them Ascham says, 'two noble Primeroses of Nobilitie, the yong Duke of Suffolke and Lord *H. Matrevers* were soch two examples to the Courte for learnyng, as our tyme may rather wishe, than look for agayne.'—*Scholemaster*, ed. Mayor, p. 62. Besides these two young noblemen, the first 104 pages of Cooper's *Athenæ Cantabrigienses* disclose only one other, Lord Derby's son, and the following names of sons of knights: <sup>1</sup>

## CAMBRIDGE MEN.

- 1443 Thomas Rotherham, Fellow of King's, son of Sir Thomas Rotherham, knight, and Alice his wife.  
 1494 Reginald Bray, high-steward of the university of Oxford, son of Sir Richard Bray, knight, and the lady Joan his second wife.

<sup>1</sup> Other well-born men, in the *Ath. Cant.*, then connected with the University, or supposed to be, were,

- 1504 Sir Roger Ormston, knight, died. Had been High Steward of the University.  
 1504 Sir John Mordaunt, High Steward.  
 1478 George Fitzhugh, 4th son of Henry lord Fitzhugh, admitted B.A.  
 1488 Robert Leyburn, born of a knightly family, Fellow of Pembroke-hall, and proctor.  
 1457 John Argentine, of an ancient and knightly family, was elected from Eton to King's.  
 1504 Robert Fairfax, of an ancient family in Yorkshire, took the degree of Mus. Doc.  
 1496 Christopher Baynbrigg, of a good family at Hilton, near Appleby, educated at and Provost of Queen's, Oxford, incorporated of Cambridge.  
 1517 Sir Wm. Fyndern, knight, died, and was a benefactor to Clare Hall, in which it is supposed he had been educated.  
 1481 Robert Rede, of an ancient Northumbrian family, was sometime of Buckingham College, and the Fellow of King's-hall (?), and was autumn reader at Lincoln's Inn in 1481.  
 ab. 460 Marmaduke Constable, son of Sir Robert Constable, knight, believed to have been educated at Cambridge.  
 „ So, Edward Stafford, heir of Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, is also believed to have been educated at Cambridge, because his father was a munificent patron of the University, constantly maintaining, or assisting to maintain, scholars therein.  
 „ So, Thomas Howard, son of Sir John Howard, knight, and afterwards Duke of Norfolk, who defeated the Scots at Flodden, is believed, &c.  
 1484 John Skelton, the poet, probably of an ancient Cumberland family.  
 1520? Henry Howard, son of Lord Thomas Howard, ultimately Duke of Norfolk. Nothing is known as to the place of his education. If it were either of the English Universities, the presumption is in favour of Cambridge.

The only tradesman's son mentioned is,

- 1504 Sir Richard Empson, son of Peter Empson, a sieve-maker, High-Steward.

- 1502 Humphrey Fitzwilliam, of Pembroke Hall, Vice-Chancellor, *appears* to have been the son of Sir Richard Fitzwilliam of Ecclesfield, and Elizabeth his wife.
- ab. 1468 Richard Redman, son of Sir Richard Redman and Elizabeth [Aldburgh] his wife ; made Bp. of St Asaph.
- 1492 Thomas Savage, son of Sir John Savage, knight, Bp. of Rochester. Was LL.D. ? educated at Cambridge.
- 1485 James Stanley, younger son of Thomas Earl of Derby, educated at both universities, graduated at Cambridge, and became prebendary of Holywell in 1485, Bp. of Ely in 1506.
- 1497 William Coningsby, son of Sir Humphrey Coningsby, elected from Eton to King's.
- 1507 Thomas Elyot, son of Sir Richard Elyot, made M.A.
- ab. 1520 George Blagge, son of Sir Robert Blagge.

Queen Elizabeth's favourite, Lord Essex, was at Trinity College, Cambridge. See his letter of May 13, from there, in Ellis, series II. v. iii. p. 73 ; the furniture of his room, and his expenses, in the note p. 73-4 ; and his Tutor's letter asking for new clothes for ' my Lord,' or else ' he shall not onely be thrid bare, but ragged.'

Archbp. Whitgift<sup>1</sup>, when B.D. at Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, A.D. 1563, " bestowed some of his time and abilities in the instruction of ingenious youth, sent to the college for education, in good learning and Christian manners. And among such his pupils, were two noblemen's sons, viz. the Lord Herbert, son and heir to the Earl of Pembroke ; and John, son and heir to the Lord North." (*Life*, by Strype, ed. 1822, vol. i. p. 14.)

While Whitgift was Master of Trinity, Strype says he had bred up under him not only several Bishops, but also " the Earls of Worcester and Cumberland, the Lord Zouch, the Lord Dunboy of Ireland, Sir Nicolas and Sir Francis Bacon. To which I may add one more, namely, the son of Sir Nicolas White, Master of the Rolls in Ireland, who married a Devereux." (*Life*, i. 157, ed. 1822.)

A search through the whole of the first volume of Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, comprising a period of nearly 100 years, has resulted in the following meagre list of men of noble or knightly birth who distinguished themselves. There are besides many men of " genteel

<sup>1</sup> Whitgift himself, born 1530, was educated at St Paul's school, then sent back to his father in the country, and sent up to Cambridge in 1548 or 1549.

parents," some of trader-ones, many friars, some Winchester men, but no Eton ones, educated at Oxford.

- 1478 Edmund Dudley, son of John Dudley, Esq., 2nd son of John Lord Dudley, of Dudley Castle in Staffordshire.
- ab. 1483 John Colet, the eldest son of Sir Henry Colet, twice lord mayor of London . . . was educated in grammaticals, partly in London or Westminster.
- „ Nicholas Vaux, son of Sir Will Vaux of Harwedon in Northamptonshire (not the Poet, Lord Vaux).
- end of John Bourchier, Lord Berners, eldest son of Sir John Edw. IV. Bourchier, knight, Lord Berners of Hertfordshire . . . was instructed in several sorts of learning in the university in the latter end of K. Edw. IV.; in whose reign, and before, were the sons of divers of the English nobility educated in academical literature in Baliol Coll.,<sup>1</sup> wherein, as 'tis probable, this our author was instructed also.
- 1497 Thomas More, son of Sir John More, knight. (*The Sir Thomas More*.)
- ? ab. 1510 George Bulleyn, son and heir of Sir Tho. Bullen, and sister of Anne Bulleyn.
- ? „ Henry Parker, son of Sir William Parker, knight.
- 1515 Christopher Seintgerman, son of Sir Henry Seintgerman, knight.
- ? ab. 1520 Thomas Wyatt, son of Henry Wyatt of Alington Castle in Kent, knight and baronet, migrated from St John's, Cambridge.<sup>2</sup>
- 1538<sup>3</sup> John Heron, a Kentish man born, near of kin to Sir John Heron, knight.
- ? ab. 1520 Edward Seymoure, son of Sir John Seymoure, or St Maure of Wolf-hall in Wilts, knight, was educated in trivials, and partly in quadrivials for some time in this university. He was Jane Seymour's brother, and afterwards Duke of Somerset, and was beheaded on Jan. 22, 1552-3.
- 1534 John Philpot, son of Sir Pet. Philpot, knight of the Bath. Fellow of New Coll.
- ab. 15— Henry Lord Stafford (author of the *Mirror for Magistrates*), the only son of Edward, Duke of Bucks, 'received

<sup>1</sup> No proof of this is given.

<sup>2</sup> Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, son and heir of Thomas Duke of Norfolk, 'was for a time student in Cardinal Coll. as the constant tradition has been among us.' p. 153, col. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Andrew Borde, who writes himself *Andreas Perforatus*, was born, as it seems, at Pevensey, commonly called Pensey [now Pemsey], in Sussex, and not unlikely educated in Wykeham's school near to Winchester, brought up at Oxford (as he saith in his *Introduction to Knowledge*, cap. 35), p. 170, col. 2, and note.



- his education in both the universities, especially in that of Cambridge, to which his father had been a benefactor.'
- 1515 Reynold Pole (the Cardinal), a younger son of Sir Rich. Pole.
- ? ab. 1530 Anthony Browne, son of Sir Weston Browne, of Abbesroding and of Langenhoo in Essex, knight.
- ab. 1574 Patrick Plunket, baron of Dunsary in Ireland, son of Rob. Plunket, baron of the same place.
- ab. 1570 Philip Sidney (the poet), son of Sir Henry Sidney.
- ? John Smythe, son of Sir Clem. Smythe.  
(Peter Levens or Levins, our *Manipulus* or Rhyming-Dictionary man, became a student in the university, an. 1552, was elected probationer-fellow of Mag. Coll. into a Yorkshire place, 18 Jan. 1557, being then bach. of arts, and on the 19th Jan. 1559 was admitted true and perpetual fellow. In 1560 he left his fellowship. *Ath. Ox.* p. 547, col. 2.)
- ? ab. 1570 Reynolde Scot, a younger son of Sir John Scot of Scots-hall, near to Smeeth in Kent.
- 1590 Hayward Townshend, eldest son of Sir Henry Townshend, knight.
- ab. 1587 Francis Tresham (of Gunpowder Plot notoriety), son of Sir Thomas Tresham, knight.

The number of friars and monks at the Universities before the Reformation, and especially at Oxford, must have been large. Tanner says,

In our universities . . . were taught divinity and canon law (then, t. Hen. III., much in vogue), and the friars resorting thither in great numbers and applying themselves closely to their studies, outdid the monks in all fashionable knowledge. But the monks quickly perceived it, and went also to the universities and studied hard, that they might not be run down by the friars.<sup>1</sup> And as the

<sup>1</sup> See Mat. Paris, p. 665, though he speaks there chiefly of monks \* beyond sea.

\* As appears from Wood's *Fasti Oxon.*

The following names of Oxford men educated at monkish or friars' schools, or of their bodies, occur in the first volume of Wood's *Athene Oxon.*, ed. Bliss :

- p. 6, col. 2. William Beeth, educated among the Dominicans or Black Friars from his youth, and afterwards their provincial master or chief governor.
- p. 7, col. 2. Richard Bardney, a Benedictine of Lincolnshire.
- p. 11, col. 2. John Sowle, a Carme of London.
- p. 14, col. 1. William Galeon, an Austin friar of Lynn Regis.
- p. 18, col. 2. Henry Bradshaw, one of the Benedictine monks of St Werberg's, Chester.
- p. 19, col. 1. John Harley, of the order of the Preaching or Dominican, commonly called Black, Friars.

friers got houses in the universities, the monks also got colleges founded and endowed there<sup>1</sup> for the education of their novices, where they were for some years instructed in grammar, philosophy, and school divinity, and then returning home, improved their knowledge by their private studies, to the service of God and the credit of their respective societies. So that a little before the Reformation, the greatest part of the proceeders in divinity at Oxford were monks and Regular canons.

By Harrison's time, A.D. 1577<sup>2</sup>, rich men's sons had not only pressed into the Universities, but were scrooging poor men's sons out of the endowments meant only for the poor, learning the lessons that Mr Whiston so well shows our Cathedral dignitaries have carried out

<sup>1</sup> It was customary then at Oxford for the Religious to have schools that bore the name of their respective orders; as the Augustine, Benedictine, Carmelite, and Franciscan schools; and there were schools also appropriated to the benefit of particular Religious houses, as the Dorchester and Eynsham schools, &c. The monks of Gloucester had Gloucester convent, and the novices of Pershore an apartment in the same house. So likewise the young monks of Canterbury, Westminster, Durham, St Albans, &c. Kennet's *Paroch. Antiq.*, p. 214. So also Leland saith, *Itin.* vol. vi. p. 28, that at Stamford the names of Peterborough Hall, Semplingham, and Vauldey yet remain, as places whither the Religions of those houses sent their scholars to study. Tanner, *Notitia Monastica*, Preface, p. xxvi. note *v.*

<sup>2</sup> The abuse was of far earlier date than this. Compare Mr Halliwell's quotation in his 'Merton Statutes,' from his edition of 'the Poems of John Awdelay, the blind poet of Haghmon Monastery in the 14th century,'

Now ȝif a pore mon set hys son to Oxford to scole,  
Bothe the fader and the moder hyndryd they schal be;  
And ȝif ther falle a benefyse, hit schal be ȝif a fole,  
To a clerke of a kechyn, ore into the chauncré . . .  
Clerkys that han cunyng,  
. . . thai mai get no vaunsyng  
Without symony.

p. 54, col. 2. Thomas Spenser, a Carthusian at Henton in Somersetshire; 'whence for a time he receded to Oxford (as several of his order did) to improve himself, or to pass a course, in theology.'

p. 94, col. 2. John Kynton, a Minorite or Grey-friar.

p. 101, col. 1. John Rycks, " "

p. 107, col. 1. John Forest, a Franciscan of Greenwich.

p. 189, col. 1. John Griffen, a Cistercian.

p. 278, col. 2. Cardinal Pole, educated among the Carthusians, and Carmelites or 'White-fryers.'

p. 363, col. 2. William Barlowe, an Austin of St Osith in Essex.

p. 630, col. 2. Henry Walpoole and Richard Walpoole, Jesuits.

The 5th Lord Percy, he of the *Household Book*, in the year 1520 founded an annual stipend of 10 mares for 3 years, for a *Pedagogus sive Magister, docens ac legens Grammaticam et Philosophiam canonicis et fratribus* of the monastery of Alnwick (Warton, ii. 492).

with the stipends of their choristers, boys and men. "*Les gros poissons mangent les menus*. Pro. Poore men are (easily) supplanted by the rich, the weake by the strong, the meane by the mighty."<sup>1</sup> (Cotgrave, u. *manger*.) The law of "natural selection" prevails. Who shall say nay in a Christian land professing the principles of the great "Inventor of Philanthropy"? Whitgift for one, see his *Life of Strype*, Bk. I. chap. xiii. p. 148-50, ed. 1822. In 1589 an act 31 Eliz. c. 6, was passed to endeavour to prevent the abuse, but, like modern Election-bribery Acts with their abuse, did not do it.

"at this present, of one sort & other, there are about three thousand students nourished in them both (as by a late serveie it manifestlie appeared). They [the Colleges at our Universities] were created by their founders at the first, onelie for pore men's sons, whose parents were not able to bring them up unto learning: but now they have the least benefit of them, by reason the rich do so incroch upon them. And so farre hath this inconvenience spread itself, that it is in my time an hard matter for a pore man's child to come by a fellowship (though he be neuer so good a scholer & worthie of that roome.) Such packing also is used at elections, that not he which best deserveth, but he that hath most friends, though he be the worst scholer, is alwaies surest to speed; which will turne in the end to the overthrow of learning. That some gentlemen also, whose friends have been in times past benefactors to certeine of those houses, doe intrude into the disposition of their estates, without all respect of order or statutes devised by the founders, onelie thereby to place whome they think good (and not without some hope of gaine) the case is too too evident, and their attempt would soone take place, if their superiors did not provide to bridle their indevors. In some grammar schooles likewise, which send scholers to these universities, it is lamentable to see what briberie is used; for yer the scholer can be preferred, such briberye is made, that pore men's children are commonly shut out, and the richer sort received (who in times past thought it dishonour to live as it were upon almes) and yet being placed, most of them studie little other than histories, tables, dice & trifles, as men that make not the living by their studie the end of their purposes; which is a lamentable bearing. Besides this, being for the most part either gentlemen, or rich men's sonnes, they oft bring the universities into much slander."<sup>2</sup> For

<sup>1</sup> Compare Chaucer: 'wherfore, as seith Senek, ther is nothing more covenable to a man of heigh estate than debonairté and pité; and therefore these flies than men clepen bees, whan thay make here king, they chesen oon that hath no pricke wherwith he may styng.'—*Persones Tale*, Poet. Works, ed. Morris, iii. 301.

<sup>2</sup> Ascham complains of the harm that rich men's sons did in his time at Cambridge. Writing to Archbp. Cranmer in 1545, he complains of two *gravissima in-*

standing upon their reputation and libertie, they ruffle and roist it out, exceeding in apparell, and hanting riotous companie (which draweth them from their bookes into an other trade). And for excuse, when they are charged with breach of all good order, thinke it sufficient to saie, that they be gentlemen, which grieveth manie not a little. But to proceed with the rest.

“Everie one of these colleges haue in like manner their professors or readers of the tongs and severall sciences, as they call them, which daillie trade up the youth there abiding privatlie in their halles, to the end they may be able afterwards (when their turne commeth about, which is after twelve termes) to show themselves abroad, by going from thence into the common schooles and publike disputations (as it were *In aream*) there to trie their skillies, and declare how they have profited since their coming thither.

“Moreover in the publike schooles of both the universities, there are found at the prince’s charge (and that verie largelie) five professors & readers, that is to saie, of divinitie, of the civill law, physicke, the Hebrew and the Greek tongues. And for the other lectures, as of philosophie, logike, rhetorike and the quadriuals, although the latter (I mean, arithmetike, musike, geometrie and astronomie, and with them all skill in the perspectives are now smallie regarded in either of them) the universities themselves do allowe competent stipends to such as reade the same, whereby they are sufficiently provided for, touching the maintenance of their estates, and no less encouraged to be diligent in their functions.”

On the introduction of the study of Greek into the Universities, Dr S. Knight says in his *Life of Colet* :

“As for *Oxford*, its own *History* and *Antiquities* sufficiently confess, that nothing was known there but *Latin*, and that in the most

*pedimenta* to their course of study: (1.) that so few old men will stop up to encourage study by their example; (2.) “quod illi fere omnes qui huc Cantabrigiam confluant, pueri sunt, divitumque filii, et hi etiam qui nunquam inducunt animum suum, ut abundanti aliqua perfectaue eruditione perpoliantur, sed ut ad alia reipublicæ munera obeunda levi aliqua et inchoata cognitione paratiores efficiantur. Et hic singularis quædam injuria bifariam academiæ intentata est; vel quia hoc modo omnis expletæ absolutæque doctrinæ spes longe ante messem, in ipsa quasi herbescenti viriditate, præciditur; vel quia omnis pauperum inopumque expectatio, quorum ætates omnes in literarum studio conteruntur, ab his fucis eorum sedes occupantibus, exclusa illusaque præripitur. Ingenium, enim, doctrina, inopia judicium, nil quicquam domi valent, ubi gratia, favor, magnatum literæ, et aliæ persimiles extraordinariæ illegitimæque rationes vim foris adferunt. Hinc quoque illud accedit incommodum, quod quidam prudentes viri nimis ægre ferunt partem aliquam regiæ pecuniæ in collegiorum socios impartiri; quasi illi non maxime indigeant, aut quasi ulla spes perfectæ eruditionis in ullis aliis residere potest, quam in his, qui in perpetuo literarum studio perpetuum vitæ suæ tabernaculum collocarunt.” Ed. Giles, i. p. 69-70. See also p. 121-2.

depraved Style of the *School-men*. *Cornelius Vitellius*, an *Italian*, was the first who taught *Greek* in that University<sup>1</sup>; and from him the famous *Grocynne* learned the first Elements thereof.

“In *Cambridge*, *Erasmus* was the first who taught the *Greek Grammar*. And so very low was the State of Learning in that University, that (as he tells a Friend) about the Year 1485, the Beginning of *Hen. VII.* Reign, there was nothing taught in that publick Seminary besides *Alexander's Parva Logicalia*, (as they called them) the old *Axioms* of *Aristotle*, and the *Questions* of *John Scotus*, till in Process of time *good Letters* were brought in, and some Knowledge of the *Mathematicks*; as also *Aristotle* in a new Dress, and some Skill in the *Greek Tongue*; and, by Degrees, a Multitude of *Authors*, whose *Names* before had not been heard of.<sup>2</sup>

“It is certain that even *Erasmus* himself did little understand *Greek*, when he came first into *England*, in 1497 (13 *Hen. VII.*), and that our Countryman *Linacer* taught it him, being just returned from *Italy* with great Skill in that Language: Which *Linacer* and *William Grocynne* were the two only Tutors that were able to teach it.” *Saml. Knight*, *Life of Dr John Colet*, pp. 17, 18.

The age at which boys went up to the University seems to have varied greatly. When *Oxford* students were forbidden to play marbles they could not have been very old. But in “*The Mirror of the Periods of Man's Life*” (? ab. 1430 A.D.), in the Society's *Hymns to the Virgin and Christ* of this year, we find the going-up age put at twenty:

Quod resour̄, in age of .xx. 3eer,  
Goo to oxenford, or lerne lawe<sup>3</sup>.

This is confirmed by young *Paston's* being at *Eton* at nineteen (see below, p. lvi). In 1612, *Brinsley* (*Grammar Schoole*, p. 307) puts the age at fifteen, and says,

“such onely should be sent to the Vniuersities, who proue most ingenuous and towardly, and who, in a loue of learning, will begin to

<sup>1</sup> *Antea enim Cornelius Vitellius, homo Italus Corneli, quod est maritimum Hetruriæ Oppidum, natus nobili Prosapia, vir optimus gratiosusque, omnium primus Oxonii bonas literas docuerat.* [Pol. Verg. lib. xxvi.]

<sup>2</sup> *Ante annos ferme triginta, nihil tradebatur in schola Cantabrigiensi, præter Alexandri Parva Logicalia, ut vocant, & vetera illa Aristotelis dictata, Scoticasque Quæstiones. Progressu temporis accesserunt bonæ literæ; accessit Matheseos Cognitio; accessit novus, aut certe novatus, Aristoteles; accessit Græcarum literarum peritia; accesserunt Auctores tam multi, quorum olim ne nomina quidem tenebantur, &c.* [Erasmii Epist. Henrico Bovillo, Dat. Roffæ Cal. Sept. 1516.]

<sup>3</sup> *Sir John Fortescue's* description of the study of law at *Westminster* and in the *Inns of Chancery* is in chapters 48-9 of his *De laudibus legum Angliæ*.

take paines of themselues, hauing attained in some sort the former parts of learning ; being good Grammarians at least, able to vnderstand, write and speake Latine in good sort.

“Such as haue good discretion how to gouerne themselues there, and to moderate their expenses ; which is seldome times before 15 yeeres of age ; which is also the youngest age admitted by the statutes of the Vniuersity, as I take it.”

4. *Foreign University Education.* That some of our nobles sent their sons to be educated in the French universities (whence they sometimes imported foreign vices into England<sup>1</sup>) is witnessed by some verses in a Latin Poem “in MS. Digby, No. 4 (Bodleian Library) of the end of the 13th or beginning of the 14th century,” printed by Mr Thomas Wright in his *Anecdota Literaria*, p. 38.

Fili nobilem, dum sunt iuniores,  
Mittuntur in Franciam fieri doctores ;  
Quos prece vel pretio domant corruptores,  
Sic prætaxatos referunt artaxata mores.

An English *nation* or set of students of the Faculty of Arts at Paris existed in 1169 ; after 1430 the name was changed to the German nation. Besides the students from the French provinces subject to the English, as Poictou, Guienne, &c., it included the English, Scottish, Irish, Poles, Germans, &c.—*Encyc. Brit.* John of Salisbury (born 1110) says that he was twelve years studying at Paris on his own account. Thomas a Becket, as a young man, studied at Paris. Giraldus Cambrensis (born 1147) went to Paris for education ; so did Alexander Neckham (died 1227). Henry says,

“The English, in particular, were so numerous, that they occupied several schools or colleges ; and made so distinguished a figure by their genius and learning, as well as by their generous manner of living, that they attracted the notice of all strangers. This appears from the following verses, describing the behaviour of a stranger on

<sup>1</sup> Mores habent barbarus, Latinus et Græcus ;  
Si sacerdos, ut plebs est, cæcum ducit cæcus :  
Se mares effemant, et equa fit equus,  
Expectes ab homine usque ad pecus.

Et quia non metuunt animæ discrimen,  
Principes in babitum verterunt hoc crimen,  
Varium viro turpiter jungit novus llymen,  
Exagitata procul non intrat fœmina limen.

his first arrival in Paris, composed by Negel Wircker, an English student there, A.D. 1170 :—

The stranger dress'd, the city first surveys,  
A church he enters, to his God he prays.  
Next to the schools he hastens, each he views,  
With care examines, anxious which to chuse.  
The English most attract his prying eyes,  
Their manners, words, and looks, pronounce them wise.  
Theirs is the open hand, the bounteous mind ;  
Theirs solid sense, with sparkling wit combin'd.  
Their graver studies jovial banquets crown,  
Their rankling cares in flowing bowls they drown.<sup>1</sup>

Montpellier was another University whither Englishmen resorted, and is to be remembered by us if only for the memory of Andrew Borde, M.D., some bits of whose quaintness are in the notes to Russell in the present volume.

Padua is to be noted for Pace's sake. He is supposed to have been born in 1482.

Later, the custom of sending young noblemen and gentlemen to Italy—to travel, not to take a degree—was introduced, and Ascham's condemnation of it, when no tutor accompanied the youths, is too well known to need quoting. The Italians' saying, *Inglese Italianato è un diavolo incarnato*, sums it up.

5. *Monastic and Cathedral Schools.* Herbert Losing, Bp. of Thetford, afterwards Norwich, between 1091 and 1119, in his 37th Letter restores his schools at Thetford to Dean Bund, and directs that no other schools be opened there.

Tanner (*Not. Mon.* p. xx. ed. Nasmith), when mentioning “the use and advantage of these Religious houses”—under which term

<sup>1</sup> Pixus et ablutus tandem progressus in urbem,  
Intrat in ecclesiam, vota precesque facit.  
Inde scholas adiens, secum deliberat, utrum  
Expediat potius illa vel ista schola.  
Et quia subtiles sensu considerat Anglos,  
Pluribus ex causis se sociavit iis.  
Moribus egregii, verbo vultuque venusti,  
Ingenio pollent, consilioque vigent.  
Dona pluunt populis, et detestantur avaros,  
Fercula multiplicant, et sine lege bibunt.

A. Wood, *Antiq. Oxon.*, p. 55, in Henry's Hist. of Eng., vol. iii. p. 440-1.

<sup>2</sup> That Colet used his travels abroad, A.D. 1493-7, for a different purpose, see his Life by Dr Knight, pp. 23-4.

“are comprehended, cathedral and collegiate churches, abbies, priories, colleges, hospitals, preceptories (Knights Templars’ houses), and frieries”—says,

“Secondly, They were schools of learning & education; for every convent had one person or more appointed for this purpose; and all the neighbours that desired it, might have their children taught grammar and church musick without any expence to them.<sup>1</sup>

In the nunneries also young women were taught to work, and to read English, and sometimes Latin also. So that not only the lower rank of people, who could not pay for their learning, but most of the noblemen and gentlemen’s daughters were educated in those places.”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Fuller, book vi. p. 297. Collier, vol. ii. p. 165. Stillingfleet’s Orig. Britan. p. 206. Bishop Lloyd of Church Government, p. 160. This was provided for as early as A.D. 747, by the seventh canon of council of Clovesho, as Wilkins’s Councils, vol. i. p. 95. See also the notes upon that canon, in Johnson’s Collection of canons, &c. In Tavistock abbey there was a Saxon school, as Willis, i. 171. Tanner. (Charlemagne in his Capitularies ordained that each Monastery should maintain a School, where should be taught ‘la grammaire, le calcul, et la musique.’ See Dèmoget’s *Histoire de la Littérature Française*, p. 44, ed. Hachette. R. Whiston.) Henry says “these teachers of the cathedral schools were called *The scholastics* of the diocess; and all the youth in it who were designed for the church, were intitled to the benefit of their instructions.\* Thus, for example, William de Monte, who had been a professor at Paris, and taught theology with so much reputation in the reign of Henry II., at Lincoln, was the scholastic of that cathedral. By the eighteenth canon of the third general council of Lateran, A.D. 1179, it was decreed, That such scholastics should be settled in all cathedrals, with sufficient revenues for their support; and that they should have authority to superintend all the school-masters of the diocess, and grant them licences, without which none should presume to teach. The laborious authors of the literary history of France have collected a very distinct account of the scholastics who presided in the principal cathedral-schools of that kingdom in the twelfth century, among whom we meet with many of the most illustrious names for learning of that age. . . . The sciences that were taught in these cathedral schools were such as were most necessary to qualify their pupils for performing the duties of the sacerdotal office, as Grammar, Rhetoric, Logic, Theology, and Church-Music.”—*Ibid.* p. 442.

<sup>2</sup> Fuller and Collier, as before; Bishop Burnet (Reform. vol. i. p. . .) saith so of Godstow. Archbishop Greenfield ordered that young gentlewomen who came to the nunneries either for piety or breeding, should wear white veils, to distinguish them from the professed, who wore black ones, 11 Kal. Jul. anno pontif. 6. M. Hutton. ex registr. ejus, p. 207. In the accounts of the cellaress of Carhow, near Norwich, there is an account of what was received “pro prehentionibus,” or the board of young ladies and their servants for education “rec. de domina Margeria Wederly prehentionat, ibidem xi. septimanas xiii s. iv d. . . pro mensa unius famulæ dictæ Margeriæ per iii. septimanas viii d. per sept.” &c. Tanner.

\* Du Cange, Gloss. voc. *Scholasticus*.



As Lydgate (born at Lydgate in Suffolk, six or seven miles from Newmarket) was ordained subdeacon in the Benedictine monastery of Bury St Edmunds in 1389<sup>1</sup>, he was probably sent as a boy to a monastic school. At any rate, as he sketches his early escapades—apple-stealing, playing truant, &c.,—for us in his *Testament*<sup>2</sup>, I shall quote the youth's bit of the poem here :—

Harleian MS. 2255, fol. 60.

- D**uryng the tyme / of this sesoun ver In my boyhood,  
 I meene the sesoun / of my yeerys greene  
 Gynnyng fro childhood / Strecchithe<sup>3</sup> vp so fer  
 to þe yeerys / accountyd ful Fifteene up to 15.  
 bexperience / as it was weel seene  
 The gerisshe sesoun / straunge of condiciouns  
 Disposyd to many vnbridlyd passiouns
- [fol. 60 b.] ¶ Voyd of resoun / yove to wilfulnesse  
 Froward to vertu / of thrift gaf<sup>4</sup> litil heede  
 loth to lerne / lovid no besynesse I loved no work  
but play,  
 Sauf play or merthe / straunge to spelle or reede  
 Folwyng al appetites / longyng to childheede  
 lighthly tournyng wylde / and seelde sad  
 Weepyng for nouht / and anoon afftir glad
- ¶ For litil wroth / to stryve with my felawe  
 As my passiouns / did my bridil leede yet I was afraid  
of being scored by  
the rod.  
 Of the yeerde somtyme / I Stood in awe  
 to be scooryd<sup>5</sup> / that was al my dreede  
 loth toward scole / lost my tyme in deede  
 lik a yong colt / that ran with-owte brydil  
 Made my freendys / ther good to spend in ydil /
- ¶ I hadde in custom / to come to scole late I came to school  
late,  
 Nat for to lerne / but for a contenaunce  
 with my felawys / reedy to debate talked,  
 to langle and lape / was set al my plesaunce  
 wherof rebukyng / this was my chevisaunce lied to get off  
blame,  
 to forge a lesyng / and therupon to muse  
 whan I trespasyd / my silven to excuse
- [fol. 61.] ¶ To my bettre / did no reverence and mocked my  
masters.  
 Of my sovereyns / gaf no fors at al

<sup>1</sup> Morley's *English Writers*, vol. ii. Pt. I. p. 421.

<sup>2</sup> Edited by Mr Halliwell in his 'Selection from the Minor Poems of Dan John Lydgate.' Percy Society, 1840, quoted by Prof. Morley.

<sup>3</sup> stretched. (These collations are from Harl. 218, fol. 65, back.)

<sup>4</sup> toke.

<sup>5</sup> skoured.

I stole apples and  
grapes,

wex obstynat / by inobediencie  
Ran in to garydys / applys ther I stal  
To gadre frutys / sparyd hegg<sup>1</sup> nor wal  
to plukke grapys / in othir mennys vynes  
Was moor reedy / than for to seyn<sup>2</sup> matynes

played tricks and  
mocked people,

¶ My lust was al / to scorne folk and iape  
Shrewde tornys / evir among to vse  
to Skoffe and mowe<sup>3</sup> / lyk a wantoun Ape  
whan I did evil / othre I did<sup>4</sup> accuse  
My wittys five / in wast I did abuse<sup>5</sup>  
Rediere chirstoonys / for to<sup>6</sup> telle  
Than gon to chirche / or heere the sacry<sup>7</sup> belle

liked counting  
cherry-stones  
better than  
church.

Late to rise, I  
was ;  
dirty at dinner,

¶ Loth to ryse / lother to bedde at eve  
with vnwassh handys<sup>8</sup> / reedy to dyneer  
My *pater noster* / my *Crede* / or my beleewe  
Cast at the<sup>9</sup> Cok / loo this was my maneer  
Wavid with eche wynd / as doth a reed speer  
Snybbyd<sup>10</sup> of my frendys / such techchys forta-  
mende<sup>11</sup>  
Made deff ere / lyst nat / to them attende

deaf to the snub-  
bings of my  
friends,

[fol. 61 b.]

reckless in God's  
service,

¶ A child resemblyng / which was nat lyk to thryve  
Froward to god / rekles<sup>12</sup> in his servise  
loth to correccioun / slouhe my sylf to shryve  
Al good thewys / reedy to despise  
Cheef bellewedir / of feyned<sup>13</sup> trwaundise  
this is to meene / my silf I cowde feyne  
Syk lyk a trwaunt / felte<sup>14</sup> no maneer peyne

chief shammer of  
illness when I was  
well,

always unsteady,

¶ My poort my pas / my foot alwey vnstable  
my look my eyen / vnswre and vagabounde  
In al my werkys / sodeynly chaungable  
To al good thewys / contrary I was founde  
Now ovir sad / now moornyng / now iocounde  
Wilful rekles / mad<sup>15</sup> stertyng as an hare  
To folwe my lust / for no man wold I spare.

ill-conducted,

sparing none for  
my pleasure.

At these monastic schools, I suppose, were educated mainly the boys whom the monks hoped would become monks, cleric or secular ; mostly the poor, the Plowman's brother who was to be the Parson, not often the ploughman himself. Once, though, made a scholar and monk there, and sent by the Monastery to the University, the workman's, if not the ploughman's, son, might rule nobles and

<sup>1</sup> nedir hegge.

<sup>5</sup> alle vse.

<sup>9</sup> atte.

<sup>13</sup> froward.

<sup>2</sup> sey.

<sup>6</sup> cheristones to.

<sup>10</sup> Snybbyng.

<sup>14</sup> and felt.

<sup>3</sup> mowen.

<sup>7</sup> sacryng.

<sup>11</sup> tamende.

<sup>4</sup> koude.

<sup>8</sup> hondes.

<sup>12</sup> rekkes.

<sup>15</sup> made.

sit by kings, nay, beard them to their face. Thomas a Becket, himself the son of poor parents, was sent to be brought up in the "religious house of the Canons of Merton."

In 1392 the writer of *Piers Plowman's Crede* sketches the then state of things thus :

Now mot ich soutere hys sone · seten to schole,	Now every
And ich a beggeres brot · on the book lerne,	cobbler's son and
And worth to a writere · and with a lorde dwelle,	beggar's brat
Other falsly to a frere · the fend for to serven ;	turns writer, then
So of that beggares brot · a [bychop <sup>1</sup> ] shal worthen,	Bishop,
Among the peres of the lond · prese to sytten,	
And lordes sones <sup>2</sup> lowly · to tho losels alowte,	and lords' sons
Knyghtes crouketh hem to · and crucheth ful lowe ;	crouch to him,
And his syre a soutere · y-suled in grees,	a cobbler's son
His teeth with toylyng of lether · tatered as a sawe.	

Here I might stop the quotation, but I go on, for justice has never yet been done<sup>3</sup> to this noble *Crede* and William's *Vision* as pictures of the life of their times,—chiefly from the profound ignorance of us English of our own language ; partly from the grace, the freshness, and the brilliance of Chaucer's easier and inimitable verse :—

Alaas ! that lordes of the londe · leveth swiche wrecchen,	Lords
And leveth swych lorels · for her lowe wordes.	
They shulden maken [bichopes <sup>1</sup> ] · her owen bretheren	should make
childre,	gentlemen
Other of som gentil blod · And so yt best semed,	Bishops,
And fostre none faytours <sup>1</sup> · ne swich false freres,	and ast these
To maken fat and fulle · and her flesh combren.	scamps
For her kynde were more · to y-clense diches	to clesn ditches,
Than ben to sopers y-set first · and served with sylver.	
A grete bolle-ful of benen · were beter in hys wombe,	and eat beans and
And with the bandes <sup>4</sup> of bakun · his baly for to fillen	bacon-rind
Than pertryches or plovers · or pecookes y-rosted,	instead of
And comeren her stomakes · with curiuse drynkes	pescocke,
That maketh swyche harlotes · hordom usen,	and having
And with her wikkid word · wymmen bitrayeth.	women.
God wold her wonyynge · were in wildernesse,	
And fals freres forboden · the fayre ladis chaumbres ;	
For knewe lordes her craft · treuly I trowe	If Lords but knew
They shulden nought haunten her house · so ho[m]ly <sup>1</sup>	their tricks,
on nyghtes, ·	

<sup>1</sup> Mr Skeat's readings. The *abbot* and *abbots* of Mr Wright's text spoil the alliteration.

<sup>2</sup> Compare the previous passages under heading 1, p. vi.

<sup>3</sup> May Mr Skeat bring the day when it will be done!

<sup>4</sup> ? randes. Sk.

they'd turn these Ne bedden swich brothels · in so brode shetes,  
 beggars into the But sheten her heved in the stre · to sharpen her wittes.  
 straw.

There is one side of the picture, the workman's son turned monk, and clerk to a lord. Let us turn to the other side, the ploughman's son who didn't turn monk, whose head *was* 'shet' in the straw, who delved and ditched, and dunged the earth, eat bread of corn and bran, worts fleshless (vegetables, but no meat), drank water, and went miserably (*Crede*, l. 1565-71). What education did he get? To whom could he be apprenticed? What was his chance in life? Let the Statute-Book answer:—

A.D. 1388. 12<sup>o</sup> Rich. II., Cap. v.

*Item.* It is ordained & assented, That he or she which used to labour at the Plough and Cart, or other Labour or Service of Husbandry till they be of the Age of Twelve Years, that from thenceforth they shall abide at the same Labour, without being put to any Mystery or Handicraft; and if any Covenant or Bond of Apprentie (so) be from henceforth made to the Contrary, the same shall be holden for none.

A.D. 1405-6. 7<sup>o</sup> Henri IV., Cap. xvii.

. . . . And Whereas in the Statutes made at Canterbury among other Articles it is contained That he or she that useth to labour at the Plough or Cart, or other Labour or Service of Husbandry, till he be of the age of Twelve Years, that from the same time forth he shall abide at the same Labour, without being put to any Mystery or Handicraft; and if any Covenant or Bond be made from that time forth to the contrary, it shall be holden for none: Notwithstanding which Article, and the good Statutes afore made through all parts of the Realm, the Infants born within the Towns and Seignories of Upland, whose Fathers & Mothers have no Land nor Rent nor other Living, but only their Service or Mystery, be put by their said Fathers and Mothers and other their Friends to serve, and bound Apprentices, to divers Crafts within the Cities and Boroughs of the said Realm sometime at the Age of Twelve Years, sometime within the said Age, and that for the Pride of Clothing and other evil Customs that Servants do use in the same; so that there is so great Scarcity of Labourers and other Servants of Husbandry that the Gentlemen and other People of the Realm be greatly impoverished for the Cause aforesaid: Our Sovereign Lord the King considering the said Mischief, and willing thereupon to provide Remedy, by the advice & assent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and at the request of the said Commons, hath ordained and stablished, That no Man nor Woman, of what Estate or Condition they be, shall put their Son or Daughter, of whatsoever Age he or she be, to Serve as Apprentice to no Craft nor other Labour within any City or Borough in the Realm, except he have Land or Rent to the Value of Twenty Shillings by the Year at

the least, but they shall be put to other labours as their Estates doth require, upon Pain of one Year's Imprisonment, and to make Fine and Ransom at the King's Will. And if any Covenant be made of any such Infant, of what Estate that he be, to the contrary, it shall be holden for none. Provided Always, that every Man and Woman, of what Estate or Condition that he be, shall be free to set their Son or Daughter to take Learning at any manner School that pleaseth them within the Realm.

A most gracious saving clause truly, for those children who were used to labour at the plough and cart till they were twelve years old.<sup>1</sup> Let us hope that some got the benefit of it!

These Acts I came across when hunting for the Statutes referred to by the *Boke of Curtasye* as fixing the hire of horses for carriage at fourpence a piece, and they caused me some surprise. They made me wonder less at the energy with which some people now are striving to erect "barriers against democracy" to prevent the return match for the old game coming off.—However improving, and however justly retributive, future legislation for the rich by the poor in the spirit of past legislation for the poor by the rich might be, it could hardly be considered pleasant, and is surely worth putting up the true barrier against, one of education in each poor man's mind. (He who americanizes us thus far will be the greatest benefactor England has had for some ages.)—These Statutes also made me think how the old spirit still lingers in England, how a friend of my own was curate in a Surrey village where the kind-hearted squire would allow none of the R's but Reading to be taught in his school; how another clergyman lately reported his Farmers' meeting on the school question: Reading and Writing might be taught, but Arithmetic not; the boys would be getting to know too

<sup>1</sup> Later on, men's games were settled for them as well as their trades. In A.D. 1541, the 33 Hen. VIII., cap. 9, § xvi., says,

"Be it also enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no manner of Artificer or Craftsman of any Handicraft or Occupation, Husbandman, Apprentice, Labourer, Servant at Husbandry, Journeyman or Servant of Artificer, Mariners, Fishermen, Watermen or any Serving man, shall from the said feast of the Nativity of St John Baptist play at the Tables, Tennis, Dice, Cards, Bowls, Clash, Coyting, Logating, or any other unlawful Game out of Christmas, under the Pain of xx s. to be forfeit for every Time; (2) and in Christmas to play at any of the said Games in their Master's Houses, or in their Master's Presence; (3) and also that no manner of persons shall at any time play at any Bowl or Bowls in open places out of his Garden or Orchard, upon the Pain for every Time so offending to forfeit vi s. viiii d." (For *Logating*, &c., see Strutt.)

much about wages, and that would be troublesome ; how, lastly, our gangs of children working on our Eastern-counties farms, and our bird-keeping boys of the whole South, can almost match the children of the agricultural labourer of 1388.

The early practice of the Freemasons, and other crafts, refusing to let any member take a bondsman's son as an apprentice, was founded on the reasonable apprehension that his lord would or might afterwards claim the lad, make him disclose the trade-secrets, and carry on his art for the lord's benefit. The fourth of the 'Fyftene artyculus or fyftene poyntus' of the Freemasons, printed by Mr Halliwell (p. 16), is on this subject.

*Articulus quartus* (MS. Bibl. Reg. 17 A, Art. I., fol. 3, &c.)

The fowrthe artycul thys moste be,  
 That the mayster hym wel be-se  
 That he *no bondemon* prentys make,  
 Ny for no covetyse do hym take ;  
 For the lord that he ys bond to,  
 May fache the prentes whersever he go.  
 3ef yn the logge he were y-take,  
 Muche desese hyt my3th ther make,  
 And suche case hyt my3th befall  
 That hyt my3th greve summe or alle ;  
 For alle the masonus that ben there  
 Wol stonde togedur hol y-fere.  
 3ef suche won yn that craft schulde dwelle,  
 Of dyvers desesys 3e my3th telle.  
 For more 3ese thenne, and of honesté,  
 Take a prentes of herre <sup>1</sup> degré.  
 By olde tyme, wryten y fynde  
 That the prentes schulde be of gentyl kynde ;  
 And so sumtyme grete lordys blod  
 Toke thys gemetry that ys ful good.

I should like to see the evidence of a lord's son having become a working mason, and dwelling seven years with his master 'hys craft to lurne.'

*Cathedral Schools.* About the pre-Reformation Schools I can find only the extract from Tanner given above, p. xlii. On the post-Reformation Schools I refer readers to Mr Whiston's *Cathedral Trusts*, 1850. He says :

<sup>1</sup> higher.

“The Cathedrals of England are of two kinds, those of the old and those of the new foundation: of the latter, Canterbury (the old archiepiscopal see) and Carlisle, Durham, Ely, Norwich, Rochester, and Worcester, old episcopal sees, were A.D. 1541-2 refounded, or rather reformed, by Henry VIII. . . Besides these, he created five other cathedral churches or colleges, in connexion with the five new episcopal sees of Bristol, Chester, Gloucester, Oxford, and Peterborough. He further created the see of Westminster, which was . . . subsequently (A.D. 1560) converted to a deanery collegiate by Queen Elizabeth. . . (p. 6). The preamble of the Act 31 Henry VIII. c. 9, for founding the new cathedrals, preserved in Henry’s own handwriting, recites that they were established ‘To the intente that Gods worde myght the better be sett forthe, *cyldren broght up in lernynge, clerces nuryshyd in the universities, olde servantes decayed, to have lyfing, allmes housys for pour folke to be sustayned in, Reders of grece, ebrew, and latyne to have good stypende, dayly almes to be mynistrate, mending of hyght wayes, and exhybision for mynisters of the chyrche.*”

“A general idea of the scope and nature of the cathedral establishments, as originally planned and settled by Henry VIII., may be formed from the first chapter of the old statutes of Canterbury, which is almost identical with the corresponding chapter of the statutes of all the other cathedrals of the new foundation. It is as follows :

“On<sup>1</sup> the entire number of those who have their sustentation (qui sustentantur) in the cathedral and metropolitical church of Canterbury :

“First of all we ordain and direct that there be for ever in our aforesaid church, one dean, twelve canons, six preachers, twelve minor canons, one deacon, one subdeacon, twelve lay-clerks, *one master of the choristers, ten choristers, two teachers of the boys in grammar, one of whom is to be the head master, the other, second master, fifty boys to be instructed in grammar,*<sup>2</sup> twelve poor men to be maintained at the costs and charges of the said church, two vergers, two subsacristis (*i. e.*, sextons), four servants in the church to ring the bells, and arrange all the rest, two porters, who shall also be barber-tonsors, one caterer,<sup>3</sup> one butler, and one under butler, one cook, and one under-cook, who, indeed, in the number prescribed, are to serve in our church every one of them in his own order, according to our statutes and ordinances.”

<sup>1</sup> Translated from the Latin copy in the British Museum, MS. Harl. 1197, art. 15, folio 319 b.

<sup>2</sup> Duodecim pauperes de sumptibus dictæ Ecclesiæ alendi.

<sup>3</sup> Duo unus Pincernæ, et unus subpincerna, duo unus cociquus, et unus subcoquus. Sic in MS

In the Durham statutes, as settled in the first year of Philip and Mary, the corresponding chapter is as follows :

On<sup>1</sup> the total number of those who have their sustentation (qui sustentantur) in the cathedral church of Durham.

"We direct and ordain that there be for ever in the said church, one dean, twelve prebendaries, twelve minor canons, one deacon, one sub-deacon, ten clerks, (who may be either clerks or laymen,) *one master of the choristers, ten choristers, two teachers of the boys in grammar, eighteen boys to be instructed in grammar, eight poor men* to be maintained at the costs of the said church, two subsacrist, two vergers, two porters, one of whom shall also be barber-tonsor, one butler, one under-butler, one cook, and one under-cook."

"The monastic or collegiate character of the bodies thus constituted, is indicated by the names and offices of the inferior ministers above specified, who were intended to form a part of the establishment of the Common Hall, in which most of the subordinate members, including the boys to be instructed in grammar, were to take their meals. There was also another point in which the cathedrals were meant to resemble and supply the place of the old religious houses, *i. e.*, in the maintenance of a certain number of students at the universities."

R<sup>t</sup>. WHISTON, *Cathedral Trusts and their Fulfilment*, p. 2—4.

"The nature of these schools, and the desire to perpetuate and improve them, may be inferred from 'certain articles noted for the reformation of the cathedral church of Excestr', submitted by the commissioners of Henry VIII., unto the correction of the Kynges Majestie,' as follows :

*The tenth Article* submitted. "That ther may be in the said Cathedral church a free songe scole, the scolemaster to have yerly of the said pastor and prechars xx. marks for his wages, and his howss free, to teache xl. children frely, to rede, to write, syng and playe upon instruments of musike, also to teache ther A. B. C. in greke and hebrew. And every of the said xl. children to have wekely xiid. for ther meat and drink, and yerly vi<sup>s</sup> viii<sup>d</sup>. for a gowne; they to be bownd dayly to syng *and* rede within the said Cathedral church such divine service as it may please the Kynges Majestie to allowe; the said childre to be at comons alltogether, with three prests hereafter to be spoke off, to see them well ordered at the meat and to reforme their manners."

*Article the eleventh*, submitted. "That ther may be a fre grammer scole within the same Cathedral church, the scole-master to have xx<sup>li</sup>. by yere and his howss fre, the ussher x<sup>li</sup>. & his howss

<sup>1</sup> MS. No. 688 in Lambeth Library. MS. Harl. cod. 1594, art. 33, in Brit. Mus.



fre, and that the said pastor and prechars' may be bound to fynd xl. children at the said grammer scole, giving to every oon of the children xiid. wekely, to go to commons within the cite at the pleasour of the frendes, so long to continew as the scolemaster do se them diligent to lerne. The pastor to appointe viii. every prechar iiiii. and the scolemaster iiiii. ; the said childe serving in the said church and going to scole, to be preferred before strangers ; provided always, that no childe be admitted to the exhibicion of the said church, whose father is knowne to be worthe in goodes above ccc<sup>li</sup>, or elles may dispend above xl<sup>i</sup>. yerly enheritance."—*Ibid.*, p. 10—12.

"Now £300 at that time was worth about £5,000 now, so that these schools were *designed* for the lower ranks of society, and open to the sons of the poorer gentry.

"An interesting illustration of this [and of the class-feeling in education at this time] is supplied," says Mr Whiston, "by the narrative of what took place—

"when the Cathedral Church of Canterbury was altered from monks to secular men of the clergy, viz. : prebendaries or canons, petty-canons, choristers and scholars. At this erection were present, Thomas Crammer, archbishop, with divers other commissioners. And nominating and electing such convenient and fit persons as should serve for the furniture of the said Cathedral church according to the new foundation, it came to pass that, when they should elect the children of the Grammar school, there were of the commissioners more than one or two who would have none admitted but sons or younger brethren of gentlemen. As for other, husbandmen's children, they were more meet, they said, for the plough, and to be artificers, than to occupy the place of the learned sort ; so that they wished none else to be put to school, but only gentlemen's children. Whereunto the most reverend father, the Archbishop, being of a contrary mind, said, 'That he thought it not indifferent so to order the matter ; for,' said he, 'poor men's children are many times endued with more singular gifts of nature, which are also the gifts of God, as, with eloquence, memory, apt pronounciation, sobriety, and such like ; and also commonly more apt to apply their study, than is the gentleman's son, delicately educated.' Hereunto it was on the other part replied, 'that it was meet for the ploughman's son to go to plough, and the artificer's son to apply the trade of his parent's vocation ; and the gentleman's children are meet to have the knowledge of government and rule in the commonwealth. For we have,' said they, 'as much need of ploughmen as any other state ; and all sorts of men may not go to school.' 'I grant,' replied the Archbishop, 'much of your meaning herein as needful in a commonwealth ; but yet utterly to exclude the ploughman's son and the poor man's son from the benefits of learning, as though they were unworthy to have

the gifts of the Holy Ghost bestowed upon them as well as upon others, is as much to say, as that Almighty God should not be at liberty to bestow his great gifts of grace upon any person, nor nowhere else but as we and other men shall appoint them to be employed, according to our fancy, and not according to his most goodly will and pleasure, who giveth his gifts both of learning, and other perfections in all sciences, unto all kinds and states of people indifferently. Even so doth he many times withdraw from them and their posterity again those beneficial gifts, if they be not thankful. If we should shut up into a strait corner the bountiful grace of the Holy Ghost, and thereupon attempt to build our fancies, we should make as perfect a work thereof as those that took upon them to build the Tower of Babel; for God would so provide that the offspring of our first-born children should peradventure become most unapt to learn, and very dolts, as I myself have seen no small number of them very dull and without all manner of capacity. And to say the truth, I take it, that none of us all here, being gentlemen born (as I think), but had our beginning that way from a low and base parentage; and through the benefit of learning, and other civil knowledge, for the most part all gentlemen ascend to their estate.' Then it was again answered, that the most part of the nobility came up by feats of arms and martial acts. 'As though,' said the Archbishop, 'that the noble captain was always unfurnished of good learning and knowledge to persuade and dissuade his army rhetorically; who rather that way is brought unto authority than else his manly looks. To conclude; the poor man's son by pains-taking will for the most part be learned when the gentleman's son will not take the pains to get it. And we are taught by the Scriptures that Almighty God raiseth up from the dunghill, and setteth him in high authority. And whensoever it pleaseth him, of his divine providence, he deposeth princes unto a right humble and poor estate. Wherefore, if the gentleman's son be apt to learning, let him be admitted; if not apt, let the poor man's child that is apt enter his room.' With words to the like effect."

R. WHISTON, *Cathedral Trusts*, p. 12—14.

The scandalous way in which the choristers and poor boys were done out of their proportion of the endowments by the Cathedral clergy, is to be seen in Mr Whiston's little book.

6. *Endowed Grammar Schools.* These were mainly founded for citizens' and townsmen's children. Winchester (founded 1373) was probably the only one that did anything before 1450 for the education of our gentry. Eton was not founded till 1440. The following list of endowed schools founded before 1545, compiled for me by

Mr Brock from Carlisle's *Concise Description*, shows the dates of all known to him.

<p>BEFORE 1450 A.D.</p> <p>bef. 1162 Derby. Free School.</p> <p>1195 St Alban's. Free Grammar School.</p> <p>1198 St Edmund's, Bury. Fr. Sch.</p> <p>1328 Thetford. Gr. Sch.</p> <p>? 1327 Northallerton. Gr. Sch.</p> <p>1332 Exeter. Gr. Sch.</p> <p>1343 Exeter. High School.</p> <p>bef. 1347 Melton Mowbray. Schools.</p> <p>1373 Winchester College.</p> <p>1384 Hereford. Gr. Sch.</p> <p>1385 Wotton-under-Edge. Fr. Gr. Sch.</p> <p>1395 or 1340 Penrith. Fr. Gr. Sch.</p> <p>1399-1413 (Hen. IV.) Oswestry. Fr. Gr. Sch.</p> <p>1418 Sevenoaks. Fr. Gr. Sch.</p> <p>1422 Higham Ferrers. Fr. Gr. Sch.</p> <p>1422-61 (Hen. VI.) Ewelme. Gr. Sch.</p> <p>1440 Eton College.</p> <p>1447 London. Mercers' School, but founded earlier.</p> <p>SCHOOLS FOUNDED 1450—1545 A.D.</p> <p>1461-83 (Edw. IV.) Chichester. The Prebendal School.</p> <p>bef. 1477 Ipswich.<sup>1</sup> Gr. Sch.</p> <p>1484 Wainfleet. Fr. Gr. Sch.</p> <p>1485-1509 (Hen. VII.) or before. Kibroorth, near Market Harborough. Fr. Gr. Sch.</p> <p>bef. 1486 Reading. Gr. Sch.</p> <p>1486 Kingston upon Hull. Fr. Gr. Sch.</p>	<p>1487 Stockport. Gr. Sch.</p> <p>1487 Chipping Campden. Fr. Gr. Sch.</p> <p>1491 Sudbury. Fr. Gr. Sch.</p> <p>bef. 1495 Lancaster. Fr. Gr. Sch.</p> <p>1497 Wimborne Minster. Fr. Gr. Sch.</p> <p>time of Hen. VII., 1485-1509 King's Lynn. Gr. Sch.</p> <p>1502-52 Macclesfield. Fr. Gr. Sch.</p> <p>1503 Bridgenorth. Fr. Sch.</p> <p>1506 Brough or Burgh under Stainmore. Fr. Sch.</p> <p>1507 Enfield. Gr. Sch.</p> <p>1507 Farnworth, in Widnes, near Prescot. Fr. Gr. Sch.</p> <p>ab. 1508 Cirencester. Fr. Gr. Sch.</p> <p>1509 Guildford. Royal Gr. Sch.</p> <p>t. Hen. VIII. 1509-47 Peterborough. Gr. Sch.</p> <p>t. Hen. VIII. 1509-47 Basingstoke. Gr. Sch.</p> <p>t. Hen. VIII. 1509-47 Plymouth. Gr. Sch.</p> <p>t. Hen. VIII. 1509-47 Warwick. College or Gr. Sch.</p> <p>t. Hen. VIII. 1509-47 Earl's Colne, near Halsted. Fr. Gr. Sch.</p> <p>t. Hen. VIII. 1509-47 Carlisle. Gr. Sch.</p> <p>1512 Southover and Lewes. Fr. Gr. Sch.</p> <p>1513 Nottingham. Fr. Sch.</p> <p>1515 Wolverhampton. Fr. Gr. Sch.</p> <p>1517 Aylesham. Fr. Gr. Sch.</p> <p>1512-18 London.<sup>2</sup> St Paul's Sch.</p>
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<sup>1</sup> Farewell, in Oxford my college cardynall!  
 Farewell, in *Ipswich*, my schole gramaticall!  
 Yet oons farewell! I say, I shall you never see!  
 Your somptious byldyng, what now avayllethe me?

*Metrical Visions* [Wolsey.] by George Cavendish, in his *Life of Wolsey*, (ed. Singer, ii. 17). Wolsey's Letter of Directions about his school should be consulted. It is printed.

<sup>2</sup> Colet's Statutes for St Paul's School are given in Howard Staunton's *Great Schools of England*, p. 179-85.

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|---|---|
| 1520 Bruton or Brewton. Fr. Gr. Sch.                    | 1532 Horsham. Fr. Sch.  |
| ab. 1520 Rolleston, nr. Burton-upon-Trent. Fr. Gr. Sch. | 1533 Bristol. City Fr. Gr. Sch.   |
| bef. 1521 Tenterden. Fr. Sch.                           | ab. 1533 Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Royal Gr. Sch.                              |
| 1521 Milton Abbas, near Blandford. Fr. Gr. Sch.         | ab. 1535 Stoke, near Clare. Fr. Gr. Sch.                                  |
| 1522 Taunton. Fr. Gr. Sch.                              | 1541 Brecknock. Gr. Sch.  |
| 1522 Biddenden, near Cranbrook. Free Latin Gr. Sch.     | 1541 Ely. Fr. Sch.  |
| bef. 1524-5 Manchester. Fr. Gr. Sch.                    | 1541 Durham. Gr. Sch.   |
| 1524 Berkhamstead. Fr. Gr. Sch.                         | 1541-2 Worcester. The King's [t. i. Cathedral Grammar] or College School. |
| 1526 Pocklington. Fr. Gr. Sch.                          | 1542 Canterbury. The King's School.                                       |
| 1526 Childrey, near Wantage. Fr. Sch.                   | 1542 Rochester. The King's Sch. <sup>1</sup>                              |
| bef. 1528 Cuckfield. Fr. Gr. Sch.                       | 1542 Findon, properly Thingdon, near Wellingborough. Fr. Sch.             |
| 1528 Gloucester. Saint Mary de Crypt. Fr. Gr. Sch.      | 1542 Northampton. Fr. Gr. Sch.  |
| 1528 Grantham. Fr. Gr. Sch.                             | 1543 Abergavenny. Fr. Gr. Sch.  |
| 1530 Stamford, or Stanford. Fr. Gr. Sch.                | 1544 Chester. [Cathedral] Gr., or King's School.                          |
| 1530 Newark-upon-Trent. Fr. Gr. Sch.                    | 1544 Sutton Coldfield. Gr. Sch.   |
| bef. Reform. Norwich. Old Gr. Sch.                      | bef. 1545 Gloucester. Cathedral [t. i. King's], or College School.        |
| t. Ref. Loughborough. Fr. Gr. Sch.                      | 1545 St Mary of Ottery. Gr. Sch.  |
|   | bef. 1547 Wisbech. Gr. Sch.   |
|   | bef. 1549 Wellington. Gr. Sch.  |

About 1174 A.D., Fitzstephen speaks of the London schools and scholars thus :—I use Pegge's translation, 1772, to which Mr Chappell referred me,—

“The three principal churches in London<sup>2</sup> are privileged by grant and ancient usage with schools, and they are all very flourishing. Often indeed through the favour and countenance of persons eminent in philosophy, more schools are permitted. On festivals, at those churches where the Feast of the Patron Saint is solemnized, the masters convene their scholars. The youth, on that occasion, dispute, some in the demonstrative way, and some logically. These produce their enthymemes, and those the more perfect syllogisms. Some, the better to shew their parts, are exercised in disputation, contending with one another, whilst others are put upon establishing some truth by way of illustration. Some sophists endeavour to apply, on feigned topics, a vast heap and flow of words, others to impose upon you with

<sup>1</sup> That there was a school at Rochester before Henry VIII.'s time is proved by our Statutes, which speak of the *Schola Grammaticalis* as being *ruinosa & admodum deformis.* R. Whiston.

<sup>2</sup> Pegge concludes these to have been St Paul's, Bow, and Martin's le Grand.

false conclusions. As to the orators, some with their rhetorical harangues employ all the powers of persuasion, taking care to observe the precepts of art, and to omit nothing opposite to the subject. The boys of different schools wrangle with one another in verse ; contending about the principles of Grammar, or the rules of the Perfect Tenses and Supines. Others there are, who in Epigrams, or other compositions in numbers, use all that low ribaldry we read of in the Ancients ; attacking their school-masters, but without mentioning names, with the old Fescennine licentiousness, and discharging their scoffs and sarcasms against them ; touching the foibles of their school-fellows, or perhaps of greater personages, with true Socratic wit, or biting them more keenly with a Theonine tooth : The audience, fully disposed to laugh,

‘ With curling nose ingeminate the peals.’ ”

Of the sports of the boys, Fitzstephen gives a long description. On Shrove-Tuesday, each boy brought his fighting cock to his master, and they had a cock-fight all morning in the school-room.<sup>1</sup> After dinner, football in the fields of the suburbs, probably Smithfield. Every Sunday in Lent they had a sham-fight, some on horseback, some on foot, the King and his Court often looking on. At Easter they played at the Water-Quintain, charging a target, which if they missed, souse they went into the water. ‘ On holidays in summer the pastime of the youths is to exercise themselves in archery, in running, leaping, wrestling, casting of stones, and flinging to certain distances, and lastly with bucklers.’ At moonrise the maidens danced. In the winter holidays, the boys saw boar-fights, hog-fights, bull and bear-baiting, and when ice came they slid, and skated on the leg-bones of some animal, punting themselves along with an iron-shod pole, and charging one another. A set of merry scenes indeed.

“ In general, we are assured by the most learned man of the thirteenth century, Roger Bacon, that there never had been so great an appearance of learning, and so general an application to study, in so many different faculties, as in his time, when schools were erected in every city, town, burgh, and castle.” (Henry’s Hist. of England, vol. iv. p. 472-3.)

In the twenty-fifth year of Henry VI., 1447, four Grammar Schools were appointed to be opened in London<sup>2</sup> for the education of

<sup>1</sup> The custom of boys bringing cocks to masters has left a trace at Sedburgh, where the boys pay a sum every year on a particular day (Shrove-Tuesday ?) as “cock-penny.” Quick.

<sup>2</sup> On the London Schools, see also Sir George Buc’s short *cap.* 36, “ Moore of

the City youth (*Carlisle*). But from the above lists it will be seen that Grammar Schools had not much to do with the education of our nobility and gentry before 1450 A.D.

Of Eton studies, the Paston Letters notice only Latin versifying, but they show us a young man supposed to be nineteen, still at school, having a smart pair of breeches for holy days, falling in love, eating figs and raisins, proposing to come up to London for a day or two's holiday or lark to his elder brother's, and having 8*d.* sent him in a letter to buy a pair of slippers with. William Paston, a younger brother of John's, when about nineteen years old, and studying at Eton, writes on Nov. 7, 1478, to thank his brother for a noble in gold, and says,

“my creanser (creditor) Master Thomas (Stevenson) heartily recommendeth him to you, and he prayeth you to send him some money for my commons, for he saith ye be twenty shillings in his debt, for a month was to pay for when he had money last ; also I beseech you to send me a hose cloth, one for the holy days of some colour, and another for working days (how coarse soever it be, it maketh no matter), and a stomacher and two shirts, and a pair of slippers : and if it like you that I may come with Alweder by water”—would they take a pair-oar and pull down ? (the figs and raisins came up by a barge ;)—“and sport me with you at London a day or two this term-time, then ye may let all this be till the time that I come, and then I will tell you when I shall be ready to come from Eton by the grace of God, who have you in his keeping.” *Paston Letters*, modernised, vol. 2, p. 129.

This is the first letter ; the second one about the figs, raisins, and love-making (dated 23 Feb. 1478-9) is given at vol. ii. p. 122-3.

Tusser, who was seized as a Singing boy for the King's Chapel, lets us know that he got well birched at Eton.

“From Paul's I went · to Eton sent  
To learn straightways · the Latin phrase  
When fifty-three · stripes given to me  
At once I had :

other Schooles in London,” in his *Third Vniuersitie of England* (t. i. London). He notices the old schools of the monasteries, &c., ‘in whose stead there be some few founded lately by good men, as the Merchant Taylors, and Thomas Sutton, founder of the great new Hospitall in the Charter house, [who] hath translated the Tennis court to a Grammar Schoole . . for 30 schollers, poore mens children . . There be also other Triuiall Schooles for the bringing up of youth in good literature, *viz.*, in *S. Magnus*, in *S. Michaels*, in *S. Thomas*, and others.’

For fault but small · or none at all  
 It come to pass · thus beat I was.  
 See, Udall,<sup>1</sup> see · the mercy of thea  
 To me poor lad !”

I was rather surprised to find no mention of any Eton men in the first vol. of Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses* (ed. Bliss) except two, who had first taken degrees at Cambridge, Robert Aldrich and William Alley, the latter admitted at Cambridge 1528 (Wood, p. 375, col. 2). Plenty of London men are named in Wood, vol. 1. No doubt in early times the Eton men went to their own foundation, King's (or other Colleges at) Cambridge, while the Winchester men went to their foundation, New College, or elsewhere at Oxford. In the first volume of Bliss's edition of Wood, the following Winchester men are noticed :

- p. 30, col. 2, William Grocyn, educated in grammaticals in Wykeham's school near Winchester.  
 p. 78, col. 2, William Horman, made fellow of New Coll. in 1477.  
 Author of the *Vulgaria Puerorum*, &c. (See also Andrew Borde, p. xxxiv, above, note.)  
 p. 379, col. 2, John Boxall, Fellow of New Coll. 1542.  
 402, col. 2, Thomas Hardyng ,, ,, ,, 1536.  
 450, col. 2, Henry Cole ,, ,, ,, 1523.  
 469, col. 1, Nicholas Saunders,, ,, ,, 1548.  
 678, col. 2, Richard Haydock ,, ,, ,, 1590.

That the post-Reformation Grammar Schools did not at first educate as many boys as the old monastic schools is well known. Strype says,

“ On the 15th of January, 1562, Thomas Williams, of the Inner Temple, esq. being chosen speaker to the lower house, was presented to the queen : and in his speech to her . . . took notice of the want of schools ; that at least an hundred were wanting in England which before this time had been, [being destroyed (I suppose he meant) by the dissolution of monasteries and religious houses, fraternities and colleges.] He would have had England continually flourishing with ten thousand scholars, which the schools in this nation formerly brought up. That from the want of these good schoolmasters sprang up ignorance : and covetousness got the livings by impropriations ; which was a decay, he said, of learning, and by it the tree of know-

<sup>1</sup> Udall became Master of Eton about 1534.

ledge grew downward, not upward; which grew greatly to the dishonour, both of God and the commonwealth. He mentioned likewise the decay of the universities; and how that great market-towns were without schools or preachers: and that the poor vicar had but 20*l*. [or some such poor allowance,] and the rest, being no small sum, was impropriated. And so thereby, no preacher there; but the people, being trained up and led in blindness for want of instruction, became obstinate: and therefore advised that this should be seen to, and impropriations redressed, notwithstanding the laws already made [which favoured them].—Strype, *Annals of the Reformation*, vol. i. p. 437.

Of the Grammar Schools in his time (A.D. 1577) Harrison says:

Besides these universities, also there are a great number of Grammer Schooles throughout the realme, and those verie liberallie endued for the better relief of pore scholers, so that there are not manie corporate townes, now under the queene's dominion that have not one Gramer Schole at the least, with a sufficient living for a master and usher appointed to the same.

There are in like manner divers collegiat churches, as Windsor, Wincester, Eaton, Westminster (in which I was sometime an unprofitable Grammarian under the reverend father, master Nowell, now dean of Paules) and in those a great number of pore scholers, dailie maintained by the liberality of the founders, with meat, bookes, and apparell; from whence after they have been well entered in the knowledge of the Latine and Greek tongs, and rules of versifying (the triall whereof is made by certain apposers, yearlie appointed to examine them), they are sent to certain especial houses in each universitie<sup>1</sup>, where they are received & trained up in the points of higher knowledge in their privat halls till they be adjudged meet to show their faces in the schooles, as I have said alreadie.

Greek was first taught at a public school in England by Lillye soon after the year 1500. This was at St Paul's School in London, then newly established by Dean Colet, and to which Erasmus alluded as the best of its time in 1514, when he said that he had in three years taught a youth more Latin than he could have acquired in any school in England, *ne Lilibana quidem excepta*, not even Lillye's excepted. (Warton, iii. 1.) The first schoolmaster who stood up for the study of English was, I believe, Richard Mulcaster, of King's College, Cambridge, and Christ Church, Oxford. In 1561 he was appointed the first head-master of Merchant-Taylors School in London, then just founded as a feeder or pro-seminary for St John's

<sup>1</sup> The perversion of these elections by bribery is noticed by Harrison in the former extract from him on the Universities.



College, Oxford (*Warton*, iii. 282). In his *Elementarie*, 1582, he has a long passage on the study of English, the whole of which I print here, at Mr Quick's desire, as it has slipt out of people's minds, and Mulcaster deserves honour for it:—

“But bycause I take vpon me in this *Elementarie*, besides som frindship to secretaries for the pen, and to correctors for the print, to direct such peple as teach childern to read and write English, and the *reading* must nedes be such as the writing leads vnto, thererfor, (*sic*) befor I medle with anie particular precept, to direct the Reader, I will thoroughlie rip vp the hole certaintie of our English writing, so far furth and with such assurance, as probabilitie can make me, bycause it is a thing both proper to my argument, and profitable to my cuntrie. For our naturall tung being as beneficiall vnto vs for our nedefull deliuerie, as anie other is to the peple which vse it: & hauing as pretie, and as fair obseruations in it, as anie other hath: and being as readie to yield to anie rule of Art, as anie other is: why should I not take som pains to find out the right writing of ours, as other cuntrimen haue don to find the like in theirs? & so much the rather, bycause it is pretended, that the writing thereof is meruellous vncertain, and scant to be recouered from extreme confusion, without som change of as great extremitie? I mean therefor so to deall in it, as I maie wipe awaie that opinion of either vncertaintie for confusion, or impossibilitie for direction, that both the naturall English maie haue wherein to rest, & the desirous st[r]anger maie haue whereby to learn. For the performance whereof, and mine own better direction, I will first examin those means, whereby other tungs of most sacred antiquitie haue bene brought to Art and form of discipline for their right writing, to the end that by following their waie, I maie hit vpon their right, and at the least by their president deuise the like to theirs, where the vse of our tung, & the proprietie of our dialect will not yeild flat to theirs. That don, I will set all the varietie of our now writing, & the vncertaine force of all our letters, in as much certaintie, as anie writing can be, by these seuen precepts,—1. *Generall rule*, which concerneth the proprietie and vse of ech letter: 2. *Proportion* which reduceth all words of one sound to the same writing: 3. *Composition*, which teacheth how to write one word made of mo: 4. *Deriuation*, which examineth the ofspring of euerie originall: 5. *Distinction* which bewraieith the difference of sound and force in letters by som written figure or accent: 6. *Enfranchisement*, which directeth the right writing of all incorporat foren words: 7. *Prerogatiue*, which declareth a reseruatiue, wherein common vse will continew hir precèdence in our En[g]lish writing, as she hath don euerie where else, both for the form of the letter, in som places, which likes the pen better: and for the difference in writing, where som particular caueat will chek a common rule. In all these seuen I will so examin the particularities of our tung, as either nothing shall

seme strange at all, or if anie thing do seme, yet it shall not seme so strange, but that either the self same, or the verie like vnto it, or the more strange then it is, shal appear to be in, those things, which ar more familiar vnto vs for extraordinarie learning, then required of vs for our ordinarie vse. And forasmuch as the eie will help manie to write right by a sene president, which either cannot vnderstand, or cannot entend to vnderstand the reason of a rule, therefor in the end of this treatis for right writing, I purpos to set down a generall table of most English words, by waie of president, to help such plane peple, as cannot entend the vnderstanding of a rule, which requireth both time and conceit in perceiuing, but can easilie run to a generall table, which is readier to their hand. By the which table I shall also confirm the right of my rules, that theie hold thoroughout, & by multitude of examples help som maim (*so*) in precepts. Thus much for the right writing of our English tung, which maie seme (*so*) for a preface to the principle of *Reading*, as the matter of the one is the maker of the other.—1582. Rich<sup>d</sup>. Mulcaster. The First Part of the Elementarie, pp. 53-4.

Brinsley follows Mulcaster in exhorting to the study of English :

“there seemes vnto mee, to bee a verie maine want in all our Grammar schooles generally, or in the most of them ; whereof I haue heard som great learned men to complain ; That there is no care had in respect, to traine vp schollars so as they may be able to expresse their minds purely and readily in our owne tongue, and to increase in the practice of it, as well as in the Latine or Greeke ; whereas our chiefe indeuour should bee for it, and that for these reasons. 1. Because that language which all sorts and conditions of men amongst vs are to haue most vse of, both in speech & writing, is our owne natiue tongue. 2. The purity and elegancie of our owne language is to be esteemed a chiefe part of the honour of our nation : which we all ought to aduance as much as in vs lieth. As when Greece and Rome and other nations haue most florished, their languages also haue beene most pure : and from those times of Greece & Rome, wee fetch our chiefest patterns, for the learning of their tongues. 3. Because of those which are for a time trained vp in schooles, there are very fewe which proceede in learning, in comparison of them that follow other callings.

John Brinsley, *The Grammar Schoole*, p. 21, 22.

His “ Meanes to obtaine this benefit of increasing in our English tong, as in the Latin,” are

1. Daily vse of Lillies rules construed.
2. Continuall practice of English Grammaticall translations.
3. Translating and writing English, with some other Schoole exercises.

*Ibid.*, side-notes, p. 22, 23.

On this question of English boys studying English, let it be remembered that in this year of grace 1867, in all England there is

just one public school at which English is studied historically—the City of London School—and that in this school it was begun only last year by the new Head-Master, the Rev. Edwin A. Abbot, all honour to him. In every class an English textbook is read, *Piers Plowman* being that for the highest class. This neglect of English as a subject of study is due no doubt to tutors' and parents' ignorance. None of them know the language historically; the former can't teach it, the latter don't care about it; why should their boys learn it? Oh tutors and parents, there are such things as asses in the world.

Of the school-life of a Grammar-school boy in 1612 we may get a notion from Brinsley's p. 296, "chap. xxx. Of Schoole times, intermissions and recreations," which is full of interest. '1. The Schoole-time should beginne at sixe: all who write Latine to make their exercises which were giuen ouernight, in that houre before seuen'. —To make boys punctual, 'so many of them as are there at sixe, to haue their places as they had them by election<sup>1</sup> or the day before: all who come after six, euery one to sit as he commeth, and so to continue that day, and vntill he recouer his place againe by the election of the fourme or otherwise. . . If any cannot be brought by this, them to be noted in the blacke Bill by a speciall marke, and feele the punishment thereof: and sometimes present correction to be vsed for terrour. . . Thus they are to continue vntill nine [at work in class], signified by Monitours, Subdoctour or otherwise. Then at nine . . . to let them to haue a quarter of an houre at least, or more, for intermission, eyther for breakefast . . . or else for the necessitie of euery one, or their honest recreation, or to prepare their exercises against the Masters comming in. [2.] After, each of them to be in his place in an instant, vpon the knocking of the dore or some other sign . . . so to continue vntill eleuen of the clocke, or somewhat after, to counteruaile the time of the intermission at nine.

(3.) To be againe all ready, and in their places at one, in an instant; to continue vntill three, or halfe an houre after: then to haue another quarter of an houre or more, as at nine for drinking and necessities; so to continue till halfe an houre after five: thereby in

<sup>1</sup> See p. 273-4, 'all of a fourme to name who is the best of their fourme, and who is the best next him'.

that halfe houre to counteruaile the time at three ; then to end so as was shewed, with reading a peece of a Chapter, and with singing two staues of a Psalm: lastly with prayer to be vsed by the Master.'

To the objectors to these intermissions at nine and three, who may reproach the schoole, thinking that they do nothing but play, Brinsley answers,—' 2. By this meanes also the Schollars may bee kept euer in their places, and hard to their labours, without that running out to the Campo (as the[y] tearme it) at school times, and the manifolde disorders thereof ; as watching and striuing for the clubbe,<sup>1</sup> and loytering then in the fields ; some hindred that they cannot go forth at all. (5.) it is very requisite also, that they should have weekly one part of an afternoone for recreation, as a reward of their diligence, obedience and profiting ; and that to be appointed at the Masters discretion, eyther the Thursday, after the vsual custom ; or according to the best opportunity of the place. . . All recreations and sports of schollars, would be meet for Gentlemen. Clownish sports, or perillous, or yet playing for money, are no way to be admitted.'

On the age at which boys went to school, Brinsley says, p. 9,

"For the time of their entrance with vs, in our country schooles, it is commonly about 7. or 8. yeares olde : six is very soone. If any begin so early, they are rather sent to the schoole to keepe them from troubling the house at home, and from danger, and shrewd turnes, then for any great hope and desire their friends haue that they should learne anything in effect."

To return from this digression on Education. Enough has been said to show that the progress of Education, in our sense of the word, was rather from below upwards, than from above downwards ; and I conclude that the young people to whom the *Babees Boke, &c.*, were addressed, were the children of our nobility, knights, and squires, and that the state of their manners, as left by their home training, was such as to need the inculcation on them of the precepts contained in the Poems. If so, dirty, ill-mannered, awkward young gawks, must most of these hopes-of-England have been, to modern notions. The directions for personal cleanliness must have been much needed when one considers the small stock of linen and clothes that men not

<sup>1</sup> ? key of the Campo, see pp. 299 and 300, or a club, the holder of which had a right to go out.

rich must have had ; and if we may judge from a passaeg in Edward the Fourth's *Liber Niger*, even the King himself did not use his footpan every Saturday night, and would not have been the worse for an occasional tubbing :—

“ This barbour shall have, every satyrday at nyght, *if* it please the Kinge to cleanse his head, legges, or feet, and for his shaving, two loves, one picher wyne. And the ussher of chambre ought to testyfy if this is necessarily dispended or not.”

So far as appears from Edward the Fourth's *Liber Niger Domus*, soap was used only for washing clothes. The yeoman lavender, or washerman, was to take from the Great Spicery ‘ as muche whyte soape, greye, and blacke, as can be thought resonable by prcufe of the Countrollers,’ and therewith ‘ tenderly to waysshe . . . the stuffe for the Kinges propyr persone ’ (*H. Ord.* p. 85) ; but whether that cleansing material ever touched His Majesty's sacred person (except doubtless when and if the barber shaved him), does not appear. The Ordinances are considerate as to sex, and provide for “ weomen lavendryes ” for a Queen, and further that “ these officers oughte to bee sworne to keepe the chambre counsaylle.” But it is not for one of a nation that has not yet taken generally to tubbing and baths, or left off shaving, to reproach his forefathers with want of cleanliness, or adherence to customs that involve contradiction of the teachings of physiologists, and the evident intent of Nature or the Creator. Moreover, reflections on the good deeds done, and the high thoughts thought, by men of old dirtier than some now, may prevent us concluding that because other people now talk through their noses, and have manners different from our own, they and their institutions must be wholly abominable ; that because others smell when heated, they ought to be slaves ; or that eating peas with a knife renders men unworthy of the franchise. The temptation to value manners above morals, and pleasantness above honesty, is one that all of us have to guard against. And when we have held to a custom merely because it is old, have refused to consider fairly the reasons for its change, and are inclined to grumble when the change is carried out, we shall be none the worse for thinking of the people, young and old, who, in the time of Harrison and Shakspeare, the “ For-

gotten Worthies”<sup>1</sup> and Raleigh, no doubt ‘hated those nasty new oak houses and chinnies,’ and sighed for the good old times :

“And yet see the change, for when our houses were builded of willow, then had we oken men ; but now that our houses are come to be made of oke, our men are not onlie beccme willow, but a great manie through Persian delicacie crept in among vs, altogether of straw, which is a sore alteration. . . Now haue we manie chimnies, and yet our tenderlings complaine of rheumes, catarhs and poses. Then had we none but reredosses, and our heads did neuer ake.<sup>2</sup> For as the smoke in those daies was supposed to be a sufficient hardning for the timber of the house ; so it was reputed a far better medicine to keepe the goodman and his familie from the quack or pose, wherewith as then verie few were oft acquainted.” *Harrison*, i. 212, col. 1, quoted by Ellis.

If rich men and masters were dirty, poor men and servants must have been dirtier still. William Langland’s description of Haw-kyn’s one metaphorical dress in which he slept o’ nightes as well as worked by day, beslobbered (or *by-moled*, bemauled) by children, was true of the real smock ; flesh-moths must have been plentiful, and the sketch of Coveitise, as regards many men, hardly an exaggeration :

. . as a bonde-man of his bacon · his berd was bi-draueled,  
With his hood on his heed · a lousy hat above,  
And in a tawny tabard · of twelf wynter age  
Al so torn and baudy · and ful of lys crepyng,  
But if that a lous<sup>3</sup> couthe · han lopen the bettre,

<sup>1</sup> See Mr Fronde’s noble article in *The Westminster Review*, No. 3, July, 1852 (lately republished by him in a collection of Essays, &c.).

<sup>2</sup> Their eyes must have smarted. The natives’ houses in India have (generally) no chimneys still, and Mr Moreshwar says the smoke *does* make your eyes water.

<sup>3</sup> Mouffet is learned on the Louse.

“In the first beginning whilest man was in his innocency, and free from wickednesse, he was subject to no corruption and filth, but when he was seduced by the wickednesse of that great and cunning deceiver, and proudly affected to know as much as God knew, God humbled him with divers diseases, and divers sorts of Worms, with Lice, Hand-worms, Belly-worms, others call *Termites*, small Nits and Acars . . . a Lowse . . . is a beastly Creature, and known better in Innes and Armies then it is wellcome. The profit it bringeth, *Achilles* sheweth, *Iliad* I. in these words : *I make no more of him then I doe of a Lowse* ; as we have an English Proverb of a poor man, *He is not worth a Lowse*. The Lice that trouble men are either tame or wilde ones, those the *English* call *Lice*, and these *Crab-lice* ; the North *English* call them *Pert-lice*, that is, a petulant Lowse comprehending both kinde ; it is a certain sign of misery, and is sometimes the inevitable scourge of

She sholde noght han walked on that welthe · so was it thred-bare.  
(*Vision*, Passus V. vol. 1, l. 2859-70, ed. Wright.)

In the *Kinge and Miller*, Percy Folio MS., p. 236 (in vol. ii. of the print), when the Miller proposes that the stranger should sleep with their son, Richard the son says to the King,

“Nay, first,” quoth Richard, “good fellowe, tell me true,  
hast thou noe creepers in thy gay hose?  
art thou not troabled with the Scabbado?”

The colour of washerwomen’s legs was due partly to dirt, I suppose. The princess or queen Clarionas, when escaping with the laundress as her assistant, is obliged to have her white legs reduced to the customary shade of grey :

Right as she should stoupe a-douñ,  
The quene was tukked wel on high ;  
The lauender perceiued wel therbigh  
Hir white legges, and seid “ma dame,  
Youre shin boones might doo vs blame ;  
Abide,” she seid, “so mot I thee,  
More slotered thei most be.”  
Asshes with the water she mended,  
And her white legges al be-sprenged.

ab. 1440 A.D., *Syr Generides*, p. 218, ll. 7060-8.

If in Henry the Eighth’s kitchen, scullions lay about naked, or tattered and filthy, what would they do elsewhere? Here is the King’s Ordinance against them in 1526 :

God.” Rowland’s *Mouffet’s Theater of Insects*, p. 1090, ed. 1658 (published in Latin, 1634). By this date we had improved. Mouffet says, “These filthy creatures . . . are hated more than Dogs or Vipers by our daintiest Dames,” *ib.* p. 1093 ; and again, p. 1097, “Cardan, that was a fancier of subtilties, writes that the *Carthusians* are never vexed with Wall-lice, and he gives the cause, because they eat no flesh. . . He should rather have alledged their cleanliness, and the frequent washing of their beds and blankets, to be the cause of it, which when the *French*, the *Dutch*, and *Italians* do less regard, they more breed this plague. But the English that take great care to be cleanly and decent, are seldom troubled with them.” Also, on p. 1092, he says, ‘As for dressing the body : all *Ireland* is noted for this, that it swarms almost with Lice. But that this proceeds from the beastliness of the people, and want of cleanly women to wash them is manifest, because the English that are more careful to dress themselves, changing and washing their shirts often, having inhabited so long in *Ireland*, have escaped that plague. . . Remedies. The *Irish* and *Iseland* people (who are frequently troubled with Lice, and such as will fly, as they say, in Summer) anoint their shirts with Saffron, and to very good purpose, to drive away the Lice, but after six moneths they wash their shirts again, putting fresh Saffron into the Lye.’ Rowland’s Mouffet (1634), *Theater of Insects*, p. 1092, ed. 1658.

“And for the better avoydyng of corruption and all uncleannesse out of the Kings house, which doth ingender danger of infection, and is very noisome and displeasent unto all the noblemen and others repaireing unto the same; it is ordeyned by the Kings Highnesse, that the three master cookes of the kitchen shall have everie of them by way of reward yearly twenty marks, to the intent they shall provide and sufficiently furnish the said kitchens of such scolyons as shall not goe *naked or in garments of such vilenesse as they now doe, and have been accustomed to doe, nor lie in the nights and dayes in the kitchens or ground by the fireside*; but that they of the said money may be found with honest and whole course garments, without such uncleannesse as may be the annoyance of those by whom they shall passe”. . .

That our commonalty, at least, in Henry VIII.'s time did stink (as is the nature of man to do) may be concluded from Wolsey's custom, when going to Westminster Hall, of

“holding in his hand a very fair orange, whereof the meat or substance within was taken out, and filled up again with the part of a sponge, wherein was vinegar, and other confections against the pestilent airs; the which he most commonly smelt unto, passing among the press, or else when he was pestered with many suitors.” (*Cavendish*, p. 43.)

On the dirt in English houses and streets we may take the testimony of a witness who liked England, and lived in it, and who was not likely to misrepresent its condition,—Erasmus. In a letter to Francis, the physician of Cardinal Wolsey, says Jortin,

“Erasmus ascribes the plague (from which England was hardly ever free) and the sweating-sickness, partly to the incommodious form and bad exposition of the houses, to the filthiness of the streets, and to the sluttishness within doors. The floors, says he, are commonly of clay, strewed with rushes, under which lies unmolested an ancient collection of beer, grease (!), fragments, bones, spittle, excrements [t. i. urine] of dogs and cats [t. i. men,] and every thing that is nasty, &c.” (*Life of Erasmus*, i. 69, ed. 1808, referred to in Ellis, i. 328, note.)

The great scholar's own words are,

Tum sola fere sunt argilla, tum scirpis palustribus, qui subinde sic renovantur, ut fundamentum maneat aliquoties annos viginti, sub se fovens sputa, vomitus, mictum canum et hominum, projectam cervisiam, et piscium reliquias, aliasque sordes non nominandas. Hinc mutato cœlo vapor quidam exhalatur, mea sententia minime salubris humano corpori.

After speaking also *De salsamentis* (rendered ‘*salt meat*, beef,



pork, &c.,' by Jortin, but which *Liber Cure Cocorum* authorises us in translating 'Sauces'<sup>1</sup>), *quibus vulgus mirum in modum delectatur*, he says the English would be more healthy if their windows were made so as to shut out noxious winds, and then continues,

"Conferret huc, si vulgo parcior victus persuaderi posset, ac salsamentorum moderatior usus. Tum si publica cura demandaretur Ædilibus, ut viæ mundiores essent a cœno, mictuque: Curarentur et ea quæ civitati vicina sint. *Jortin's Life of Erasmus*, ed. 1808, iii. 44 (Ep. 432, C. 1815), No. VIII. Erasmus Rot. Francisco. Cardinalis Eboracensis Medico, S.

If it be objected that I have in the foregoing extracts shown the dark side of the picture, and not the bright one, my answer is that the bright one—of the riches and luxury in England—must be familiar to all our members, students (as I assume) of our early books, that the Treatises in this Volume sufficiently show this bright side, and that to me, as foolometer of the Society, this dark side seemed to need showing. But as *The Chronicle* of May 11, 1867, in its review of Mr Fox Bourne's *English Merchants*, seems to think otherwise, I quote its words, p. 155, col. 2.

"All the nations of the world, says Matthew of Westminster, were kept warm by the wool of England, made into cloth by the men of Flanders. And while we gave useful clothing to other countries, we received festive garments from them in return. For most of our information on these subjects we are indebted to Matthew Paris, who tells us that when Alexander III. of Scotland was married to Margaret, daughter of Henry III., one thousand English knights appeared at the wedding in *cointises* of silk, and the next day each knight donned a new robe of another kind. This grand entertainment was fatal to sixty oxen, and cost the then Archbishop of York no less a sum than 4000 marks. Macpherson remarks on this great display of silk as a proof of the wealth of England under the Norman kings, a point which has not been sufficiently elaborated. In 1242 the streets of London were covered or shaded with silk, for the reception of Richard, the King's brother, on his return from the Holy Land. Few English-

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Brewer says that Erasmus, rejecting the Mediaeval Latin and adopting the Classical, no doubt used *salsamenta* in its classical sense of salt-meat, and referred to the great quantity of it used in England during the winter, when no fresh meat was eaten, but only that which had been killed at the annual autumn slaughtering, and then salted down. Stall-fattening not being practised, the autumn was the time for fat cattle. *Salsamentum*, however, is translated in White and Riddle's Dictionary, "A. Fish-pickle, brine; B. Salted or pickled fish (so usually in plural)."

men are aware of the existence of such magnificence at that early period ; while every story-book of history gives us the reverse of the picture, telling us of straw-covered floors, scarcity of body linen, and the like. Long after this, in 1367, it is recorded, as a special instance of splendour of costume, that 1000 citizens of Genoa were clothed in silk ; and this tale has been repeated from age to age, while the similar display, at an earlier date, in England, has passed unnoticed."

For a notice of the several pieces in the present volume, I refer the reader to the Preface to Russell's *Book of Nurture*, which follows here.

It only remains for me to say that the freshness of my first interest in the poems which I once hoped to re-produce in these Forewords, has become dulled by circumstances and the length of time that the volume has been in the press—it having been set aside (by my desire) for the *Ayenbite*, &c. ;—and that the intervention of other work has prevented my making the collection as complete as I had desired it to be. It is, however, the fullest verse one that has yet appeared on its subject, and will serve as the beginning of the Society's store of this kind of material.<sup>1</sup> If we can do all the English part of the work, and the Master of the Rolls will commission one of his Editors to do the Latin part, we shall then get a fairly complete picture of that Early English Home which, with all its shortcomings, should be dear to every Englishman now.

3, *St George's Square, N. W.*,  
5th June, 1867.

<sup>1</sup> If any member or reader can refer me to any other verse or prose pieces of like kind, unprinted, or that deserve reprinting, I shall be much obliged to him, and will try to put them in type.

## PREFACE TO RUSSELL.

THOUGH this *Boke of Nurture* by John Russell is the most complete and elaborate of its kind, I have never seen it mentioned by name in any of the many books and essays on early manners and customs, food and dress, that have issued from the press. My own introduction to it was due to a chance turning over, for another purpose, of the leaves of the MS. containing it. Mr Wheatley then told me of Ritson's reference to it in his *Bibliographica Poetica*, p. 96; and when the text was all printed, a reference in *The Glossary of Domestic Architecture* (v. III. Pt. I. p. 76, note, col. 2) sent me to MS. Sloane 1315<sup>1</sup>—in the Glossary stated to have been written in 1452—which proved to be a different and unnamed version of Russell. Then the Sloane Catalogue disclosed a third MS., No. 2027<sup>2</sup>, and the earliest of the three, differing rather less than No. 1315 from Russell's text, but still anonymous. I have therefore to thank for knowledge of the MSS. that special Providence which watches over editors as well as children and drunkards, and have not on this occasion to express gratitude to Ritson and Warton, to whom every lover of Early English Manuscripts is under such deep obligations, and whose guiding hands (however faltering) in Poetry have made us long so often for the like in Prose. Would that one of our many Historians of English Literature had but conceived the idea of cataloguing the materials for his History before sitting down to write it! Would that a wise Government would commission another Hardy to do for English Literature what the Deputy-Keeper of the Public Records is now doing for English History—

<sup>1</sup> This MS. contains a copy of "The Rewle of the Moone," fol. 49-67, which I hope to edit for the Society.

<sup>2</sup> The next treatise to Russell in this MS. is "The booke off the gouernaunce off Kyngis and Pryncis," or *Liber Aristotiles ad Alexandrum Magnum*, a book of Lydgate's that we ought to print from the best MS. of it. At fol. 74 b. is a heading,—

Here dyed this translatur and noble poette Lidgate and the yong follower gan his prolog on this wys.

give us a list of the MSS. and early printed books of it! What time and trouble such a Catalogue would save!

But to return to John Russell and his Boke. He describes himself at the beginning and end of his treatise as Usher and Marshal to Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, delighting in his work in youth, quitting it only when compelled by crooked age, and then anxious to train up worthy successors in the art and mystery of managing a well-appointed household. A man evidently who knew his work in every detail, and did it all with pride; not boastful, though upholding his office against rebellious cooks<sup>1</sup>, putting them down with imperial dignity, "we may allow and disallow; our office is the chief!" A simple-minded religious man too,—as the close of his Treatise shows,—and one able to appreciate the master he served, the "prynce fulle royalle," the learned and munificent Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, the patron of Lydgate, Oceleve, Capgrave, Withamstede, Leonard Aretine, Petrus Candidus, Petrus de Monte, Tito Livio, Antoyne de Beccara, &c. &c., the lover of Manuscripts, the first great donor to the Oxford University Library which Bodley revived<sup>2</sup>, "that prince peerless," as Russell calls him, a man who, with all his faults, loved books and authors, and shall be respected by us as he was by Lydgate. But our business is with the Marshal, not the Master, and we will hear what John Russell says of himself in his own verse,

an vsshere y Am / ye may beholde / to a prynce of highe degre,  
 þat enioyethe to enforme & teche / alle þo thatt wille thrive & thee,  
 Of suche thynges as here-aftur shalle be shewed by my diligence  
 To them þat nought Can / with-owt gret exsperience ;  
 Therefore yf any mañ þat y mete withe, þat for fawt of negligence,  
 y wylle hym enforme & teche, for hurtyng of my Conscience.  
 To teche vertew and comnyng, me thynketh hit charitable,  
 for moche youthe in comnyng / is bareñ & fulle vnable. (l. 3-9.)

At the end of his Boke he gives us a few more details about himself and his work in life :

<sup>1</sup> One can fancy that a cook like Wolsey's (described by Cavendish, vol. i. p. 34), "a Master Cook who went daily in damask satin, or velvet, with a chain of gold about his neck" (a mark of nobility in earlier days), would be not *leaf* but *loik* to obey an usher and marshal.

<sup>2</sup> Warton, ii. 264-8, ed. 1840. For further details about the Duke see the Appendix to this Preface.

Now good soñ, y haue shewed the / & brought þe in vre,  
to know þe Curtesie of court / & these þow may take in cure,  
In pantry / botery / or cellere / & in kervynge a-fore a sovereyne  
demewre,

A sewer / or a mershalle : in þes science / y suppoße ye byñ sewre,  
Which in my dayes y lernyd withe a prynce fulle royalle,  
with whom vschere in chambur was y, & mershalle also in halle,  
vnto whom alle þese officeres foreseid / þey euer entende shall,  
Evir to fulfillle my commaundement when þat y to þem calle :

For we may allow & dissalow / oure office is þe cheeff  
In cellere & spicery / & the Cooke, be he loothe or leeff. (l. 1173-82.)

Further on, at line 1211, he says,

“ Moore of þis comnyng y Cast not me to contreve :  
my tyme is not to tary, hit drawest fast to eve.  
þis trefyse þat y haue entitiled, if it ye entende to preve,  
y assayed me self in youthe with-outeñ any greve.

while y was yonge y-noughe & lusty in dede,  
y enoyed þese maters foreseid / & to lerne y toke good hede ;  
but croked age hath compelled me / & leue court y must nede.  
þefore, sone, assay thy self / & god shall be þy spede.”

And again, at line 1227,

“ Now, good soñ, thy self, with other þat shall þe succede,  
whiche þus boke of nurture shall note / lerne, & ouer rede,  
pray for the sowle of Iohñ Russelle, þat god do hym mede,  
Som tyme seruauande with duke vmfrey, duc<sup>1</sup> of Glowcetur in dede.

For þat prynce pereles prayethe / & for suche other mo,  
þe sowle of my wife / my fadur and modir also,  
vn-to Mary modyr and mayd / she fende us from owre foe,  
and bryng vs alle to blis when we shall hens goo. **AMEN.**”

As to his Boke, besides what is quoted above, John Russell says,

Go forthe lytelle boke, and lowly þow me commende  
vnto alle yonge gentilmeñ / þat lust to lerne or entende,  
and specially to þem þat han exsperience, prayng þe[m] to amende  
and correcte þat is amyssse, þere as y fawte or offende.

And if so þat any be founde / as þrouz myñ necligence,  
Cast þe cawse oñ my copy / rude / & bare of eloquence,  
whiche to drawe out [I] haue do my besy diligence,  
redily to reforme hit / by resoñ and bettur sentence.

As for ryme or resoñ, þe forewryter was not to blame,  
For as he founde hit aforne hym, so wrote he þe same,  
and þaugh he or y in oure matere digres or degrade,  
blame neithur of vs / For we neuyre hit made ;

<sup>1</sup> The *duc* has a red stroke through it, probably to cut it out.

Symple as y had insight / somewhat þe ryme y correcte ;  
 blame y cowde no mañ / y haue no persone suspecte.  
 Now, good god, graunt vs grace / oure sowles neuer to Infecte !  
 þañ may we regne in þi regioun / eternally with thyne electe.  
 (l. 1235-50.)

If John Russell was the writer of the Epilogue quoted above, lines 1235-50, then it would seem that in this Treatise he only corrected and touched up some earlier Book of Norture which he had used in his youth, and which, if Sloane 2027 be not its original, may be still extant in its primal state in Mr Arthur Davenport's MS., "How to serve a Lord," said to be of the fourteenth century<sup>1</sup>, and now supposed to be stowed away in a hayloft with the owner's other books, awaiting the rebuilding and fitting of a fired house. I only hope this MS. may prove to be Russell's original, as Mr Davenport has most kindly promised to let me copy and print it for the Society. Meantime it is possible to consider John Russell's Book of Norture as his own. For early poets and writers of verse seem to have liked this fiction of attributing their books to other people, and it is seldom that you find them acknowledging that they have imagined their Poems on their own heads, as Hampole has it in his *Pricke of Conscience*, p. 239, l. 8874 (ed. Morris, Philol. Soc.). Even Mr Tennyson makes believe that Everard Hall wrote his *Morte d' Arthur*, and some Leonard his *Golden Year*. On the other hand, the existence of the two Sloane MSS. is more consistent with Russell's own statement (if it is his own, and not his adapter's in the Harleian MS.) that he did not write his Boke himself, but only touched up another man's. Desiring to let every reader judge for himself on this point, I shall try to print in a separate text<sup>2</sup>, for convenience of comparison, the Sloane MS. 1315, which differs most from Russell, and which the Keeper of the MSS. at the British Museum considers rather earlier (ab. 1440-50 A.D.) than the MS. of Russell (ab. 1460-70 A.D.), while of the earliest of the three, Sloane MS. 2027 (ab. 1430-40 A.D.), the nearer to Russell in phraseology, I shall give a collation of all important variations. If any reader of the

<sup>1</sup> See one MS., "How to serve a Lord," ab. 1500 A.D., quoted in the notes to the Camden Society's Italian Relation of England, p. 97.

<sup>2</sup> For the Early English Text Society.

present text compares the Sloanes with it, he will find the subject matter of all three alike, except in these particulars :

Sloane 1315.	Sloane 2027.
Omits lines 1-4 of Russell.	Contains these lines.
Inserts after l. 48 of R. a passage about behaviour which it nearly repeats, where Russell puts it, at l. 276, <i>Symple Condicions</i> .	Inserts and omits as Sl. 1315 does, but the wording is often different.
Omits Russell's stanza, l. 305-8, about 'these cuttid galauntes with their codware.'	
Omits a stanza, l. 319-24, p. 21.	Contains this stanza (fol. 42, b.).
Contracts R.'s chapter on Fumositees, p. 23-4.	Contracts the Fumositees too (fol. 45 and hack).
Omits R.'s <i>Lenvoy</i> , under Fried Metes, p. 33-4.	Has one verse of <i>Lenvoy</i> altered (fol. 45 b.).
Transfers R.'s chapters on <i>Sewes on Fische Dayes</i> and <i>Sawcis for Fische</i> , l. 819-54, p. 55-9, to the end of his chapter on <i>Kervyng of Fische</i> , l. 649, p. 45.	Transfers as Sl. 1315 does (see fol. 48).
Gives different Soteltes (or Devices at the end of each course), and omits Russell's description of his four of the Four Seasons, p. 51-4; and does not alter the metre of the lines describing the Dinners as he does, p. 50-5.	Differs from R., nearly as Sl. 1315 does.
Winds up at the end of the <i>Bathe or Stewe</i> , l. 1000, p. 69, R., with two stanzas of peroration. As there is no <i>Explicit</i> , the MS. may be incomplete, but the next page is blank.	Has 3 winding-up stanzas, as if about to end as Sloane 1315 does, but yet goes on (omitting the <i>Bathe Medicinable</i> ) with the <i>Vssher and Marshalle</i> , R. p. 69, and ends suddenly, at l. 1062, p. 72, R., in the middle of the chapter.

In occasional length of line, in words and rhymes, Sloane 1315 differs far more from Russell than Sloane 2027, which has Russell's long lines and rhymes throughout, so far as a hurried examination shows.

But the variations of both these Sloane MSS. are to me more like those from an original MS. of which our Harleian Russell is a copy, than of an original which Russell altered. Why should the earliest Sloane 2027 start with

“ An vsschere .y. am / as ye may se : to a prynce Of hyghe degre ”  
 if in its original the name of the prince was not stated at the end, as Russell states it, to show that he was not gammoning his readers? Why does Sloane 1315 omit lines in some of its stanzas, and words in some of its lines, that the Harleian Russell enables us to fill up? Why does it too make its writer refer to the pupil's lord and sovereign, if in its original the author did not clench his teaching by asserting, as Russell does, that he had served one? This Sloane 1315 may well have been copied by a man like Wynkyn de Worde, who wished not to show the real writer of the treatise. On the whole, I incline to believe that John Russell's Book of Norture was written by him, and that either the Epilogue to it was a fiction of his, or was written by the superintendent of the particular copy in the Harleian MS. 4011, Russell's own work terminating with the *Amen!* after line 1234.

But whether we consider Russell's Boke another's, or as in the main his own,—allowing that in parts he may have used previous pieces on the subjects he treats of, as he has used *Stans Puer* (or its original) in his *Symple Condicions*, l. 277-304,—if we ask what the Boke contains, the answer is, that it is a complete Manual for the Valet, Butler, Footman, Carver, Taster, Dinner-arranger, Hippocras-maker, Usher and Marshal of the Nobleman of the time when the work was written, the middle of the fifteenth century.—For I take the date of the composition of the work to be somewhat earlier than that of the MS. it is here printed from, and suppose Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, “imprisoned and murdered 1447,” to have been still alive when his Marshal penned it.—Reading it, we see “The Good Duke” rise and dress<sup>1</sup>, go to Chapel and meals, entertain at feasts in Hall, then undress and retire to rest; we hear how his head was combed with an ivory comb, his stomacher warmed, his petycote put on, his slippers brown as the waterleech got ready, his privy-seat

<sup>1</sup> I have put figures before the motions in the dress and undress drills, for they reminded me so of “Manual and Platoon: by numbers.”



prepared, and his urinal kept in waiting ; how his bath was made, his table laid, his guests arranged, his viands carved, and his salt smoothed<sup>1</sup> ; we are told how nearly all the birds that fly, the animals that walk the earth, the fish that swim in river and sea, are food for the pot : we hear of dishes strange to us<sup>2</sup>, beaver's tail, osprey, brewer, venprides, whale, swordfish, seal, torrentyne, pety perveis or perneis, and gravell of beef<sup>3</sup>. Bills of fare for flesh and fish days are laid before us ; admired Sotiltees or Devices are described ; and he who cares to do so may fancy for himself the Duke and all his brilliant circle feasting in Hall, John Russell looking on, and taking care that all goes right.<sup>4</sup> I am not going to try my hand at the sketch, as I do not write for men in the depths of that deducated Philistinism which lately made a literary man say to one of our members on his printing a book of the 15th century, "Is it possible that you care how those barbarians, our ancestors, lived?" If any one who takes up this tract, will not read it through, the loss is his ; those who do work at it will gladly acknowledge their gain. That it is worthy of the

<sup>1</sup> Mr Way says that the *planere*, l. 58, is an article new to antiquarians.

<sup>2</sup> Randle Holme's tortoise and snails, in No. 12 of his Second Course, Bk. III., p. 60, col. 1, are stranger still. "Tortoise need not seem strange to an alderman who eats turtle, nor to a West Indian who eats terrapin. Nor should snails, at least to the city of Paris, which devours myriads, nor of Ulm, which breeds millions for the table. Tortoises are good ; snails excellent." Henry H. Gibbs.

<sup>3</sup> "It is nought all good to the goost that the gut asketh" we may well say with William who wrote *Piers Ploughmon*, v. 1, p. 17, l. 533-4, after reading the lists of things eatable, and dishes, in Russell's pages. The later feeds that Phylotheus Physiologus exclaims against\* are nothing to them: "What an *Hodg-potch* do most that have Abilities make in their Stomachs, which must wonderfully oppress and distract Nature : For if you should take *Flesh* of various sorts, *Fish* of as many, *Cabbages*, *Parsnops*, *Potatoes*, *Mustard*, *Butter*, *Cheese*, a *Pudden* that contains more then ten several Ingredients, *Tarts*, *Sweet-meats*, *Custards*, and add to these *Churries*, *Plums*, *Currans*, *Apples*, *Capers*, *Olives*, *Anchovies*, *Mangoes*, *Caveare*, &c., and jumble them altogether into one *Mass*, what Eye would not loath, what Stomach not abhor such a *Gallemaufrey* ? yet this is done every Day, and counted *Gallent Entertainment*."

<sup>4</sup> See descriptions of a dinner in Parker's *Domestic Architecture of the Middle Ages*, iii. 74-87 (with a good cut of the Cupboard, Dais, &c.), and in Wright's *Domestic Manners and Customs*. Russell's description of the Franklin's dinner, l. 795-818, should be noted for the sake of Chaucer's Franklin, and we may also notice that Russell orders hutter and fruits to be served on an empty stomach before dinner, l. 77, as a whet to the appetite. *Modus Cenandi* serves potage first, and keeps the fruits, with the spices and biscuits, for dessert.

\* Monthly Observations for the preserving of Health, 1686, p. 20-1.

attention of all to whose ears tidings of Early England come with welcome sound across the wide water of four hundred years, I unhesitatingly assert. That it has interested me, let the time its notes have taken on this, a fresh subject to me, testify. If any should object to the extent of them<sup>1</sup>, or to any words in them that may offend his ear, let him excuse them for the sake of what he thinks rightly present. There are still many subjects and words insufficiently illustrated in the comments, and for the names *venprides* (l. 820); *sprotis*, (?sprats, as in Sloane 1315), and *torrentille* (l. 548); almond *iardyne* (l. 744); ginger *colombyne*, *valadyne*, and *maydelyne* (l. 132-3); leche *dugard*, &c., I have not been able to find meanings. Explanations and helps I shall gladly receive, in the hope that they may appear in another volume of like kind for which I trust soon to find more MSS. Of other MSS. of like kind I also ask for notice.

The reason for reprinting Wynkyn de Worde's *Boke of Kerwynge*, which I had not at first thought of, was because its identity of phrase and word with many parts of Russell,—a thing which came on me with a curious feeling of surprise as I turned over the leaves,—made it certain that de Worde either abstracted in prose Russell's MS., chopping off his lines' tails,—adding also bits here<sup>2</sup>, leaving out others there,—or else that both writers copied a common original. The most cursory perusal will show this to be the case. It was not alone by happy chance that when Russell had said

O Fruture viant / Fruter sawge byñ good / bettur is Frutur powche ;  
Appulle fruture / is good hoot / but þe cold ye not towche (l. 501-2)

Wynkyn de Worde delivered himself of

“Fruyter vaunte, fruyter say be good ; better is fruyter pouche ;  
apple fruyters ben good good hote / and all colde fruters, touche  
not,”

<sup>1</sup> The extracts from Bulleyn, Borde, Vaughan, and Harington are in the nature of notes, but their length gave me the excuse of printing them in bigger type as parts of a Text. In the same way I should have treated the many extracts from Laurens Andrewe, had I not wanted them intermixed with the other notes, and been also afraid of swelling this book to an unwieldy size.

<sup>2</sup> The *Termes* of a Kerver so common in MSS. are added, p. 151, and the subsequent arrangement of the modes of carving the birds under these *Termes*, p. 161-3. The Easter-Day feast (p. 162) is also new, the bit why the heads of pheasants, partridges, &c., are unwholesome—‘for they ete in theyr degrees foule thynges, as wormes, todes, and other suche,’ p. 165-6—and several other pieces.

altering *not's* place to save the rhyme ; or that when Russell had said of the Crane

The Crane is a fowle / that stronge is *with* to fare ;  
 þe whynges ye areyse / fulle large evyn̄ thare ;  
 of hyre trompe in þe brest / loke þat ye beware

Wynkyn de Worde directed his Carver thus : " A crane, reyse the wynges fyrst, & beware of the trumpe in his brest." Let any one compare the second and third pages of Wynkyn de Worde's text with lines 48-137 of Russell, and he will make up his mind that the old printer was either one of the most barefaced plagiarists that ever lived, or that the same original was before him and Russell too. May Mr Davenport's hayloft, or some learned antiquarian, soon decide the alternative for us ! The question was too interesting a "Curiosity of Literature" not to be laid before our Members, and therefore *The Boke of Keruyngge* was reprinted—from the British Museum copy of the second edition of 1513—with added side-notes and stops, and the colophon as part of the title.

Then came the necessary comparison of Russell's Boke with the *Boke of Curtasye*, edited by Mr Halliwell from the Sloane MS. 1986 for the Percy Society. Contrasts had to be made with it, in parts, many times in a page ; the tract was out of print and probably in few Members' hands ; it needed a few corrections<sup>1</sup>, and was worthy of a thousand times wider circulation than it had had ; therefore a new edition from the MS. was added to this volume. Relying on Members reading it for themselves, I have not in the notes indicated all the points of coincidence and difference between this Boke and Russell's. It is of wider scope than Russell's, takes in the duties of outdoor officers and servants as well as indoor, and maybe those of a larger household ; it has also a *fyrst Boke* on general manners, and a *Second Book* on what to learn at school, how to behave at church, &c., but it does not go into the great detail as to Meals and Dress which is the special value of Russell's Boke, nor is it associated with a writer who tells us something of himself, or a noble who in all our English Middle Age has so bright a name on which we can look back

<sup>1</sup> *do the*, l. 115, is *clothe* in the MS. ; *grayne*, l. 576 (see too ll. 589, 597,) is *grayne*, Scotch *greive*, A.S. *gerefa*, a kind of bailiff ; *resceyne*, ll. 547, 575, is *resceyne*, receive ; &c.

as "good Duke Humphrey." This personality adds an interest to work that anonymity and its writings of equal value can never have ; so that we may be well content to let the *Curtasye* be used in illustration of the *Nurture*. The MS. of the *Curtasye* is about 1460 A.D., Mr Bond says. I have dated it wrongly on the half-title.

*The Booke of Demeanor* was "such a little one" that I was tempted to add it to mark the general introduction of handkerchiefs. Having printed it, arose the question, 'Where did it come from?' No Weste's *Schoole of Vertue* could I find in catalogues, or by inquiring of the Duke of Devonshire, Mr W. C. Hazlitt, at the Bodleian, &c. Seager's *Schoole of Vertue* was the only book that turned up, and this I accordingly reprinted, as Weste's Booke of Demeanor seemed to be little more than an abstract of the first four Chapters of Seager cut down and rewritten. We must remember that books of this kind, which we look on as sources of amusement, as more or less of a joke, were taken seriously by the people they were written for. That *The Schoole of Vertue*, for instance—whether Seager's or Weste's—was used as a regular school-book for boys, let Io. Brinsley witness. In his *Grammar Schoole* of 1612, pp. 17, 18, he enumerates the "Bookes to bee first learned of children":—1. their Abcie, and Primer. 2. The Psalms in metre, 'because children wil learne that booke with most readinesse and delight through the running of the metre, as it is found by experience. 3. Then the Testament.' 4. "If any require any other little booke meet to enter children ; *the Schoole of Vertue* is one of the principall, and easiest for the first enterers, being full of precepts of ciuilitie, and such as children will soone learne and take a delight in, thorow the roundnesse of the metre, as was sayde before of the singing Psalmes : And after it *the Schoole of good manners*<sup>1</sup>, called, *the new Schoole of Vertue*, leading the childe as by the hand, in the way of all good manners."

I make no apology for including reprints of these little-known books in an Early English Text. *Qui s'excuse s'accuse* ; and if these Tracts do not justify to any reader their own appearance here, I believe the fault is not theirs.

<sup>1</sup> This is doubtless a different book from Hugh Rhodes's *Booke of Nurture & Schoole of Good Manners*, p. 71, below.

A poem on minding what you say, which Mr Aldis Wright has kindly sent me, some Maxims on Behaviour, &c., which all end in *-ly*, and Roger Ascham's Advice to his brother-in-law on entering a nobleman's service, follow, and then the Poems which suggested the *Forewords* on Education in Early England, and have been partly noticed in them, p. i-iv. I have only to say of the first, *The Babees Boke*, that I have not had time to search for its Latin original, or other copies of the text. Its specialty is its attributing so high birth to the Bele Babees whom it addresses, and its appeal to Lady Facetia to help its writer. Of the short alphabetic poems that follow,—*The A B C of Aristotle*,—copies occur elsewhere; and that in the Harleian Manuscript 1304, which has a different introduction, I hope to print in the companion volume to this, already alluded to. *Vrbanitatis*, I was glad to find, because of the mention of *the booke of urbanitie* in Edward the Fourth's *Liber Niger* (p. ii. above), as we thus know what the Duke of Norfolk of "Flodden Field" was taught in his youth as to his demeanings, how mannerly he should eat and drink, and as to his communication and other forms of court. He was not to spit or snite before his Lord the King, or wipe his nose on the table-cloth. The next tracts, *The Lytyle Chyldrenes Lytil Boke or Edylllys Be*<sup>1</sup> (a title made up from the text) and *The Young Children's Book*, are differing versions of one set of maxims, and are printed opposite one another for contrast sake. *The Lytil Boke* was printed from a later text, and with an interlinear French version, by Wynkyn de Worde in '*Here begynmeth a lytell treatyse for to lerne Englysshe and Frensshe.*' This will be printed by Mr Wheatley in his Collection of Early Treatises on Grammar for the Society, as the copy in the Grenville Library in the Brit. Mus. is the only one known. Other copies of this Lytil Boke are at Edinburgh, Cambridge, and Oxford. Of two of these Mr David Laing and Mr Henry Bradshaw have kindly given me collations, which are printed at the end of this Preface. Of the last Poem, *Stans Puer ad Mensam*, attributed to Lydgate

<sup>1</sup> What this *Edylllys Be* means, I have no idea, and five or six other men I have asked are in the same condition. A.S. *æpel* is noble, *æpeling*, a prince, a noble; that may do for *edylllys*. *Be* may be for A B C, alphabet, elementary grammar of behaviour.

—as nearly everything in the first half of the 15th century was—I have printed two copies, with collations from a third, the *Jesus* (Cambridge) MS. printed by Mr Halliwell in *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, v. 1, p. 156-8, and reprinted by Mr W. C. Hazlitt in his *Early Popular Poetry*, ii. 23-8. Mr Hazlitt notices 3 other copies, in Harl. MS. 4011, fol. 1, &c. ; Lansdowne MS. 699 ; and Additional MS. 5467, which he collated for his text. There must be plenty more about the country, as in Ashmole MS. 61, fol. 16, back, in the Bodleian.<sup>1</sup> Of old printed editions Mr Hazlitt notes one “from the press of Caxton, but the only copy known is imperfect. It was printed two or three times by Wynkyn de Worde. Lowndes mentions two, 1518, 4to, and 1524, 4to ; and in the public library at Cambridge there is said by Hartsorne (*Book Rarities*, 156) to be a third without date. It is also appended to the various impressions of the *Boke of Nurture* by Hugh Rhodes.” This *Boke* has been reprinted for the Early English Text Society, and its *Stans Puer* is Rhodes’s own expansion of one of the shorter English versions of the original Latin<sup>2</sup>.

The woodcuts Messrs Virtue have allowed me to have copies of for a small royalty, and they will help the reader to realize parts of the text better than any verbal description. The cuts are not of course equal to the beautiful early illuminations they are taken from, but they are near enough for the present purpose. The dates of those from British Museum MSS. are given on the authority of trustworthy officers of the Manuscript Department. The dates of the non-Museum MSS. are copied from Mr Wright’s text. The line of description under the cuts is also from Mr Wright’s text, except in one instance where he had missed the fact of the cut representing the Marriage Feast at Cana of Galilee, with its six water-pots.

The MS. of Russell is on thick folio paper, is written in a close—and seemingly unprofessional—hand, fond of making elaborate capitals to the initials of its titles, and thus occasionally squeezing up into a corner the chief word of the title, because the *T* of *The* preceding

<sup>1</sup> P.S. Mr Hazlitt, iv. 366, notices two others in MS. Ashmole 59, art. 57, and in Cotton MS. Calig. A II. fol. 13, the latter of which and Ashmole 61, are, he says, of a different translation.

<sup>2</sup> See Hazlitt, iv. 366.

has required so much room.<sup>1</sup> The MS. has been read through by a corrector with a red pen, pencil, or brush, who has underlined all the important words, touched up the capitals, and evidently believed in the text. Perhaps the corrector, if not writer, was Russell himself. I hope it was, for the old man must have enjoyed emphasizing his precepts with those red scores; but then he would hardly have allowed a space to remain blank in line 204, and have left his Panter-pupil in doubt as to whether he should lay his "white payne" on the left or right of his knives. Every butler, drill-serjeant, and vestment-cleric, must feel the thing to be impossible. The corrector was not John Russell.

To all those gentlemen who have helped me in the explanations of words, &c.,—Mr Gillett, Dr Günther, Mr Atkinson, Mr Skeat, Mr Cockayne, Mr Gibbs, Mr Way, the Hon. G. P. Marsh—and to Mr E. Brock, the most careful copier of the MS., my best thanks are due, and are hereby tendered. Would that thanks of any of us now profiting by their labours could reach the ears of that prince of Dictionary-makers, Cotgrave, of Frater Galfridus, Palsgrave, Hexham, Philipps, and the rest of the lexicographers who enable us to understand the records of the past! Would too that an adequate expression of gratitude could reach the ears of the lost Nicolas, and of Sir Frederic Madden, for their carefully indexed Household Books,—to be contrasted with the unwieldy mass and clueless mazes of the Antiquaries' *Household Ordinances*, the two volumes of the Roxburghe *Howard Household Books*, and Percy's *Northumberland Household Book*<sup>2</sup>!—They will be spared the pains of the special place of torment reserved for editors who turn out their books without glossary or index. May that be their sufficient reward!

3, *St George's Square*, N.W.

16 Dec., 1866.

<sup>1</sup> The MS. has no title. The one printed I have made up from bits of the text.

<sup>2</sup> Still one is truly thankful for the material in these unindexed books.

## HUMPHREY, DUKE OF GLOUCESTER.

Mr C. H. Pearson has referred me to a most curious treatise on the state of Duke Humphrey's body and health in 1404 (that is, 1424, says Hearne), by Dr Gilbert Kymer, his physician, part of which (chapters 3 and 19, with other pieces) was printed by Hearne in the appendix to his *Liber Niger*, v. ii. p. 550 (*ed. alt.*), from a MS. then in Sir Hans Sloane's Collection, and now *Sloane 4* in the British Museum. It begins at p. 127 or folio 63, and by way of giving the reader a notion of its contents, I add here a copy of the first page of the MS.

**I**ncipit dietarium de sanitatis custodia preinclitissimo principi ac metuendissimo domino, domino humfrido, duci Gloucestrie, Aliisque preclaris titulis insignito, Scriptum & compilatum, per venerabilem doctorem, Magistrum Gilbertum Kymer, Medicinarum professorem, arcium ac philosophie Magistrum & in legibus bacallarium prelibati principis phisicum, Cuius dietarij<sup>1</sup> colleccionem (?) dilucidancia & effectum viginti sex existunt capitula, quorum consequenter hic ordo ponitur Rubricarum<sup>2</sup>.

*Capitulum 1<sup>m</sup>* est epistola de laude sanitatis & vtilitate bone dietè.

*Capitulum 2<sup>m</sup>* est de illis in quibus consistit dieta.

*Capitulum 3<sup>m</sup>* de tocius co[r]poris & parcium disposicione.

*Capitulum 4<sup>m</sup>* est de Ayere eligendo & corrigendo.

*Capitulum 5<sup>m</sup>* de quantitate cibi & potus sumenda.

*Capitulum 6<sup>m</sup>* de ordine sumendi cibum & potum.

*Capitulum 7<sup>m</sup>* de tempore sumendi cibum & potum.

*Capitulum 8<sup>m</sup>* de quantitate cibi & potus sumendorum.

*Capitulum 9<sup>m</sup>* de pane eligendo.

*Capitulum 10<sup>m</sup>* de generibus potagiorum sumendis.

<sup>1</sup> The letters are to me more like *ci*, or *coll* than anything else, but I am not sure what they are.

<sup>2</sup> The MS. runs on without breaks,



- Capitulum* 11<sup>m</sup> de *carnibus vtendis & vitandis*.  
*Capitulum* 12<sup>m</sup> de *ouis sumendis*.  
*Capitulum* 13<sup>m</sup> de *lacticinijs vtendis*.  
*Capitulum* 14<sup>m</sup> de *piscibus vtendis & vitandis*.  
*Capitulum* 15<sup>m</sup> de *fructibus sumendis*.  
*Capitulum* 16<sup>m</sup> de *condimentis & speciebus vtendis*.  
*Capitulum* 17<sup>m</sup> de *potu eligendo*.  
*Capitulum* 18<sup>m</sup> de *regimine replecionis & inanicionis*.  
*Capitulum* 19<sup>m</sup> de *vsu coitus*.  
*Capitulum* 20<sup>m</sup> de *exercicio & quiete*.  
*Capitulum* 21<sup>m</sup> de *sompni & vigilie regimine*.  
*Capitulum* 22<sup>m</sup> de *vsu accidencium anime*.  
*Capitulum* 23<sup>m</sup> de *bona consuetudine diete tenenda*.  
*Capitulum* 24<sup>m</sup> de *medicinis vicissim vtendis*.  
*Capitulum* 25<sup>m</sup> de *aduersis nature infortunijs precauendis*.  
*Capitulum* 26<sup>m</sup> de *deo semper colendo vt sanitatem melius tueatur*.

Sharon Turner (*Hist. of England*, v. 498, note 35) says euphemistically of the part of this treatise printed by Hearne, that "it implies how much the Duke had injured himself by the want of self-government. It describes him in his 45th year, as having a rheumatic affection in his chest, with a daily morning cough. It mentions that his nerves had become debilitated by the vehemence of his laborious exercises, and from an immoderate frequency of pleasurable indulgences. It advises him to avoid north winds after a warm sun, sleep after dinner, exercise after society, frequent bathings, strong wine, much fruit, the flesh of swine, and the weakening gratification to which he was addicted. The last (chapter), 'De Deo semper colendo, ut sanitatem melius tueatur,' is worthy the recollection of us all." It is too late to print the MS. in the present volume, but in a future one it certainly ought to appear.

Of Duke Humphrey's character and proceedings after the Pope's bull had declared his first marriage void, Sharon Turner further says:

"Gloucester had found the rich dowry of Jacqueline wrenched from his grasp, and, from so much opposition, placed beyond his attaining, and he had become satiated with her person. One of her

attendants, Eleanor Cobham, had affected his variable fancy ; and tho' her character had not been spotless before, and she had surrendered her honour to his own importunities, yet he suddenly married her, exciting again the wonder of the world by his conduct, as in that proud day every nobleman felt that he was acting incongruously with the blood he had sprung from. His first wedlock was impolitic, and this unpopular ; and both were hasty and self-willed, and destructive of all reputation for that dignified prudence, which his elevation to the regency of the most reflective and enlightened nation in Europe demanded for its example and its welfare. This injudicious conduct announced too much imperfection of intellect, not to give every advantage to his political rival the bishop of Winchester, his uncle, who was now struggling for the command of the royal mind, and for the predominance in the English government. He and the duke of Exeter were the illegitimate brothers of Henry the Fourth, and had been first intrusted with the king's education. The internal state of the country, as to its religious feelings and interest, contributed to increase the differences which now arose between the prelate and his nephew, who is described by a contemporary as sullying his cultivated understanding and good qualities, by an ungoverned and diseasing love of unbecoming pleasures. It is strange, that in so old a world of the same continuing system always repeating the same lesson, any one should be ignorant that the dissolute vices are the destroyers of personal health, comfort, character, and permanent influence."<sup>1</sup>

After narrating Duke Humphrey's death, Turner thus sums up his character :—

“The duke of Gloucester, amid failings that have been before alluded to, has acquired the pleasing epithet of The Good ; and has been extolled for his promotion of the learned or deserving clergy. Fond of literature, and of literary conversation, he patronized men of talent and erudition. One is called, in a public record, his poet and orator ; and Lydgate prefaces one of his voluminous works, with a panegyric upon him, written during the king's absence on his French

<sup>1</sup> Sharon Turner's *History of England*, vol. v. pp. 496-8.

coronation, which presents to us the qualities for which, while he was living, the poet found him remarkable, and thought fit to commend him."

These verses are in the Royal MS. 18 D 4, in the British Museum, and are here printed from the MS., not from Turner :—

[Fol. 4.] Eek in this lond—I dar afferme a thyng—  
 Ther is a prince Ful myhty of puyssaunce,  
 A kynges sone, vnclē to the kyngē  
 Henry the sexte which is now in fraunce,  
 And is lieftenant, & hath the gouernaunce  
 Off our breteyne ; thoruh was discrecion  
 He hath conserued in this regioun

Duryng his tyme off ful hihe<sup>1</sup> prudence  
 Pes and quiete, and sustened rihte,<sup>1</sup>  
 ȝit natwithstandyng his noble prouydençe  
 He is in deede prouyd a good knyght,  
 Eied as argus with reson and forsiht ;  
 Off hihe lecture I dar eek off hym telle,  
 And treuli deeme that he dothe excelle

In vndirstondyng all othir of his age,  
 And hath gret Ioie with clerkis to commune ;  
 And no man is mor expert off language.  
 Stable in studie alwei he doth contune,  
 Settyng a side alle chaunges<sup>2</sup> of fortune ;  
 And wher he louethe, ȝiff I schal nat tarie,  
 Witheoute cause ful lothe he is to varie.

Duc off Gloucestre men this prince calle ;  
 And natwithstandyng his staat & dignyte,  
 His corage neuer doth appalle  
 To studie in bookis off antiquite ;  
 Therin he hath so gret felicite  
 Vertuousli hym silff to ocupie,  
 Off vicious slouth to haue the maistrie.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> These e-s represent the strokes through the h-s. <sup>2</sup> MS. thaunges.

<sup>3</sup> This is the stanza quoted by Dr Reinhold Pauli in his *Bilder aus Alt-England*, c. xi. p. 349 :

“ Herzog von Gloucester nennen sie den Fürsten,  
 Der trotz des hohen Rangs und hoher Ehren  
 Im Herzen nährt ein dauerndes Gelüsten  
 Nach Allem, was die alten Bücher lehren ;  
 So glücklich gross ist hierin sein Begehren,  
 Dass tugendsam er seine Zeit verbringt  
 Und trunkne Trägheit männiglich bezwingt.”

The reader should by all means consult this chapter, which is headed “ Herzog

And with his prudence & wit his manheed  
 Trouthe to susteyne he fauour set a side ;  
 And hooli chirche meynatenyng in dede,  
 That in this land no lollard dar abide.  
 As verrai support, vpholdere, & eek guyde,  
 Spareth non, but makethe hym silff strong  
 To punyssh alle tho that do the chirche wrong.

Thus is he both manly & eek wise,  
 Chose of god to be his owne knyhte ;  
 And off o thyng he hath a synguler<sup>1</sup> price,  
 That heretik dar non comen in his sihte.  
 In cristes feithe he stant so hol vpright,  
 Off hooli chirche defence and [c]hampion  
 To chastise alle that do therto treson.

And to do plesance to oure lord ihesu  
 He studieht<sup>2</sup> euere to haue intelligence.  
 Reedinge off bookis bringthe in vertu,—  
 Vices excludyng, slouth & negligence,—  
 Makethe a prince to haue experience  
 To know hym silff in many sundry wise,  
 Wher he trespaseth, his errour to chastise.

After mentioning that the duke had considered the book of 'Boccasio, on the Fall of Princes,' he adds, 'and he gave me commandment, that I should, after my conning, this book translate him to do plesance.' MS. 18 D 4.—Sharon Turner's *History of England*, vol. vi. pp. 55—7.

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P.S. When printing the 1513 edition of Wynkyn de Worde's *Boke of Keruynge*, I was not aware of the existence of a copy of the earlier edition in the Cambridge University Library. Seeing this copy afterwards named in Mr Hazlitt's new catalogue, I asked a friend to compare the present reprint with the first edition, and the result follows.

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Humfrid von Gloucester. Bruchstück eines Fürstenlebens im fünfzehnten Jahrhunderte" (Humphrey Duke of Gloucester. Sketch of the life of a prince in the fifteenth century). There is an excellent English translation of this book, published by Macmillan, and entitled "Pictures of Old England."—W. W. Skeat.

<sup>1</sup> The *l* is rubbed.

<sup>2</sup> So in MS.

## NOTE ON THE 1508 EDITION OF

*The Boke of Keruyngge,*

BY THE REV. WALTER SKEAT, M.A.

The title-page of the older edition, of 1508, merely contains the words, "¶ Here begynneth the boke of Keruyngge;" and beneath them is—as in the second edition of 1513—a picture of two ladies and two gentlemen at dinner, with an attendant bringing a dish, two servants at a side table, and a jester. The colophon tells us that it was "Enprynted by wynkyn de worde at London in Flete strete at the sygne of the sonne. The yere of our lorde M.CCCCC.VIII;" beneath which is Wynkyn de Worde's device, as in the second edition.

The two editions resemble each other very closely, running page for page throughout, and every folio in the one begins at the same place as in the other. Thus the word "moche" is divided into mo-che in both editions, the "-che" beginning Fol. A ii. b. Neither is altogether free from misprints, but these are not very numerous nor of much importance. It may be observed that marks of contraction are hardly ever used in the older edition, the word "ye" being written "the" at length, and instead of "haged" we find "hanged." On the whole, the first edition would seem to be the more carefully printed, but the nature of the variations between them will be best understood by an exact collation of the first two folios (pp. 151-3 of the present edition), where the readings of the first edition are denoted by the letter A. The only variations are these:—

- P. 151. *lyft* that swanne] *lyfte* that swanne A (*a misprint*).  
*frusshe* that chekyn] *fruche* that chekyn A.  
 thye all maner of small hyrdes] A omits of.  
*fynne* that cheuen] *fyne* that cheuen A.  
*trassene* that ele] *trassene* that ele A.  
 Here *hendeth*, &c.] Here *endeth*, &c. A.  
*Butler*] *Butteler* A.
- P. 152, l. 5. *trenchoures*] *trenchours* A.  
 l. 12. *haged*] *hanged* A.  
 l. 15. *cannelles*] *canelles* A.  
 l. 18, 19. *ye*] *the* (*in both places*) A.  
 l. 20. *seasons*] *seasons* A.  
 l. 23. *after*] *After* A.  
 l. 27. *good*] *goot* A.  
 l. 30. *ye*] *the* A.  
 l. 34. *modon*] *modon* A.  
 l. 36. *sourayne*] *souerayne* A.

P. 153. *ye*] the A (*several times*).

- l. 5. *wyll*] *wyl* A.
- l. 9. *rede*] *reed* A. *reboyle*] *reboyle* not A.
- l. 12. *the reboyle*] *they reboyle* A.
- l. 17. *lessynge*] *lesynge* A.
- l. 20. *campolet*] *campolet* A.
- l. 21. *tyer*] *tyerre* A.
- l. 22. *ypocras*] *Ipocras* A (*and in the next line, and l. 26*).
- l. 24. *gynger*] *gynger* A.
- l. 27. *ren*] *hange* A.
- l. 29. *your*] *youre* A.

*In l. 33, A has paradico, as in the second edition.*

It will be readily seen that these variations are chiefly in the spelling, and of a trivial character. The only ones of any importance are, on p. 151, *lyste* (which is a misprint) for *lyft*, and *trassene* for *transsene* (cp. Fr. *transon*, a truncation, peece of, Cot.); on p. 152, *goot* for *good* is well worth notice (if any meaning can be assigned to *goot*), as the direction to beware of *good* strawberries is not obvious; on p. 153, we should note *lesynge* for *lessynge*, and *hange* for *ren*, the latter being an improvement, though *ren* makes sense, as basins hung by cords on a perch may, like curtains hung on a rod, be said to *run* on it. The word *ren* was probably caught up from the line above it in reprinting.

The following corrections are also worth making, and are made on the authority of the first edition :—

P. 155, l. 10. *For treachour read* trenchour.

l. 23. *For so read* se.

l. 24. *For se' read* se.

P. 156, l. 1. *ony*] on A.

l. 7. *For it read* is.

l. 15. *ye so*] and *soo* A. (*No doubt owing to confusion between & and ye*.)

l. 16. *your*] *you* A.

l. 29. *For bo read* be.

P. 157, l. 20. *For wich read* with.

P. 158, l. 3. *For fumositytes read* fumositytees.

l. 7. *For pygous read* pynyons (whence it appears that the *pimion*-bones, not *pigeon*'s-bones, are meant).

l. 25. The word "reylf" is quite plain.

P. 160, ll. 18, &c. There is some variation here; the first edition has, after the word *souerayne*, the following :—"laye trenchours before hym / yf he be a grete estate, lay fyue trenchours / & he be of a lower degre, foure trenchours / & of an other degre, thre trenchours," &c. This is better; the second edition is clearly wrong about the *five* trenchers. This seems another error made in reprinting, the words *lower degre* being wrongly repeated.

P. 161, l. 6. It may be proper to note the first edition also has *broche*.

P. 165, l. 8. *For for ye read* for they.

- P. 165, l. 27. *the[y]*; in A they is printed in full.  
 P. 166, l. 18. For raysyus read raysyns.  
 P. 167, l. 21. For slytee read slytte.  
 P. 169, ll. 10, 18. *carpentes*] carpettes A.  
 l. 14. *shall*] shake A.  
 l. 23. *blanked*] blanket A.

Nearly all the above corrections have already been made in the side-notes. Only two of them are of any importance, viz. the substitution of *pynyons* on p. 158, and the variation of reading on p. 160; in the latter case perhaps neither edition seems quite right, though the first edition is quite intelligible.

In our Cambridge edition (see p. 170, l. 5) this line about the pope is carefully struck out, and the grim side-note put "*lower down*", with tags to show to what estate he and the cardinal and bishops ought to be degraded!

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NOTE TO P. XXIV. L. 10, "OUR WOMEN," AND THEIR KNOWLEDGE  
 OF LANGUAGES, P. XXV-VI.

The Ladies & Men of Queen Elizabeth's Court.

"I might here (if I would, or had sufficient disposition of matter conceived of the same) make a large discourse of such honorable ports, of such graue counsellors, and noble personages, as giue their dailie attendance vpon the quéenes maiestie there. I could in like sort set foorth a singular commendation of the vertuous beautie, or beautifull vertues of such ladies and gentlewomen as wait vpon hir person, betweene whose amiable countenances and costlinesse of attire, there séemeth to be such a dailie conflict and contention, as that it is verie difficult for me to gesse, whether of the twaine shall beare awaie the preheminance. This further is not to be omitted, to the singular commendation of both sorts and sexes of our courtiers here in England, that there are verie few of them, which haue

English courtiers  
 the best learned  
 & the worst  
 liuers.

not the vse and skill of sundrie speaches, beside an excellent veine of writing before time not regarded. Would to God the rest of their liues and conuersations were correspondent to these gifts ! for as our common courtiers (for the most part) are the best lerned and indued with excellent gifts, so are manie of them the worst men when they come abroad, that anie man shall either heare or read of. Trulie it is a rare thing with vs now, to heare of a courtier which hath but his owne language. And to saie how many gentlewomen and ladies there are, that beside sound knowledge of the Gréeke and Latine toongs, are thereto no lesse skilfull in the Spanish, Italian, and French, or in some one of them, it resteth not in me: sith I am persuaded, that as the noble men and gentlemen doo surmount in this behalfe, so these come verie little or nothing at all behind them for their parts ; which industrie God continue, and accomplish that which otherwise is wanting !

[Ladiee learned  
in languages.]

[Ancient ladies'  
employments.]

“ Beside these things I could in like sort set downe the waies and meanes, wherby our ancient ladies of the court doo shun and auoid idlenesse, some of them exercising their fingers with the needle, other in caulworke, diuerse in spinning of silke, some in continuall reading either of the holie scriptures, or histories of our owne or forren nations about vs, and diuerse in writing volumes of their owne, or translating of other mens into our English and Latine toong, whilst the yoongest sort in the meane time applie their lutes, citharnes, prickesong, and all kind of musike, which they vse onelie for recreation sake, when they haue leisure, and are frée from attendance vpon the quéenes maiestie, or such as they belong vnto. How manie of the eldest sort also are skilfull in surgerie and distillation of waters, beside sundrie other artificiall practises pertaining to the ornature and commendations of their bodies,

[Young ladies'  
recreations.]

[Old ladies' skill  
in surgery, &c.]



I might (if I listed to deale further in this behalfe) easilie declare, but I passe ouer such maner of dealing, least I should séeme to glauer, and currie fauour with some of them. Neuerthelesse this I will generallie saie of them all, that as ech of them are cuning in something wherby they kéepe themselues occupied in the court, so there is in maner none of them, but when they be at home, can helpe to supplie the ordinarie want of the kitchen with a number of delicat dishes of their owne deuising, wherein the Portingall is their chéefe counsellor, as some of them are most commonlie with the clearke of the kitchen, who vseth (by a tricke taken vp of late) to giue in a bréefe rehearsall of such and so manie dishes as are to come in at euerie course throughout the whole seruice in the dinner or supper while: which bill some doo call a memoriall, other a billet, but some a fillet, bicause such are commonlie hanged on the file, and kept by the ladie or gentlewoman vnto some other purpose. But whither am I digressed?"—1577, W. HARRISON, in *Holinshed's Chronicles*, vol. I. p. 196, ed. 1586.

[All are cunning]

in cookery, helped  
by the  
Portuguese.][Introduction  
of the *Curte*,Memorial,  
Billet or  
Fillet.]

These are given as a warning to other editors either to collate in foot-notes or not at all. The present plan takes up as much room as printing a fresh text would, and gives needless trouble to every one concerned.

p. 260. *The A B C of Aristotle*, Harl. MS. 1706, fol. 94, collated by Mr Brock, omits the prologue, and begins after l. 14 with, "Here be-gynneth Arystoles A B C. made be mayster Benett."

A, *for argue not read* Angre the

B, *omit ne ; for not to large read* thou nat to brode

D, „ „ ; *for not read* thow nat

E, „ „ ; *for to eernesful read* ne curyons

F, *for fers, famuler, freëndli, read* Ferde, familier, frenfull

G, *omit to ; for & gelosie þou hate, read* Ne to galaunt never

H, *for in pine read* off

I, *for iettyngre read* Iocunde ; *for iape not to read* Ioye thow nat

K, *omit to and & ; for knaue read* knaves

L, *for for to leene read* ne to lovyng ; *for goodis read* woordys

M, *for medelus read* Mellous ; *for but as mesure wole it meeue read* ne to besynesse vneffulle

N, *for ne use no new iettis read* ne noughte to neffangle

O, *for ouerþwart read* ouertwarthe ; *for & oopis þou hate read* Ne othez to haunte

Q, *for quarelouse read* querelous ; *for weel þoure souereyns read* men alle abowte

R, *omit the second to ; for not to rudeli read* thou nat but lyte

S, *for ne straungeli to stare read* Ne starte nat abowte

T, *for for temperaunce is best read* But temperate euere

V, *for ne &c. read* ne violent Ne waste nat to moche

W, *for neiþer &c. read* Ne to wyse deme the

¶ *for is euere þe beste of read* ys best for vs

*Add X Y Z* x y wyche esed & per se.

Tytelle Tytelle Tytelle thañ Esta Amen.

- p. 265. *The Lytylle Childrenes Lytil Boke*, with part of the Advocates Library MS., fol. 84, back (collated by Mr David Laing).
- l. 1, *for* childreñ *read* childur
  - l. 2, *dele* þat ; l. 3 *dele* For
  - l. 6, *for* .with mary, *read* oure Lady
  - l. 7, *for* arñ *read* byn
  - l. 9, *prefix* Forst to Loke, and *for* wasshe *read* wasshyd
  - l. 12, *for* tyll *read* to
  - l. 13, *prefix* And to Loke
  - l. 14, *is*, To he y<sup>t</sup> reweleth y<sup>e</sup> howse y<sup>e</sup> hytt
  - l. 16, *put* the that *between* loke and on
  - l. 17, *for* without any faylys *read* withowtte fayle
  - l. 18, *for* hungry aylys *read* empty ayle
  - l. 20, *for* ete esely *read* etett eysely
- p. 267, l. 25, *for* mosselle *read* morsselle
- l. 26, *for* in *read* owt of
  - l. 30, *for* Into thy *read* nor in the ; *for* thy salte *read* hit
  - l. 31, *for* fayre on þi *read* on a
  - l. 32, *for* The byfore *read* Byfore the ; and *dele* þyne
  - ll. 33-4, *are* Pyke not y<sup>i</sup> tette wyth y<sup>i</sup> knyfe  
Whyles y<sup>u</sup> etyst be y<sup>i</sup> lyfe

The poem in the Advocates' MS. has 108 lines, and fills 5 pages of the MS. (Wynkyn de Worde's version ends with this, after l. 105, 'And in his laste ende wyth the swete Ihesus. Amen. Here endeth the boke of curtesye.'

- p. 265. *The Lytylle Childrenes Lytil Boke* collated with the Cambridge University MS., by Mr Henry Bradshaw. *Hem* is always written for *him* in this MS., and so with other words.
- l. 2, *for* wrytyne *read* hrekeyd
  - l. 6, *for* Elizabeth *read* cortesey
  - l. 7, *for* closide *read* clodyd
  - l. 10, *for* on *read* yn
  - l. 11, 12, *for* þou *read* ye
  - l. 14, *for* hous the bydde *read* hall þe beyt
  - l. 15, *for* þe *read* they
  - l. 16, *for* on *read* no
  - l. 17, *for* any faylys *read* fayle
  - l. 18, *for* aylys *read* heydyt
  - l. 19, *for* Ete . . hastely *read* yet . . hastey
  - l. 20, *prefix* Bot to Abyde ; *for* esely *read* all yesley
- p. 267, l. 23, *for* Kerue not thy brede *read* Kot they bred not
- l. 24, *is* Ne to theke bat be-tweyn
  - l. 25, *for* mosselle *read* mossels ; *for* begynnyssse to *read* dost
  - l. 26, *for* in *read* owt of
  - l. 27, *for* on *read* yn

- p. 267, ll. 28-30, *are* Ne yn they met, feys, ne fleys.  
Put not thy mete yn þey salt seleyr
- l. 32, *is* Be-fore the, that ys worschep
  - l. 33, *for* ne *read* nother
  - l. 34, *for* If *read* And; *for* come *read* comest
  - l. 35, *for* And *read* Seche; *put the is before yn*
  - l. 37, *for* Ete . . by *read* Kot . . yn
  - l. 38, *prefix* And to Fylle; *omit* done
  - l. 40, *is* Weyles thou hetys, bey they leyffe
  - l. 42, *for* þow put *read* take owt
  - l. 43, *for* Ne *read* Nether
  - l. 44, *is* For no cortesey het ys not habell
  - l. 45, *for* Elbowe . . *fyst read* Elbowhes . . *fystys*
  - l. 46, *for* whylis þat *read* wheyle
  - l. 47, *is* Bolk not as a bolle yn the crofte
  - l. 48, *for* karle þat *read* charle; *for* cote *read* cotte
  - l. 50, *for* of hyt or þou art *read* the or ye be
  - l. 51, *for* sterke *read* lowde
- p. 269, l. 52, *is* all of curtesy loke ye carpe
- l. 53, *for* at *read* all; *omit* loke þou
  - l. 54, *for* Loke þou rownde not *read* And loke ye
  - l. 55, *omit* thy; *for* and *read* ne
  - l. 56, *for* doo *read* make
  - l. 57, *for* laughe not *read* noþer laughe
  - l. 58, *for* with moche speche *read* thow meche speke; *for* mayst *read* may
  - l. 59, *for* fist ne *read* ner; and *for the second* ne *read* not
  - l. 60, *for* fayre and styлле *read* stere het not
  - l. 61, *for* thy *read* the
  - l. 66, *omit* a
  - l. 67, *for* I rede of *read* of j redde þe of
  - l. 68, *for* neþer *read* neuer; *omit yn þi before* drynk
  - l. 69, *for* þat *read* they
  - l. 73, *for* þou see *read* be saye
  - l. 76, *for* þou *read* yow; *for* thow art *read* yow ar
  - l. 77, *for* forthe *read* before yow
  - l. 78, *omit* þow not
  - l. 79, *for* ynto *read* yn
- p. 271, l. 83, *for* ende *read* hendyng
- l. 84, *for* wasshen *read* was
  - l. 85, *for* worthy *read* worthyor
  - l. 86, *for* to- *read* be-; *omit* &; *for* þi prow *read* gentyll cortesey
  - ll. 87, 88, 89, are omitted.
  - l. 90, *for* nether *read* not; *for* ne *read* ne with
  - l. 91, *omit* þi; *for* the hede *read* they lorde
  - l. 92, *for* hyghly *read* mekeley
  - l. 93, *for* togydre ynsame *read* yn the same manere

- p. 271, l. 94, *for* no blame *read* the same  
 l. 95, *for* thereafter *read* hereafter  
 l. 96, *after* that *add* he ys ; *for* was heere *read* pere aftyr  
 l. 97, *omit* And ; *for* dispiseth *read* dispise  
 l. 99, *for* Nether *read* neuer  
 l. 100, *for* Ner *read* ne  
 l. 101, *after* for *add* sent  
 l. 102, *for* Louyth this boke *read* Loren this lesen  
 l. 103, *omit* and ; *for* made *read* wret  
 l. 106, is omitted.
- p. 273, l. 107, *before* vs *put* hem and  
 l. 108, *for* the first Amen *read* Sey all ; *for* the Explicit &c. *read*  
 Expleycyt the Boke of cortesey.

## CORRIGENDA, ADDITIONAL NOTES, &amp;c.

p. iv. l. 6. 'Your Bele Babees are very like the *Meninos* of the Court of Spain, & *Menins* of that of France, young nobles brought up with the young Princes.' H. Reeve.

p. v. last line. This is not intended to confine the definition of Music as taught at Oxford to its one division of *Harmonica*, to the exclusion of the others, *Rythmica*, *Metrica*, &c. The Arithmetic said to have been studied there in the time of Edmund the Confessor is defined in his Life (MS. about 1310 A.D.) in my *E. E. Poems & Lives of Saints*, 1862, thus,

Arsmetrike is a lore : þat of figours al is  
& of drauztes as me drawep in poudre : & in numbre iwis.

p. xviii. l. 16. The regular Cathedral school would have existed at St David's.

p. xix., note 4. "There are no French universities, though we find every now and then some humbug advertising himself in the *Times* as possessing a degree of the Paris University. The old Universities belong to the time before the Deluge—that means before the Revolution of 1789. The University of France is the organized whole of the higher and middle institutions of learning, in so far as they are directed by the State, not the clergy. It is an institution more governmental, according to the genius of the country, than our London University, to which, however, its organization bears some resemblance. To speak of it in one breath with Oxford or Aberdeen is to commit the . . . error of confounding two things, or placing them on the same line, because they have the same name."—E. Oswald, in *The English Leader*, Aug. 10, 1867.

p. xxiv. l. 9, for 1574 read 1577.

p. xxv. l. 17, related apparently. "The first William de Valence married Joan de Monchensi, sister-in-law to one Dionysia, and aunt to another." *The Chronicle*, Sept. 21, 1867.

p. xxvi. One of the inquiries ordered by the Articles issued by Archbishop Cranmer, in A.D. 1548, is, "Whether Parsons, Vicars, Clerks, and other beneficed men, having yearly to dispense an hundred pound, do not find, competently, one scholar in the University of Cambridge or Oxford, or some grammar school; and for as many hundred pounds as every of them may dispense, so many scholars likewise to be found [supported] by them; and what be their names that they so find." Toulmin Smith, *The Parish*, p. 95. Compare also in Church-Wardens Accompts of St Margaret's, Westminster (ed. Jn. Nichols, p. 41).

1631. Item, to Richard Busby, a king's scholler of Westminster, towards enabling him to proceed master of arts at Oxon, by consent of the vestrie  
£6. 13. 4.

1628. Item, to Richard Busby, by consent of the vestry, towards enabling him to proceed bachelor of arts £5. 0. 0.

Nichols, p. 38. See too p. 37.

p. xxvii., last line. Roger Bacon died, perhaps, 11 June, 1292, or in 1294. *Book of Dates*.

p. xxvii., *dele* note 3. 'The truth is that, in his account of Oxford and its early days, Mr Hallam quotes John of Salisbury, not as asserting that Vacarius taught there, but as making "no mention of Oxford at all"; while he gives for the statement about the law school no authority whatever beyond his general reference throughout to Anthony Wood. But the fact is as historical as a fact can well be, and the authority for it is a passage in one of the best of the contemporary authors, Gervaise of Canterbury. "Tunc leges et caudici in Angliam primo vocati sunt," he says in his account of Theobald in the Acts of the Archbishops, "quorum primus erat magister Vacarius. Hic in Oxonefordiâ legem docuit.'" E. A. F.

p. xxxiii. note, l. 1, for St Paul's read St Anthony's

p. xxxiv., for sister read brother

p. xlv. l. 2, for poor read independent. 'Fitz-Stephen says on the parents of St Thomas, "Neque fœnerantibus neque officiose negotiantibus, sed de redditibus suis honorifice viventibus.'" E. A. F.

p. liii. Thetford. See also p. xli.

p. lxxix. last line. A Postscript of nine fresh pieces has been since added, on and after p. 349, with 'The Boris hede furst' at p. 264\*.

p. 6, l. 77, for the note on plommys, damsons, see p. 91, note on l. 177.

p. 7, l. 2 of notes, for Household read Household

p. 27, l. 418, Areyse. Compare, "and the Geaunte pulled and drough, but he myght hym not a-race from the sadell." *Merlin*, Pt. II. p. 346 (E. E. T. Soc. 1866).

p. 35, note \* (to l. 521), for end of this volume read p. 145

p. 36, l. 356. *Pepper*. "The third thing is Pepper, a sauce for vplandish folkes: for they mingle Pepper with Beanes and Peason. Likewise of toasted bread with Ale or Wine, and with Pepper, they make a blacke sauce, as if it were pap, that is called *pepper*, and that they cast vpon theyr meat, flesh and fish." *Reg. San. Salerni*, p. 67.

p. 58, l. 851; p. 168, l. 13, 14. Green sauce. There is a herb of an acid taste, the common name for which . . . is *green-sauce* . . . not a dozen miles from Stratford-on-Avon. *Notes & Queries*, June 14, 1851, vol. iii. p. 474. "of Persley leaues stamped withe veriuycce, or white wine, is made a *greene sauce* to eate with roasted meat . . . Sauce for Mutton, Veale and Kid, is *greene sauce*, made in Summer with Vineger or Verjuycce, with a few spices, and without Garlicke. Otherwise with Parsley, white Ginger, and tosted bread with Vineger. In Winter, the same sawces are made with many spices, and little quantity of Garlicke, and of the best Wine, and with a little Verjuycce, or with Mustard." *Reg. San. Salerni*, p. 67-8.

p. 62, l. 909, ? perhaps a comma should go after hed, and 'his cloak or cape' as a side-note. But see cappe, p. 65, l. 964.

p. 66, l. 969. Dogs. The nuisance that the number of Dogs must have been may be judged of by the following payments in the Church-Wardens' Accounts of St Margaret's, Westminster, in *Nichols*, p. 34-5.

1625 Item paid to the dog-killer for killing of dogs 0. 9. 8.

1625 Item paid to the dog-killer more for killing 14 dozen and 10 dogs in time of visitacion 1. 9. 8.

1625 Item paid to the dog-killer for killing of 24 dozen of dogs l. 8.

See the old French satire on the Lady and her Dogs, in *Rel. Ant.* i. 155.

- p. 67, last line of note, *for Hoss read Hog's*
- p. 71, side-note 12, *for King's read chief*
- p. 84, note to l. 51. Chipping or paring bread. "*Non comedas crustam, colorem quia gignit adustam . . .* the Authour in this Text warneth vs, to beware of crusts eating, because they ingender a-dust cholour, or melancholly humours, by reason that they bee burned and dry. And therefore great estates the which be [*orig.* the] chollerick of nature, cause the crustes aboue and beneath to be chipped away; wherfore the pith or crumme should be chosen, the which is of a greater nourishment then the crust." *Regimen Sanitatis Salerni*, ed. 1634, p. 71. Fr. *chapplis*, bread-chippings. Cotgrave.
- p. 85, note to l. 98, *Trencher*, should be to l. 52.
- p. 91, last note, on l. 177, should be on l. 77.
- p. 92, l. 6, *goddes good*. This, and *barme*, and *burgood* (= beer-good) are only equivalents for 'yeast.' *Goddes-good* was so called 'because it cometh of the grete grace of God': see the following extract, sent me by Mr Gillett, from the Book of the Corporate Assembly of Norwich, 8 Edw. IV.:
- "The Maior of this Cite commaundeth on the Kynge's bihalve, y<sup>t</sup> alle maner of Brewers y<sup>t</sup> shall hrewe to sale w<sup>t</sup>ynne this Cite, kepe y<sup>e</sup> assise accordyn to y<sup>e</sup> Statute, & upon peyne ordeyned. And wheras berme, otherwise clepid goddis good, w<sup>o</sup>ute tyme of mynde hath frely be goven or delyvered for brede, whete, malte, egges, or other honest rewarde, to y<sup>e</sup> valewe only of a ferthyng at y<sup>e</sup> uttermost, & noon warned, bicause it cometh of y<sup>e</sup> grete grace of God, Certeyn persons of this Cite, calling themselves common Brewers, for their singler lucre & avayll have nowe newly bigonne to take money for their seid goddis good, for y<sup>e</sup> leest parte thereof, be it never so litle and insufficient to serve the payer therefore, an halpenny or a peny, & fethermore exalting y<sup>e</sup> price of y<sup>e</sup> seid Goddis good at their *proper* will, ageyns the olde & laudable custome of alle Englande, & specially of this Cite, to grete hurte & slaunder of y<sup>e</sup> same Cite. Wherefore it is ordeyned & provided, That no maner of brewer of this Cite shall from this time foorth take of eny person for lyvering, gevyng, or grauntyng of y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> goddis good, in money nor other rewarde, above y<sup>e</sup> valewe of a ferthyng. He shall, for no malice feyned ne sought, colour, warne, ne restregne y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> goddis good to eny persone y<sup>t</sup> will honestly & lefully aske it, & paye therefore y<sup>e</sup> valewe of a ferthyng, &c."
- p. 93, last note, on l. 283, *Rosemary*, should be at p. 110, as a note on l. 991, p. 67.
- p. 107, *for l. 828 read l. 835, note 4; for l. 838 read l. 845.*
- p. 108, *for l. 840 read l. 839.*
- p. 115, l. 34, or 10 from bottom, *for crenes read creues*
- p. 119, *for Malus in side-note, Cap. lvi. read Mulus*
- p. 131, last side-note, *for Have a jacket of, read Line a jacket with*
- p. 161, l. 4. *Flawnes*. 'Pro Caso ad *flauns* qualibet die . panis j' (allowance of). *Register of Worcester Priory*, fol. 121 a. ed. Hale, 1865.
- p. 175, l. 4, *for 1430-40 read 1460*
- p. 180, l. 124, *for an honest read an-honest (unpolite)*
- p. 291, col. 2, *under Broach, add 121/69*
- p. 296, col. 1, *Clof*. Can it be "cloth"?
- p. 181, l. 144, *Croscrist*. *La Croix de par Dieu*. The Christs-crosse-row; or, the hornebooke wherein a child learues it. Cotgrave. The alphabet was called the *Christ-cross-row*, some say because a cross was prefixed to the alphabet in the old primers; but as probably from a superstitious custom of writing the alphabet in the form of a cross, by way of charm. This was even



solemnly practised by the bishop in the consecration of a church. See Picart's Religious Ceremonies, vol. i. p. 131. *Naves*.

p. 185, l. 267, *for be, falle, read be-falle* (it befalls, becomes)

p. 189, l. 393, side-note, *Hall*, should be *Hall*. Fires in Hall lasted to *Cena Domini*, the Thursday before Easter: see l. 398. Squires' allowances of lights ended on Feb. 2, I suppose. These lights, or *candle* of l. 839, would be only part of the allowances. The rest would continue all the year. See *Household Ordinances & North. Hous. Book*. Dr Rock says that the *holyn* or holly and *erbere grene* refer to the change on Easter Sunday described in the *Liber Festivalis*:—"In die pasche. Good friends ye shall know well that this day is called in many places God's Sunday. Know well that it is the manner in every place of worship at this day to *do the fire out of the hall*; and the black winter brands, and all thing that is foul with smoke shall be done away, and there the fire was, shall be gaily arrayed with fair flowers, and strewed with green rushes all about, showing a great ensample to all Christian people, like as they make clean their houses to the sight of the people, in the same wise ye should cleanse your souls, doing away the foul brenning (burning) sin of lechery; put all these away, and cast out all thy smoke, dusts; and strew in your souls flowers of faith and charity, and thus make your souls able to receive your Lord God at the Feast of Easter."—Rock's *Church of the Future*, v. iii. pt. 2, p. 250. "The holly, being an evergreen, would be more fit for the purpose, and makes less litter, than the boughs of deciduous trees. I know some old folks in Herefordshire who yet follow the custom, and keep the grate filled with flowers and foliage till late in the autumn."—D. R. On Shere-Thursday, or *Cena Domini*, Dr Rock quotes from the *Liber Festivalis*—"First if a man asked why ShereThursday is called so, ye may say that in Holy Church it is called '*Cena Domini*,' our Lord's Supper Day; for that day he supped with his disciples openly. . . . It is also in English called ShereThursday; for in old fathers' days the people would that day sheer their heads and clip their beards, and poll their heads, and so make them honest against Easter-day."—Rock, *ib.*, p. 235.

p. 192, l. 462-4, *cut out . after hete; put; after sett, and, after let; l. 468-9, for sett, In syce, read sett In syce; l. 470, ? some omission after this line.*

p. 193, note<sup>3</sup>, *for course read coarse*

p. 195, l. 543, side note, *for residue read receipt; l. 562, for dere. read dere*

p. 198, side-notes, l. 4, *for farthings read halfpence*

p. 200, l. 677, side-note, *steel spoon is more likely spoon handle*

p. 215, l. 14. *The T of T* the is used as a paragraph mark in the MS.

p. 240, l. 991, *for tuicoin read tuicion.*

p. 254, l. 131, side-note, *alter to 'some pour water on him, others hold,' &c.*

p. 271, l. 93, *for yn-same read yn same*

p. 274, l. 143-4, ? sense, reading corrupt.

p. 275, Lowndes calls the original of *Stans Puer ad Mensam* the *Carmen Juvenile* of Sulpitius.

p. 310, col. 1. Green sauce: *for 200/ read 168/.*

p. 312, col. 2, *Holyn*. Bosworth gives A.S. *holen*, a rush; Wright's *Vocab., holin*, Fr. *hous*; and that Cotgrave glosses 'The Hollie, Holme, or Huluer tree.' *Ancien Riwle*, 418 note \*, and *Rel. Ant.*, ii. 280, have it too. See Stratmann's *Dict.*

p. 312, col. 2, *under Heyron-sewe, for /239 read /539*

p. 317, col. 2, *The extract for Lopster should have been under creuis or crab.*

p. 318, col. 1, *Lorely* may be *lorel-ly*, like a *lorel*, a loose, worthless fellow, a rascal.

p. 322, col. 2. Ob. *for pence read halfpence.*

p. 334, col. 2, Side, *for l. 248 read 16/248.*

p. 336, col. 2, Stand upright : *for 209/ read 213/*

p. 338, col. 2, Summedelasse, *for 806 read 808*

p. 339, col. 1, Syles *is* strains. SILE, *v.*, to strain, to purify milk through a straining dish; Su.-Got. *sila*, colare.—SILE, *s.*, a fine sieve or milk strainer; Su.-Got. *sil*, colum. Brockett. See quotations in Halliwell's Gloss., and Strattmann, who gives Swed. *sila*, colare.

On the general subject of diet in olden time consult "Regimen Sanitatis Salernitanum, with an Introduction by Sir Alex. Croke, Oxford, 1830." H. B. Wheatley. On manners, consult *Liber Metricus Faceti Morosi*. J. E. Hodgkin.

☞ Ten fresh pieces relating more or less to the subjects of this volume having come under my notice since the Index was printed and the volume supposed to be finished, I have taken the opportunity of the delay in its issue—caused by want of funds—to add nine of the new pieces as a Postscript, and the tenth at p. 264\*. An 11th piece, *Caxton's Book of Curtesye*, in three versions, too important to be poked into a postscript, will form No. 3 of the Early English Text Society's Extra Series, the first Text for 1868.

John Russell's  
Book of Nurture.



The  
**Boke of Nurture**  
Following Englondis gise

BY ME

**John Russell,**

SUM TYME SERUANDE WITH DUKE VMFREY OF GLOWCETUR,  
A PRYNCE FULLE ROYALLE, WITH WHOM VSCHERE IN  
CHAMBUR WAS Y, AND MERSHALLE ALSO  
IN HALLE.

*Edited from the Harleian MS. 4011 in the British Museum*

BY

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John Russells

Boke of Nurture.

[Harl. MS. 4011, Fol. 171.]

**I**n nomine patris, god kepe me / et filij for charite,  
Et spiritus sancti, where that y goo by lond  
or els by see ! In the name of  
the Father, Son,  
and Holy Ghost,  
God keep me !

an vsshere y Am / ye may beholde / to a I am an Usher  
to a Prince, and  
prynce of highe degre,

4 þat enioyethe to enforme & teche / alle þo thatt delight in  
teaching  
wille thrive & thee<sup>1</sup>,

Of suche thynges as here-aftur shalle be shewed by  
my diligence

To them þat nought Can / with-owt gret exsperience; the inex-  
perienced.  
Therefore yf any mañ þat y mete withe, þat<sup>2</sup> for fawt  
of negligence,

8 y wylle hym enforme & teche, for hurtyng of my  
Conscience.

To teche vertew and connyng, me thynkethe hit It is charitable to  
teach  
charitable,

for moche youthe in connyng / is bareñ & fulle ignorant youths.  
vnable ;

þerfore he þat no good cañ / ne to noon wille be If any such won't  
learn,  
agreable.

12 he shalle neuer y-thryve / þerfore take to hym a give them a toy.  
babulle.

<sup>1</sup> do, get on.

<sup>2</sup> þat = nought can.

One May I went  
to a forest,

and by the  
Forester's leave  
walked in the  
woodland,

where I saw three  
herds of deer

in the sunshine.

A young man  
with a bow was  
going to stalk  
them,

but I asked him  
to walk with me,

and inquired  
whom he served.

'No one but  
myself,

and I wish I was  
out of this world.'

As y rose owt of my bed, in a mery sesoun of may,  
to sporte me in a forest / where sightes were  
fresche & gay,  
y met *with* þe forster / y prayed hym to say me not  
nay,  
16 þat y mygh[t] walke in to his lawnde<sup>1</sup> where þe  
deere lay.

as y wandered weldsomly<sup>2</sup> / in-to þe lawnd þat was  
so grene,  
þer lay iij. herdís of deere / a semely syght for to  
sene ;  
y behild oñ my right hand / þe soñ þat shoñ so  
shene ;

20 y saw where walked / a semely yonge mañ, þat  
sklendur was & leene ;

his bowe he toke in hand toward þe deere to stalke ;  
y prayed hym his shote to leue / & softly *with* me  
to walke.

þis yonge mañ was glad / & louyd *with* me to talke,  
24 he prayed þat he myzt *with* me goo / in to som  
herne<sup>3</sup> or halke<sup>4</sup> ;

þis yonge mañ y frayned<sup>5</sup> / *with* hoom þat he  
wonned þañ,

"So god me socoure," he said / "Sir, y serue my-  
self / & els nooñ oper mañ."

"is þy gouernaunce good?" y said, / "soñ, say me  
þiff þow cañ."

28 "y wold y were owt of þis world" / seid he / "y  
ne rouzt how sone whañ."

<sup>1</sup> The Lawnd in woodes. *Saltus nemorum*. Baret, 1580.  
*Saltus*, a launde. Glossary in *Rel. Ant.*, v. 1, p. 7, col. 1. *Saltus*, a  
forest-pasture, woodland-pasture, woodland ; a forest.

<sup>2</sup> at will. A.S. *wilsum*, free willed.

<sup>3</sup> A.S. *hørne*, corner. Dan. *hjørne*.

<sup>4</sup> Halke or hyrne. *Angulus, latibulum* ; A.S. *hylca, sinus*.  
Promptorium Parvulorum and note.

<sup>5</sup> A.S. *fregnan*, to ask ; Goth., *fraihan* ; Germ., *fragen*.

- “ Sey nought so, good soñ, beware / me thynkethe ‘ Good eon,  
 þow menynt amysse ;  
 for god forbedithe wanhope, for þat a horrible synne despair is sit ;  
 ys,  
 þefore Soñ, open thyn hert / for *peraventure* y tell me what the  
 coud the lis<sup>1</sup> ; matter is.”
- 32 “ when bale is hext / þañ bote is next” / good sone, When the pain is  
 lerne welle þis.” greatest the cure  
 is nearest !’
- “ In certeyñ, sir / y haue y-sought / Ferre & nere ‘ Sir, I’ve tried  
 many a wilsom way everywhere for a  
 to gete mete<sup>2</sup> a mastir ; & for y coud nouzt / euery master ; but be-  
 mañ seid me nay, causee I know  
 y coud no good, ne noon y shewde / where euer y nothing, no one  
 ede day by day will take me.’
- 36 but wantoun & nyce, recheles & lewde / as Lange-  
 lynge as a Iay.”
- “ **N**ow, son, ziff y the teche, wiltow any thyngne [Fol. 171 b.]  
 lere ? ‘ Will you learn if  
 I’ll teach you ?’  
 wiltow be a *seruaunde*, plowzmañ, or a laborere, What do you  
 want to be ?’  
 Courtyour or a clark / Marchaund / or masoun, or  
 an artificere,
- 40 Chamburlayn, or buttillere / pantere or karvere ?”
- “ **T**he office of buttiler, sir, trewly / pantere or ‘ A Butler, Sir,  
 Panter, Chamber-  
 chamburlayne, lain, and Carver.  
 Teach me the  
 The connynge of a kerwere, specially / of þat y wold duties of these.’  
 lerne fayne  
 alle þese connynges to haue / y say yow in certayñ,  
 44 y shuld pray for youre sowle nevyr to come in  
 payne.”
- “ **S**on, y shalle teche þe withe ryght a good wille, ‘ I will, if you’ll  
 love God and be  
 So þat þow loue god & drede / for þat is ryght and  
 skylle,

<sup>1</sup> AS. *lis* remissio, lenitas ; Dan. *lise*, Sw. *lisa*, relief. <sup>2</sup> for me to

true to your master.	and to þy mastir be trêw / his goodes þat þow not spille, 48 but hym loue & drede / and hys commaundement; dew / fulfyller.
A Panter or Butler must have three knives :	The furst yere, my soñ, þow shalle be pantere or buttilare, þow must haue iij. knyffes kene / in pantry, y sey the, euermare :
1 to chop loaves, 1 to pare them,	Oñ knyfe þe loves to choppe, another them for to pare,
1 to smooth the trenchers.	52 the iij. sharpe & kene to smothe þe trenchurs and square. <sup>1</sup>
Give your Sove- reign new bread,  others one-day- old bread; for the house, three-day bread; for trenchers four-day bread;	alwey thy soueraynes bred thow choppe, & þat it be newe & able ; se alle oper bred a day old or þou choppe to þe table; alle howsold bred iij. dayes old / so it is profitable; 56 and trencher bred iiij. dayes is conuenient & agre- able.
Have your salt white, and your salt- planer of ivory,  two inches broad, three long.	loke þy salte be sutille, whyte, fayre and drye, and þy planere for thy salte / shalle be made of yverye / þe brede þerof ynches two / þen þe length, ynche told thrye ; 60 and þy salt sellere lydde / towche not thy salt bye.
Have your table linen sweet and clean,  your knives bright,	Good soñ, loke þat þy napery be soote / & also feyre & clene, bordclothe, towelle & napkyn, foldyn alle bydene. bryght y-pullished youre table knyve, semely in syzt to sene ;
spoons well washed,	64 and þy spones fayre y-wasche / ye wote welle what y meene.

<sup>1</sup> In Sir John Fastolfe's *Bottre*, 1455, are "ij. kerving knyves; iij. knyves in a schethe, the hafts of every (ivory) withe naylys gilt . . . j. trencher-knyfe." *Domestic Arch.*, v. 3, p. 157-8. *Hec mensacula*, a dressyng-knyfe, p. 256; trencher-knyves, *mensaculos*. Jn. de Garlande, Wright's Vocab. v. 123

- looke þow haue tarrers<sup>1</sup> two / a more & lasse for two wine-augers  
wyne ;
- wyne canels<sup>2</sup> accordynge to þe tarrers, of box fetice some box taps,  
& fyne ;
- also a gymlet sharpe / to broche & perce / sone to a broaching  
turne & twyne, gimlet,
- 68 with fawcet<sup>3</sup> & tampyne<sup>4</sup> redy / to stoppe when ye a pipe and bung.  
se tyme.
- So when þow settyst a pipe abroche / good [sone,] To broach a pipe,  
do aftur my lore :
- iiij fyngur ouer / þe nere chyne<sup>5</sup> þow may percer or pierce it with an  
bore ; auger or gimlet,  
four fingers-
- with tarrere or gymlet perce ye vpward þe pipe ashore, breadth over the  
lower rim,
- 72 and so shalle ye not cawse þe lies vp to ryse, y so that the dregs  
may not rise.  
warne yow euer more.
- Good sone, alle maner frute / þat longethe for seson Serve Fruit ac-  
ording to the  
season,
- Fygges / reysons / almandes, dates / buttur, chese<sup>6</sup> / figs, dates,  
nottus, apples, & pere,
- Compostes<sup>7</sup> & confites, chare de quynces / white & quince-mar-  
malade, ginger,  
&c.
- grene gyngere ;

<sup>1</sup> An Augre, or wimble, wherewith holes are bored. Terebra & terebrum. *Vng tarriere*. Baret's *Alvearie*, 1580.

<sup>2</sup> A Cannell or gutter. *Canalis*. Baret. *Tuyau*, a pipe, quill, cane, reed, canell. Cotgrave. *Canelle*, the faucet [l. 68] or quill of a wine vessel ; also, the cocke, or spout of a conduit. Cot.

<sup>3</sup> A Faucet, or tappe, a flute, a whistle, a pipe as well to conueigh water, as an instrument of Musicke. *Fistula* . . . *Tubulus*. Baret. l. 71. *Ashore*, aslant, see note to l. 299.

<sup>4</sup> *Tampon*, a bung or stopple. Cot. *Tampyon* for a gon—*tampon*. *Palsg*.

<sup>5</sup> The projecting rim of a cask. Queen Elizabeth's 'yeoman drawer hath for his fees, all the lees of wine within fowre fingers of the *chine*, &c.' *H. Ord.* p. 295, (referred to by Halliwell).

<sup>6</sup> This may be *butter-cheese*, milk- or cream-cheese, as contrasted with the 'hard chese' l. 84-5 ; but butter is treated of separately, l. 89.

<sup>7</sup> Fruit preserves of some kind ; not the stew of chickens, herbs, honey, ginger, &c., for which a recipe is given on p. 18 of *Liber Cure Cocorum*. Cotgrave has *Composte* : f. A condiment or compo-

76 and ffor aftur questyons, or þy lord sytte / of hym  
þow know & enquere.

[Fol. 172.]  
Before dinner,  
plums and grapes;  
after, pears, nuts,  
and hard cheese.

Serve fastynge / plommys / damsons / cheries /  
and grapis to plese ;  
aftur mete / peeres, nottys / strawberries, wÿneberies,<sup>1</sup>  
and hardchese,  
also blawnderelles,<sup>2</sup> pepyns / careaway in comfyte /  
Compostes<sup>3</sup> ar like to þese.

After supper,  
roast apples, &c.

80 aftur sopper, rosted apples, peres, blanche powder,<sup>4</sup>  
your stomak for to ese.

sition; a wet sucket (wherein sweet wine was vsed in stead of sugar), also, a pickled or winter Sallet of hearbes, fruits, or flowers, condited in vinegar, salt, sugar, or sweet wine, and so keeping all the yeare long; any hearbes, fruit, or flowers in pickle; also pickle it selfe. Fr. *compote*, stewed fruit. The Recipe for *Compost* in the *Forme of Cury*, Recipe 100 (C), p. 49-50, is "Take rote of *persel*. pasternak of raseñs. scrape hem and waische hem clene. take rapis & cabochis ypared and icorne. take an erthen panne with clene water, & set it on the fire. cast all þise þerinne. whan þey both boiled, cast þerto peeris, & parboile hem wel. take þise thyngis up, & lat it kele on a fair cloth, do þerto salt whan it is colde in a vessel; take vinegur, & powdour, & safroun, & do þerto, & lat alle þise þingis lye þerin al nyzt oþer al day, take wyne greke and hony clarified togidur, lumbarde mustard, & raisouns corance al hool. & grynde powdour of canel, powdour douce, & aneys hole. & fenell seed. take alle þise þingis, & cast togyður in a pot of erthe. and take þerof whan þou wilt, & serue forth."

<sup>1</sup> ? not A.S. *winderie*, a wine-berry, a grape, but our *Whin-berry*. But 'Wineberries, currants', Craven Gloss.; Sw. *vin-bär*, a currant. On *hard cheese*, see note to l. 86.

<sup>2</sup> *Blandureau*, m. The white apple, called (in some part of England) a *Blaundrell*, Cotgrave. <sup>3</sup> See note to l. 75.

<sup>4</sup> *Poudre blanche*. A powder compounded of Ginger, Cinnamon, and Nutmegs; much in use among Cookes. Cotgrave. Is there any authority for the statement in *Domestic Architecture*, v. 1, p. 132; that sugar 'was sometimes called *blanch powder*'? P.S.—Probably the recollection of what Pegge says in the Preface to the *Forme of Cury*, "There is mention of *blanch-powder* or *white sugar*," 132 [p. 63]. They, however, were not the same, for see No. 193, p. xxvi-xxvii. On turning to the Recipe 132, of "*Peeris* in comfyte," p. 62-3, we find "whan þei [the pears] both ysode, take hem up, make a syrup of wyne greke. oþer vernage with blanche powdur, oþer white sugur, and powdour gyngur, & do the þeris þerin." It is needless to say that if a modern recipe said take

Bewar at eve \* / of crayme of cowe & also of the  
goote, þauȝ it be late,  
of Strawberies & hurtilberyes / with the cold  
Ioncate,<sup>1</sup>

In the evening  
don't take cream,  
[\* 'at eve' has a  
red mark through  
as if to cut it out]  
strawberries, or  
junket,

For þese may marre many a mañ changynge his  
astate,

84 but ȝiff he haue aftur, hard chese / wafurs, with  
wyne yprocrate.<sup>2</sup>

unless you eat  
hard cheese with  
them.

hard chese hath þis condicioun in his operacioun:  
Furst he wille a stomak kepe in the botom open,<sup>3</sup>  
the helthe of euery creature ys in his condicioun ;

Hard cheese  
keeps your bowels  
open.

88 yf he diete hym thus dayly / he is a good conclusioun.

buttir is an holsom mete / furst and eke last,<sup>4</sup>

Butter is whole-  
some in youth and  
old age, anti-  
poisonous,

For he wille a stomak kepe / & helpe poyson a-wey  
to cast,

also he norishethe a mañ to be laske / and evy  
humerus to wast,

and aperient.

92 and with white bred / he wille kepe þy mouthe in tast.

“sugar or honey,” sugar could not be said “to be sometimes called” honey. See Dawson Turner in *Howard Household Books*.

<sup>1</sup> *Ioncate*: f. A certaine spoone-meat made of creame, Rose-water and Sugar. Cotgrave.

<sup>2</sup> See the recipe to make it, lines 121-76; and in *Forme of Cury*, p. 161.

<sup>3</sup> Muffett held a very different opinion. ‘Old and dry cheese hurteth dangerously: for it stayeth siege [stools], stoppeth the Liver, engendereth choler, melancholy, and the stone, lieth long in the stomack undigested, procureth thirst, maketh a stinking breath and a scurvy skin: Whereupon Galen and Isaac have well noted, That as we may feed liberally of ruin cheese, and more liberally of fresh Cheese, so we are not to taste any further of old and hard Cheese, then to close up the mouth of our stomacks after meat,’ p. 131.

<sup>4</sup> In youth and old age. Muffett says, p. 129-30, ‘according to the old Proverb, *Butter is Gold in the morning, Silver at noon, and Lead at night*. It is also best for children whilst they are growing, and for old men when they are declining; but very unwholesom betwixt those two ages, because through the heat of young stomacks, it is forthwith converted into choler [bile]. The Dutchmen have a by-Verse amongst them to this effect,

*Eat Butter first, and eat it last,  
And live till a hundred years be past*’

Milk, Junket,  
Posset, &c.,  
are binding.  
Eat hard cheese  
after them.

Milke, crayme, and cruddes, and eke the Ioncate,<sup>1</sup>  
þey close a mannes stomak / and so dothe þe possate ;  
þerfore ete hard chese aftir, yef ye sowpe late,  
96 and drynk romney modoun,<sup>2</sup> for feere of chekmate.<sup>3</sup>

Beware of green  
meat; it waakens  
your belly.

beware of saladis, grene metis, & of frutes rawe  
for þey make many a mañ haue a feble mawe.  
þerfore, of suche fresch lustes set not an hawe,  
100 For suche wantoun appetites ar not worth a strawe.

For food that sets  
your teeth on  
edge, eat almonds  
and cheese,

alle maner metis þat þy tethe oñ egge doth sette,  
take almondes þerfore ; & hard chese loke þou not  
for-gette.

but not more than  
half an ounce.

hit wille voide hit away / but looke to moche þerof  
not þou ete ;  
104 for þe wight of half an vnce *with-owt* rompney is  
gret.

If drinks have  
given you indi-  
gestion, eat a raw  
apple.

þiff dyuerse drynkes of theirre fumosite haue þe dis-  
sesid,

Moderation is  
best sometimes,  
at othera  
abstinence.

Ete an appulle rawe, & his fumosite wille becesed ;  
mesure is a mery meene / whañ god is not dis-  
plesed ;

Look every night  
that your wines

108 abstynens is to prayse what body & sowle ar plesed.

don't ferment or  
leak [the *t* of the  
MS. has a *k* over  
it] ;  
and waash the  
heada of the pipes  
with cold water.

Take good hede to þe wyne / Red, white / &  
swete,

Always carry a  
gimlet, adze,  
and linen cloths.

looke euery nyzt *with* a Candelle þat þey not  
reboyle / nor lete ;  
euery nyzt *with* cold *watur* washe þe pipes hede,  
& hit not forgete,

112 & alle-wey haue a gymlet, & a dise,<sup>4</sup> *with* lynneñ  
clowtes smalle or grete.

<sup>1</sup> See note to l. 82.

<sup>2</sup> See 'Rompney of Modoñ,' among the sweet wines, l. 119.

<sup>3</sup> *Eschee & mat.* Checke-mate at Chests ; and (metaphorically)  
a remedillesse disaster, miserie, or misfortune. Cot.

<sup>4</sup> ? *ascia*, a dyse, Vocab. in *Reliq. Ant.* v. 1, p. 8, col. 1 ; *ascia*,  
1. an axe ; (2. a mattock, a hoe ; 3. an instrument for mixing  
mortar). *Diessel*, ofte *Diechsel*, A Carpenter-axe, or a Chip-axe.  
Hexham.



- 3iff þe wyne reboyle / þow shalle know by hys syngyngge ;  
 þerfore a pipe of coloure de rose<sup>1</sup> / þou kepe þat was spend in drynkynge  
 the reboyle to Rakke to þe lies of þe rose / þat shalle be his amendyngge.  
 116 3iff swete wyne be seeke or pallid / put in a Rompney for lesyngge.<sup>2</sup>
- If the wine boil over,  
 put to it the lees of red wine,  
 [Fol. 172 b.] and that will cure it.  
 Romney will bring round sick sweet wine.

### Swete Wynes.<sup>3</sup>

**T**he namys of swete wynes y wold þat ye them knewe :

*The names of Sweet Wines.*

Vernage, vernagelle, wyne Cute, piment, Raspise, Muscadelle of grew,  
 Rompney of modoñ, Bastard, Tyre, Ozey, Torrentyne of Ebrew.

- 120 Greke, Malevesyñ, Caprik, & Clarey whañ it is newe.

### Ypocras.

**G**ood soñ, to make ypocras, hit were gret lernyngge,

*Recipe for making Ypocras.*

and for to take þe spice þerto aftur þe proportionyngge,

Take spices thus,

Gynger, Synamome / Graynis, Sugur / Turnesole, þat is good colburyngge ;

Cinnamon, &c., for lordes<sup>4</sup> [MS].

- 124 For commyñ peple / Gynger, Canelle / longe pepur / hony aftur claryfyngge.

long Pepper for commynte

<sup>1</sup> ? The name of the lees of some red wine. Phillips has *Rosa Solis*, a kind of Herb ; also a pleasant Liquor made of Brandy, Sugar, Cinnamon, and other Ingredients agreeable to the Taste, and comfortable to the Heart. (So called, as being at first prepared wholly of the juice of the plant ros-solis (sun-dew) or drosera. Dict. of Arts and Sciences, 1767.)

<sup>2</sup> See note, l. 31. <sup>3</sup> See note on these wines at the end of the poem.

<sup>4</sup> In the Recipe for Jussel of Flesh (Household Ord., p. 462), one way of preparing the dish is 'for a Lorde,' another way 'for Commons.' Other like passages also occur.

- Have three basins  
and three strain-  
ing-bags to them ;  
hang 'em on a  
perch.  
Let your gynger  
be well pared,  
hard, not worm-  
eaten,  
(Colombyne is  
better  
than Valadyne or  
Maydelyne) ;  
your sticks of  
Cinnamon thin,  
hot and sweet ;  
Canel is not so  
good.  
Cinnamon is hot  
and dry,  
Cardamons are  
hot and moist.  
Take sugar or  
sugar candy,  
red wine,  
graines,  
ginger, pepper,
- look ye haue of pewtur basons oon, two, & thre,  
For to kepe in youre powdurs / also þe licour  
þerin to renne when þat nede be ;  
to iij. basouns ye must haue iij bagges renners / so  
clepe ham we,  
128 & hange þem on a perche, & looke þat Sure they be.  
Se þat youre gynger be welle y-pared / or hit to  
powder ye bete,  
and þat hit be hard / with-owt worme / bytynge,  
& good hete ;  
For good gynger colombyne / is best to drynke  
and ete ;  
132 Gynger valadyne & maydelyn ar not so holsom  
in mete.  
looke þat your stikkes of synamome be thyn,  
bretille, & fayre in colewre,  
and in youre mowthe, Fresche, hoot, & swete / þat  
is best & sure,  
For canelle is not so good in þis crafte & cure.  
136 Synamome is hoot & dry in his worchyng while  
he wille dure.  
Graynes of paradise,<sup>1</sup> hoot & moyst þey be :  
Sugre of .iij. cute<sup>2</sup> / white / hoot & moyst in his  
propurte ;  
Sugre Candy is best of alle, as y telle the,  
140 and red wyne is whote & drye to tast, fele, & see,  
Graynes<sup>1</sup> / gynger, longe pepur, & sugre / hoot &  
moyst in worchyng<sup>3</sup> ;

<sup>1</sup> Graines. *Cardamomum*, *Graine de paradis*. Baret. 'Graines of Paradise; or, the spice which we call, Graines.' Cotgrave.

<sup>2</sup> *Cuite*, a seething, baking. Cot.

<sup>3</sup> *Spices*. Of those for the Percy Household, 1512, the yearly cost was £25 19s. 7d., for *Piper*, Rasyns of Corens, Prones, *Gynger*, Mace, Clovvez, Sugour, *Cinamom*, Allmonds, Dayts, Nuttmuggs, *Grans*, *Tornesole*, Saunders, *Powder of Annes*, Rice, Coumfetts, *Galyngga*, *Longe Piper*, *Blaynshe Powder*, and Safferon, p. 19, 20. Household Book, ed. Bp. Percy.

- Synamome / Canelle<sup>1</sup> / red wyne / hoot & drye in  
peire doynge ; cinnamon, epice,
- Turnesole<sup>2</sup> is good & holsom for red wyne colow- and turnesole, and  
rynge :
- 144 alle þese ingredyentes, þey ar for ypocras makynge.
- Good soñ, youre powdurs so made, vche by þam put each powder  
self in bleddur laid, in a bladder by  
itself.
- hange sure youre perche & bagges þat þey from Hang your strain-  
yow not brayd, ing-baga so that
- & þat no bagge touche oþer/do as y haue yow saide ; they mayn't  
touch,—frist bag  
148 þe furst bag a galoun / alle oþer of a potelle, vchoñ a gallon, others  
by oþer teied. a pottle.
- Furst put in a basoun a galoun ij. or iij. wyne so red ; Put the powders  
þeñ put in youre powdurs, yf ye wille be sped, in two or thre  
and aftyr in-to þe rennere so lett hym be fed, gallona of red  
wine; then into  
[Fol. 173.]
- 152 þañ in-to þe second bagge so wold it be ledde. the runner,  
the second bag,
- loke þou take a pece in þyne hand euermore amonge,  
and assay it in þy mouthe if hit be any thyngestronge, (tasting and  
trying it now and  
then),  
and if þow fele it welle boþe with mouthe & tonge, and the third  
veassel,
- 156 þañ put it in þe iij. vesselle / & tary not to longe.
- And þañ ziff þou feele it be not made parfete, If it's not right,
- þat it cast to moche gynger, with synamome alay
- þat hete ;
- and if hit haue synamome to moche, with gynger add cinnamon,  
ginger, or augar,  
as wanted.
- of iij. cute ;
- 160 þañ if to moche sigure þer be / by discessioun ye  
may wete.

Thus, son, shaltow make parfite ypocras, as y the say ;

<sup>1</sup> Canel, spyce. *Cinamomum, amomum*. Promt. Parv. *Canelle*, our moderne Cannell or Cinnamom. Cot. (Named from its tube stalk ?)

<sup>2</sup> *Tourne-soleil*. Tornesole, Heliotropium. Cotgrave. Take hleue *turnesole*, and dip hit in wyne, that the wyne may catch the colour thereof, and colour the potage therwith. *H. Ord.*, p. 465. . . and take red *turnesole* steped wel in wyne, and colour the potage with that wyne, *ibid.* 'And then with a little *Turnsole* make it of a high murrey [mulberry] colour.' Markham's Houswife, p. 70.

- Mind you keep taating it. but *with þy mowthe* to prove hit, / be þow tastyngē alle-way ;
- Strain it through bags of fine cloth, let hit renne in iiij. or vj bagges<sup>1</sup>; gete þem, if þow may,
- 164 of bultelle clothe<sup>2</sup>, if þy bagges be þe fynere *with-owteñ* nay.
- hooped at the mouth, Good soñ loke þy bagges be hoopid at þe mothe a-bove,
- the first holding a gallon, the others a pottle, þe surere mayst þow put in þy wyne vn-to þy behoue, þe furst bag of a galoun / alle oþer of a potelle to prove ;
- 168 hange þy bagges sure by þe hoopis; do so for my loue ;
- and each with a basin undar it. And vndur euery bagge, good soñ, a basoun clere & bryght ;
- The Ypocras is made. and now is þe ypocras made / for to plesē many a wight.
- Use the drege in the kitchen. þe draff of þe spicery / is good for Sewes in kychyn diȝt ;
- 172 and ȝiff þow cast hit away, þow dost þymastirnorizt.
- N**ow, good son, þyne ypocras is made *parfite & welle* ;
- Put the Ypocras in a tight clean vessel, y wold þan ye put it in staunche & a clene vesselle, and þe mouthe þer-off y-stopped euer more wisely & felle,
- and serve it with wafara. 176 and *serue* hit forth *with wafars bope* in chambur & Celle.

*The Buttery.***The botery.**

Keep all cnps, &c., clean.  
Don't serve ale till it's five days old.

**T**hy cuppes / þy pottes, þou se be clene bope *with-in & owt* ;

[T]hyne ale .v. dayes old er þow *serue* it about,

<sup>1</sup> Manche : f. A sleeue ; also a long narrow bag (such as Hypocras is made in). Cotgrave.

<sup>2</sup> boulding or straining cloth. 'ij bulteeloths.' Status Domus de Fynchall, A.D. 1360. *Dom. Arch.* v. 1, p. 136, note f.

- for ale þat is newe is wastable *with-owteñ* dowt :
- 180 And looke þat alle þynge be pure & clene þat ye go  
abowt.
- Be fayre of answer / redy to *serue* / and also gen- Be civil and  
telle of chere, obliging,
- and þañ meñ wille sey 'þere gothe a gentille officere.'  
be ware þat ye geue no persone palled<sup>1</sup> drynke, for and give no one  
feere stale drink.
- 184 hit myȝt brynge many a man in dissese / durynge  
many a ȝere.
- S**on, hit is tyme of þe day / þe table wold be layde. [Fol. 173 b.]  
Furst wipe þe table *with* a clothe or þat hit To lay the Cloth,  
&c.  
be splayd, Wipe the table
- þañ lay a clothe oñ þe table / a cowche<sup>2</sup> it is Put a cloth on it  
called & said : (a cowche) ;
- 188 take þy felow coñ ende þerof / & þou þat othere you take one end,  
that brayde, your mate the  
other ;
- Thañ draw streight þy clothe, & ley þe bouȝt<sup>3</sup> cñ þe lay the fold of the  
vttur egge of þe table, second cloth (?) on  
the outer edge of  
the table,
- take þe vpper part / & let hyt hange evyñ able :  
þañ take þe .iiij. clothe, & ley the bouȝt oñ þe that of the third  
cloth (?) on the  
inner.
- 192 and ley estate *with* the vpper part, þe brede of half  
fote is greable.
- Cover þy cuppeborde of thy ewery *with* the towelle Cover your cup-  
board with a  
diaper towel,
- of diapery ;  
take a towelle abowt thy nekke / for þat is curtesy, put one round  
your neck, one  
eide on your left  
arm
- lay þat coñ side of þe towaile oñ þy lift arme  
manerly,

<sup>1</sup> Stale, dead. Pallyd, as drynke (palled, as ale). *Emortuus*.  
P. Parv. See extract from A. Borde in notes at end.

<sup>2</sup> See *Diet. de L'Academie*, p. 422, col. 2, ed. 1835. '*Couche*  
se dit aussi de Toute substance qui est étendue, appliquée sur une  
autre, de manière à la couvrir. *Revêtir un mur d'une couche de*  
*plâtre, de mortier, &c.*'

<sup>3</sup> Fr. *repli* : m. A fould, plait, or *bought*. Cotgrave. cf. *Bow*, bend.

- with your sove-  
reign's napkin ;
- 196 an oñ þe same arme ley þy soueraignes napkyñ  
honestly ;
- on that, eight  
loaves to eat, and  
three or four  
trencher loaves :  
in your left hand
- þañ lay oñ þat arme viij. louys bred / *with* iij. or  
iiij. trenchere lovis ;
- the salt-cellar.
- Take þat oo ende of þy towaile / in þy lift hand,  
as þe maner is,  
and þe salt Sellere in þe same hand, looke þat ye do  
this ;
- In your right  
hand, spoons and  
knives.
- 200 þat oþer ende of þe towaile / in riȝt hand *with*  
spones & knyffes y-wis ;
- Put the Salt on  
the right of your  
lord ;
- oñ þe lyfft Side of youre salt / sett youre trencher  
oon & twayne,
- on their left, a  
knife,
- oñ þe lift side of your trenchoure lay youre knyffe  
synguler & playñ ;
- then white rolls,  
[\* a space in the  
MS.]
- 204 and oñ þe . . . \* side of youre knyffes / oon by oñ  
þe white payne ;
- and beside them  
a spoon folded in  
a napkin.
- yourre spone vppoñ a napkyñ fayre / ȝet folden  
wold he be,  
besides þe bred it wold be laid, soñ, y telle the :
- Cover all np.
- Cover your spone / napkyñ, trencher, & knyff, þat  
no mañ hem se.
- At the other end  
set a Salt and two  
trenchere.
- 208 at þe oþer ende of þe table / a salt *with* ij. trench-  
ers sett ye.
- [† ? MS.]  
*How to wrap up  
your lord's bread  
in a stately way.*
- S**ir, † ȝeff þow wilt wrappe þy soueraynes bred  
stately,
- Thow must square & proporcioun þy bred clene &  
evenly,
- Cut your loaves  
all equal.
- and þat no loof ne bunne be more þañ oþer pro-  
porcionly,
- 212 and so shaltow make þy wrappe for þy master  
manerly ;
- Take a towel two  
and a half yards
- þañ take a towaile of Raynes,<sup>1</sup> of ij. yardes and  
half wold it be,

<sup>1</sup> Fine cloth, originally made at Rennes, in Bretagne.

- take þy towaile by the endes dowble / and faire oñ long by the ends,  
a table lay ye,
- þaṅ take þe end of þat bought / an handfulle in fold up a handful  
hande, now here ye me : from each end,
- 216 wrap ye hard þat handfulle or more it is þe styffer,  
y telle þe,
- þaṅ ley betwene þe endes so wrapped, in myddes of and in the middle  
þat towelle, of the folds lay
- viiij loves or bonnes, botom to botoṁ, forsothe it eight leaves or  
wille do welle, buns, botom to  
and when þe looffes ar betweñ, þaṅ wrappe hit put a wrapper  
wisely & felle ;
- 220 and for youre enformacioun more playnly y wille  
yow telle,
- ley it oñ þe vpper part of þe bred, y telle yow [Fol. 174.]  
honestly ; on the top,
- take boþe endis of þe towelle, & draw þem straytly, twist the ends of  
and wrythe an handfulle of þe towelle next þe bred the towel to-  
myghtily, gether,
- 224 and se þat thy wrappere be made strayt & evyñ smooth your  
styffely. wrapper,
- when he is so y-graithed,<sup>1</sup> as riȝt before y haue  
saide,
- þeñ shall ye open hym thus / & do hit at a and quickly  
brayd,
- open þe last end of þy wrappere before þi souerayne open the end  
laid, of it before your  
lord.
- 228 and youre bred sett in maner & forme: þeñ it is  
honestly arayd.
- S**oñ, when þy souereignes table is drest in þus After your lord's  
array,
- kouer alle oþer bordes with Saltes ; trenchers & lay the other  
cuppes þeroñ ye lay ; tables.
- þan emperialle þy Cuppeborde / with Siluer & gild Deck your cup-  
fulle gay, board with plate,

<sup>1</sup> A.S. *gerædian*, to make ready, arrange, prepare.

- your washing-table with basins, &c. 232 þy Ewry borde *with* basons & lauour, *watur* hoot & cold, eche oþer to alay.
- Have plenty of napkins, &c., loke þat ye haue napkyns, spones, & cuppis euer y-nowe  
to your scoueraynes table, youre honeste for to allowe,
- and your pots clean. also þat pottes for wyne & ale be as clene as þey mowe ;
- 236 be euermore ware of flies & motes, y telle þe, for þy prowē.
- Make the *Surnape* with a cloth vnder a double napkin. **T**he surnape<sup>1</sup> ye shulle make *with* lowly curtesye with a clothe vnder a dowble of riȝt feire napry ; take thy towailes endes next yow *with*-out vilanye,
- Fold the two ends of your towel, and one of the cloth, 240 and þe ende of þe clothe oñ þe vittur side of þe towelle bye ;
- a foot over, Thus alle iij. endes hold ye at onis, as ye welle may ;
- and lay it smooth for your lord to wash with. now fold ye alle there at oonys þat a plizt passe not a fote brede alle way,
- 244 þañ lay hyt fayre & evyñ þere as ye cañ hit lay ; þus aftur mete, ȝiff yowre mastir wille wasche, þat he may.
- The marshal must slip it along the table, at þe riȝt ende of þe table ye must it owt gyde, þe marchalle must hit convey alonge þe table to glide ;
- and pull it smooth. 248 So of alle iij clothes vppeward þe riȝt half þat tide, and þat it be draw strayt & evyñ boþe in lengthe & side.
- Then raise the upper part of the towel, and lay it even, Then must ye draw & reyse / þe vpper parte of þe towelle,  
Ley it *with*-out ruffelynge streiȝt to þat oþer side, y þe telle ;  
þañ at euery end þerof convey half a yarde or an elle,

<sup>1</sup> See the mode of laying the Surnape in Henry VII.'s time described in *H. Ord.*, p. 119, at the end of this Poem.



- 252 þat þe sewere may make<sup>1</sup> a state / & plesse his mastir  
welle. so that the Sewer  
(arranger of  
dishes) may make  
a state.
- whan þe state hath wasche, þe surnap drawne  
playne, When your lord  
has washed,
- þeñ must ye bere forþe þe surnape before youre  
souerayne, take up the Sur-  
naps with your
- and so must ye take it vppe withe youre armes  
twayne, two arms,
- 256 and to þe Ewery bere hit youre silf agayne. and carry it back  
to the Ewery.
- a-bowt youre nekke a towelle ye bere, so to serue  
youre lorde, Carry a towel  
round your neck.
- þañ to hym make curtesie, for so it wille accorde.  
vnkeuer youre brede, & by þe salt sette hit euyñ  
oñ þe borde; Uncover your  
bread;
- 260 looke þere be knyfe & spone / & napkyñ with-  
outy[re] any worde. see that all diners  
have knife, spoon,  
and napkin.
- Euer whañ ye departe from youre soueraigne, looke  
ye bowe your knees; [Fol. 174 h.]  
Bow when you  
leave your lord.
- to þe port-payne<sup>2</sup> forthe ye passe, & þere viij.  
loues ye leese: Take sight loaves  
from the bread-  
cloth,
- Set at eijur end of þe table .iiij. loafes at a mese,  
and put four at  
each end.
- 264 þañ looke þat ye haue napkyñ & spone eury  
persone to plesse.
- wayte welle to þe Sewere how many potages  
keuered he; Lay for as many  
persons as the
- keuer ye so many personis for youre honeste. Sewer has set  
potages for,
- þañ serve forthe youre table / vche persone to his  
degre,
- 268 and þat þer lak no bred / trenchoure, ale, & wyne /  
euermore ye se. and have plenty  
of bread and  
drink.

<sup>1</sup> *make* is repeated in the MS.

<sup>2</sup> "A *Portpayne* for the said Pantre, an elne longe and a yerd brode." The *Perey*, or Northumberland Household Book, 1512, (ed. 1827), p. 16, under *Lynnion Clothe*. 'A *porte paine*, to beare brede fro the Pantree to the table with, *lintheum panarium*.' Withals.

- Be lively and soft-spoken, clean and well dressed. be glad of chere / Curteise of kne / & soft of speche, Fayre handes, clene nayles / honest arrayed, y the teche ;
- Don't spit or put your fingers into cups. 272 ne put youre fyngurs in the cuppe / mootes for to seche.
- Stop all blaming yet to alle þe lordes haue ye a sight / for grog-gynge & atwytynge<sup>1</sup>
- and backbiting, of fellows þat be at þe mete, for þeire bakbytynge ;
- and prevent complaints. Se þey be serued of bred, ale, & wyne, for complaynyng,
- 276 and so shalle ye haue of alle meñ / good loue & praysynge.

*General Directions for Behaviour.*

### Simple condicions.

- Don't claw your back as if after a flea ; or your head, as if after a louse. 280 ne youre heere ye stryke, ne pyke / to pralle<sup>2</sup> for a flesche mought.<sup>3</sup>
- See that your eyes are not blinking Glowtyng<sup>4</sup> ne twynkelyng *with* youre yze / ne to heuy of chere,
- and watery. watery / wynkyng / ne droppynge / but of sight clere.
- Don't pick your nose, or let it drop, pike not youre nose / ne þat hit be droppynge *with* no peerlis clere,
- or blow it too loud, 284 Snyff nor snityng<sup>5</sup> hyt to lowd / lest youre souerayne hit here.

\* Mark over *h*. <sup>1</sup> A.S. *atwitan*, *twit*; *oðwitan*, blame.

<sup>2</sup> 'prowl, proll, to seek for prey, from Fr. *proie* by the addition of a formative *l*, as kneel from knee.' Wedgwood.

<sup>3</sup> Louse is in English in 1530 'Louse, a beest—*pov*. Palsgrave. And see the note, p. 19, *Book of Quinte Essence*.

<sup>4</sup> To look sullen (?). *Glowting* round her rock, to fish she falls. *Chapman*, in Todd's Johnson. Horror and *glouting* admiration. *Milton*. *Glouting* with sullen spight. *Garth*.

<sup>5</sup> Snytyn a nese or a candyl. *Emungo*, *mungo*. Prompt. Parv. *Emungo*, to make cleane the nose. *Emunctio*, snuffing or wypyng

- wrye not youre nek a doyle<sup>1</sup> as hit were a dawwe ; or twist your neck.
- put not youre handes in youre hosen youre codware<sup>2</sup> Don't claw your  
for to clawe, cods,
- nor pikyngge, nor trifelyngge / ne shrukkyngge as  
þau; ye wold sawe ;
- 288 your hondes frote ne rub / brydelyngge with brest rub your hands,  
vppoñ your crawe ;
- with youre eris pike not / ner be ye slow of heryngge ; pick your ears,  
areche / ne spitt to ferre / ne haue lowd laughyngge ; retch, or spit too  
Speke not lowd / be war of mowyngge<sup>3</sup> & fat.
- scornyngge ;
- 292 be no lier with youre mouthe / ne lykorous, ne Don't tell lies,  
dryvelyngge.
- with youre mouthe ye vse nowþer to squyrt, nor or squirt with  
spowt ; your mouth,
- be not gapyngge nor ganyngge, ne with þy mouth gape, pout, or  
to powt
- lik not with þy tonge in a disch, a mote to haue owt. put your tongue  
296 Be not rasche ne recheles, it is not worth a clowt. dust ont.  
[Fol. 175.]
- with youre brest / sighe, nor cowghe / nor brethe, Don't cough,  
youre souerayne before ;
- be yoxinge,<sup>4</sup> ne holkyngge / ne gronyngge, neuer þe hiccup, or belch,  
more ;

of the nose. Cooper. *Snuyt uw neus*, Blow your nose. Sewel, 1740 ; but *snuyven, ofte snuffen*, To Snuffe out the Snot or Filth out of ones Nose. Hexham, 1660. A learned friend, who in his bachelor days investigated some of the curiosities of London Life, informs me that the modern Cockney term is *sling*. In the dress-circle of the Bower Saloon, Stangate, admission 3d., he saw stuck up, four years ago, the notice, "*Gentlemen* are requested not to *sling*," and being philologically disposed, he asked the attendant the meaning of the word.

<sup>1</sup> askew. *Doyle*, squint. Gloucestershire. Halliwell.

<sup>2</sup> Codde, of mannys pryuyte (prey membris). *Piga, mentula*. Promptorium Parvulorum.

<sup>3</sup> Mowe or skorne, *Fangia vel valgia*. Catholicon, in P. P.

<sup>4</sup> ꝛꝛꝛꝛ *Singulcio*. ꝛꝛꝛꝛ *singultus*. P. P. To yexe, sobbe, or haue the hicket. *Singultio*. Baret. To yexe or sobbe, *Hicken*, To Hick, or to have the Hick-hock. Hexham.

straddle your legs,	with youre feet trampelynge, ne settinge youre leggis a shore <sup>1</sup> ;
or scrub your body.	300 with youre body be not shrubbynge <sup>2</sup> ; Lettynge <sup>3</sup> is no loore.
Don't pick your teeth,	Good soñ, þy tethe be not pikyng, grisynge, <sup>4</sup> ne gnastyng <sup>5</sup> ;
cast stinking brasath on your lord,	ne stynkyng of brethe oñ youre souerayne castyng ; with puffynge ne blowyng, nowþer fulle ne fastyng ;
fire your stern guns, or expose	304 and alle wey be ware of þy hyndur part from gunnes blastyng.
your codware	These Cuttid <sup>6</sup> galauntes with their codware ; þat is añ vngoodly gise ;— Other tacches <sup>7</sup> as towchyng / y spare not to myspraue aftur myne avise,—

<sup>1</sup> ? shorewise, as shores. 'Schore, undur settinge of a þynge þat wolde falle.' P. Parv. Du. *Schooren*, To Under-prop. *Aller eschays*, To shale, stradle, goe crooked, or wide betweene the feet, or legs. Cotgrave.

<sup>2</sup> Dutch *Schrobben*, To Rubb, to Scrape, to Scratch. Hexham.

<sup>3</sup> Iettyng *verno*. P. Parv. Mr Way quotes from Palsgrave, "I *iette*, I make a countensunce with my legges, *ie me iamboye*," &c.; and from Cotgrave, "*Iamboyer*, to *iet*, or wantonly to go in and out with the legs," &c.

<sup>4</sup> grinding.

<sup>5</sup> gnastyn (gnachyn) *Fremo, strideo*. Catholicon. Gnastyng of the tethe—*stridevr, grincement*. Palsg. Du. *gnisteren*, To Gnash, or Creak with the teeth. Hexham.

<sup>6</sup> Short costs and tight trousers were a great offence to old writers accustomed to long nightgown clothes. Compare Chaucer's complaint in the *Canterbury Tales*, *The Parsones Tale, De Superbiã*, p. 193, col. 2, ed. Wright. "Upon that other syde, to speke of the horrible disordinst scantnes of clothing, as ben these cuttid sloppis or anslets, that thurgh her schortnes ne covereth not the schamful membre of man, to wickid entent. Alas! som men of hem schewen the schap and the boce of the horrible swollen membres, that semeth like to the malsadies of hirnã, in the wrapping of here hose, and eek the buttokes of hem, that faren as it were the hinder part of a sche ape in the fulle of the moone." The continuation of the passage is very curious. "Youre schort gownys thriflesse" are also noted in the song in Harl. MS. 372. See Weste, *Booke of Demeanour*, l. 141, below.

<sup>7</sup> Fr. *tache*, spot, staine, blemish, reproach. C.

- when he shalle serue his mastir, before hym on  
 þe table hit lyes ;
- 308 Euey souereyne of sadnes <sup>1</sup> alle suche sort shalle  
 dispise.
- Many moo condicions a mañ myght fynde / þañ  
 now ar named here,
- þerfore Euey honest seruand / avoyd alle thoo, &  
 worshippe lat hym leere.
- 312 y wille þat ye obeye to þe marshalle, Sewere, &  
 kervere.<sup>2</sup>'
- “**G**ood syr, y yow pray þe connyng<sup>3</sup> of kervynge  
 ye wille me teche,
- and þe fayre handlyng of a knyfe, y yow beseche,  
 and alle wey where y shalle alle maner fowles /  
 breke, vnlace, or seche,<sup>4</sup>
- 316 and with Fysche or flesche, how shalle y demene  
 me with eche.”
- “**S**oñ, thy knyfe must be bryght, fayre, & clene,  
 and þyne handes faire wasche, it wold þe welle besene.  
 hold alwey thy knyfe sure, þy self not to tene,
- 320 and passe not ij. fyngurs & a thombe on thy knyfe  
 so kene ;
- In mydde wey of thyne hande set the ende of þe  
 haft Sure,
- Vnlasyng & mynsyng .ij. fyngurs with þe thombe /  
 þat may ye endure.
- kervynge / of bred leiyng / voydyng / of cromes  
 & trenchewre,
- 324 with ij. fyngurs and a thombe/loke ye haue þe Cure.

before your  
master.

Many other  
improprieties

a good servant  
will avoid.'

'Sir, pray teach  
me how to carve,

handle a knife,  
and cut up birds,

fish, and flesh.'

'Hold your knife  
tight, with two  
fingers and a  
thumb,

in your midpalm.

Do your carving,

lay your bread,  
and take off  
trenchers, with  
two fingers and  
thumb.

<sup>1</sup> sobriety, gravity.

<sup>2</sup> Edward IV. had 'Bannerettes IIII, or Bachelor Knights, to be kervers and cupberers in this courte.' *H. Ord.*, p. 32.

<sup>3</sup> MS. conyng.

<sup>4</sup> See the *Termes of a Kerver* in Wynkyn de Worde's *Boke of Kervynge* below.

- Sett neuer oñ fysche nor flesche / beest / nor fowle,  
trewly,  
Moore þān ij. fyngurs and a thombe, for þat is  
curtesie.
- Never touch  
others' food with  
your right hand,  
but only with the  
left. 328 Touche neuer *with* youre right hande no maner  
mete surely,  
but *with* your lyft hande / as y seid afore, for þat  
is goodlye.
- [Fol. 175 b.] Alle-wey *with* youre lift hand hold *your* loof *with*  
myght,  
and hold youre knyfe Sure, as y haue geue yow sight.  
enbrowe<sup>1</sup> not youre table / for þān ye do not ryght,  
332 ne þer-vppoñ ye wipe youre knyffes, but oñ youre  
napkyñ plight.
- Don't dirty your  
table  
or wipe your  
knives on it. 332 ne þer-vppoñ ye wipe youre knyffes, but oñ youre  
napkyñ plight.
- Take a loaf of  
trenchers, and Furst take a loofe of trenchurs in þy liffth hande,  
þān take þy table knyfe,<sup>2</sup> as y haue seid afore  
hande ;
- with the edge of  
your knife raise  
a trencher, and  
lay it before your  
lord ; 336 *with* the egge of þe knyfe youre trenchere vp be  
ye reysande  
as nyghe þe poynt as ye may, to-fore youre lord hit  
leyande ;
- lay four trenchers  
four-square, right so .iiij. trenchers oon by a-nothur .iiij. square  
ye sett,
- and another on  
the top. and vppoñ þo trenchurs .iiij. a trenchur sengle  
*with*-out lett ;
- Take a loaf of  
light bread, þān take youre loof of light payne / as y haue said  
3ett,  
340 and *with* the egge of þe knyfe nyghe your hand ye  
kett.
- pare the edges, Furst pare þe quarters of the looff round alle  
a-bowt,

<sup>1</sup> to embrew. *Ferrum tingere sanguine*. Baret.

<sup>2</sup> The table-knife, 'Mensal knyfe, or borde knyfe, *Mensalis*,' P. Parv., was, I suppose, a lighter knife than the trencher-knife used for cutting trenchers off very stale coarse loaves.

þān kutt þe vpper crust / for youre scueraŷne, & cut the upper  
crust for your  
lord,  
to hym alowt.

Suffere youre parelle<sup>1</sup> to stond stille to þe botom /  
& so nyȝe y-spend owt,

344 so ley hym of þe cromes<sup>2</sup> a quarter of þe looff Sauncȝ  
dowt ;

Touche neuer þe loof aftur he is so tamed, and don't touch  
it after it's  
trimmed.  
put it, [on] a platerre or þe almes disch þerfore  
named.

Make clene youre bord euer, þān shalle ye not be Keep your table  
clean.  
blamed,

348 þān may þe sewere his lord serue / & neythur of  
yow be gramed<sup>3</sup>

### Fumositees.

*Indigestibilities.*

**O**f alle maner metes ye must thus know & fele You must know  
what meat is  
indigestible,  
þe fumositees of fysch, flesche, & fowles dyuers  
& feele,

And alle maner of Sawces for fische & flesche to and what sauces  
are wholesome.  
preserue your lord in heele ;

352 to yow it behouyth to know alle þese euery deele."

"**S**yr, hertyly y pray yow for to telle me Certenle  
of how many metes þat ar fumose in þeire  
degre."

**I**n certeyn, my soñ, þat sone shalle y shew the These things are  
indigestible :  
356 by letturs dyuers tolde by thries thre,

**F**, **R**, and **S** / in dyuerse tyme and tyde

**F** is þe furst / þat is, **Fatt**, **Farsed**, & **Fried** ; Fat and Fried,

**R**, raw / resty, and rechy, ar comberous vndefied ; Raw and Resty,

360 **S** / salt / sowre / and sowse<sup>4</sup> / alle suche þow set  
a-side, Salt and Sour,

<sup>1</sup> þ Fr. *pareil*, A match or fellow. C.    <sup>2</sup> MS. *may be coomes*.

<sup>3</sup> A.S. *gramian*, to anger.    <sup>4</sup> Sowce mete, *Succidium*. P. Parv.

- also sinewa, ekin,  
hair, feathers,  
crops,
- heade,  
pinions, &c.,
- legs,  
outsides of thighs,
- skins:
- these destroy  
your lord's rest.'
- 'Thanke, father,
- I'll put your  
teaching into  
practice,
- and pray for you.
- But please
- tell me how to  
carve fish and  
flesh.'
- 364
- 372
- 376
- with other of the same sort, and lo thus ar thay,  
Senowis, skynnnes / heere / Cropyns<sup>1</sup> / yonge fedurs  
for certen y say,  
heedis / pynnyns, boonis / alle þese pyke away,  
Suffir neuer þy souerayne / to fele þem, y the pray /  
Alle maner leggis also, bothe of fowle and beestis,  
the vtur side of the thyghe or legge of alle fowlis  
in feestis,  
the fumosite of alle maner skynnnes y promytt þee  
by heestis,  
alle þese may benym<sup>2</sup> þy souerayne / from many  
nyghtis restis."  
"Now fayre befalle yow fadur / & welle must ye  
cheve,<sup>3</sup>  
For these poyntes by practik y hope fulle welle to  
preve,  
and yet shalle y pray for yow / dayly while þat y  
leue /  
bothe for body and sowle / þat god yow gyde from  
greve;  
Praynge yow to take it, fadur / for no displesure,  
yf y durst desire more / and þat y myghte be sure  
to know þe kervynge of fische & flesche / aftur  
cockes cure :  
y hed leuer þe sight of that / than A Scarlet hure."<sup>4</sup>

*Carving of Meat.**Keruyng of Flesh:*

Cut *brawn* on the  
dish, and lift

"Son, take þy knyfe as y taught þe while ere,  
kut *bravne* in þe dische riȝt as hit liethe there,

<sup>1</sup>? Crop or crawe, or cropon of a beste (croupe or cropon),  
*Clumis*. P. Parv. Crops are emptied before birds are cooked.

<sup>2</sup> A.S. *beniman*, take away, deprive.

<sup>3</sup> Fr. *achever*, To atchieue; to end, finish. Cot.

<sup>4</sup> Hwyr, *cappe* (hure H.), *Tena*. A.S. *hufe*, a tiara, ornament,  
Promptorium Parv.



- and to þy souereynes trenchoure / with þe knyfe / elices off with  
ye hit here : your knife ;
- 380 pare þe fatt þer-from / be ware of hide & heere.  
Thaṅ whan ye haue it so y-leid / oṅ þy lordes tren-  
choure,  
looke ye haue good mustarde þer-to and good serve it with  
· licoure ; mustard.
- Fatt venesoun with frumenty / hit is a gay Venison with  
plesewre firmity.
- 384 youre souerayne to serue with in sesoun to his  
honowre :
- Towche not þe venisoun with no bare hand Touch Venison  
but withe þy knyfe ; þis wise shalle ye be doande, only with your  
knife,  
withe þe fore part of þe knyfe looke ye be hit parand, pare it,
- 388 xij. draughtes with þe egge of þe knyfe þe venison cross it with 12  
crossande, scores,
- Thaṅ whaṅ ye þat venesoun so haue chekkid hit, [Fol. 176 b.]  
with þe fore parte of youre knyfe / þat ye hit owt cut a piece out,  
kytt, and put it in the  
firmity soup.
- In þe frumenty potage honestly ye convey hit,
- 392 in þe same forme with pesyṅ & bakeṅ whaṅ sesoun  
þer-to dothe sitt.
- Withe youre lift hand touche beeff / Chyne<sup>1</sup> / Touch with  
your left hand,  
motoun, as is a-fore said,  
& pare hit clene or þat ye kerve / or hit to your pare it clean,  
lord be layd ;  
and as it is showed afore / beware of vpbrayde ;
- 396 alle fumosite, salt / senow / Raw / a-side be hit put away the  
sinewe, &c.  
convayde.
- In sirippe / partriche / stokdove / & chekyns, in Partridges, &c. :  
seruynge, take up  
with your lift hand take þem by þe pynoṅ of þe by the pinion,  
whyng,

<sup>1</sup> Chyne, of bestys bakke. *Spina*. P. Parv.

- & þat same *with* þe fore parte of þe knyfe be ye vp  
rerynge,
- and mince them 400 Mynse hem smalle in þe siruppe : of fumosite algate  
small in the sirrup. be ye feerynge.
- Larger roast 400 Good soñ, of alle fowles rosted y telle yow as y Cañ,  
hirds, Every goos / teele / Mallard / Ospray / & also  
as the *Osprey*, &c., swanne,
- raise up [p cut off] 404 reyse vp þo leggis of alle þese furst, y sey the thañ,  
the legs, then the afftur þat, þe whynges large & rownd / þañ dare  
wings, blame þe no man ;
- lay the body in 408 Lay the body in myddes of þe dische / or in a-nodur  
the middle, chargere,
- with the wings 408 of vche of þese *with* whynges in myddes, þe legges  
and legs round it, so aftir there.
- in the same dish. 408 of alle þese in .vj. lees<sup>1</sup> / if þat ye<sup>2</sup> wille, ye may  
vppe arere,
- 408 & ley þeñ betwene þe legges, & þe whynges in þe  
same plater.
- Capons : Capoñ, & hen of hawt grees<sup>3</sup>, þus wold þey be  
dight :—
- take off the wings 412 Furst, vn-lace þe whynges, þe legges þan in sight,  
and legs ; Cast ale or wyne oñ þeñ, as þer-to belongeth of  
pour on ale or wine, ryght,
- mince them into 412 & mynse þeñ þañ in to þe sawce *with* powdurs  
the flavoured sauce, kene of myght.
- 412 Take capoun or heñ so enlased, & deuide ;  
Give your lord the take þe lift whynge ; in þe sawce mynce hit eueñ  
left wing, beside,
- and if he want it, 412 and yf youre souerayne ete sauerly / & haue þerto  
appetide,
- the right one too. 416 þañ mynce þat oþur whynge þer-to to satisfye hyñ  
þat tyde.

<sup>1</sup> slices, strips.<sup>2</sup> MS. may be yo.<sup>3</sup> 'De haute graisse, Full, plumpe, goodlie, fat, well-fed, in good liking.' Cotgrave.

- Feysaunt, partriche, plouer, & lapewynk, y yow *Pheasants, &c.*  
 say,  
 areyse<sup>1</sup> þe whynges furst / do as y yow pray ; take off the wings,  
 In þe dische forthe-withe, boþe þat ye ham lay, put them in the  
 dish,  
 420 þañ aftur þat / þe leggus / without lengur delay. then the legs.
- wodecok / Betowre<sup>2</sup> / Egret<sup>3</sup> / Snyte<sup>4</sup> / and Curlew, *Woodcocks.*  
 heyrourzew<sup>5</sup> / resteratiff þey ar / & so is the brewes;<sup>6</sup> *Heronshaws,*  
 þese .vij. fowles / must be vnlaced, y telle yow *Brew, &c.*  
 trew,
- 424 breke þe pynons / nek, & beek, þus ye must þem break the pinions,  
 shew. neck, and besk.
- Thus ye must þem vnlace / & in thus manere : [Fol. 177.]  
 areyse þe leggis / suffire þeire feete stille to be oñ Cut off the legs,  
 there,  
 þañ þe whynges in þe dische / ye may not þem then the wings,  
 forbere,

<sup>1</sup> Fr. *arracher*. To root vp . . pull away by violence. Cotgrave.

<sup>2</sup> The Bittern or Bittour, *Ardea Stellaris*.

<sup>3</sup> *Egrette*, as *Aigrette*; A foule that resembles a Heron. *Aigrette* (A foule verie like a Heron, but white); a criell Heron, or dwarfe Heron. Cot. *Ardea alba*, A crielle or dwarfe heron. Cooper.

<sup>4</sup> Snype, or snyte, byrde, *Ibex*. P.P. A snipe or snite: a bird lesse than a woodcocke. *Gallinago minor*, &c. Baret.

<sup>5</sup> A small Heron or kind of Heron; Shakspeare's editors' *hand-saw*. The spelling *heronshaw* misled Cotgrave, &c.; he has *Hairronniere*. A herons neast, or ayrie; a *herne-shaw*, or shaw of wood, wherein herons breed. 'An Hearne. *Ardea*. A hearnsew, *Ardeola*.' Baret, 1580. 'Fr. *heronceau*, a young heron, gives E. *heronshaw*,' Wedgwood. I cannot find *heronceau*, only *heronneau*. 'A yong *heronsew* is lyghter of dygestyon than a crane. A. Borde. *Regyment*, fol. F i, ed. 1567. 'In actual application a *heronshaw*, *hernshaw* or *hernsew*, is simply a Common Heron (*Ardea Vulgaris*) with no distinction as to age, &c.' Atkinson.

<sup>6</sup> The Brew is mentioned three times, and each time in connection with the Curlew. I believe it to be the Whimbrel (*Numenius Phaeopus*) or Half Curlew. I have a recollection (or what seems like it) of having seen the name with a French form like Whimbreaun. [Pennant's British Zoology, ii. 347, gives *Le petit Courly*, ou *le Courlieu*, as the French synonym of the Whimbrel.] Morris (Orpen) says the numbers of the Whimbrel are lessening from their being sought as food. Atkinson.

- lay the body between them. 428 þe body þān in þe middes laid / like as y yow leere.
- Crane*: take off the wings, but not the trompe in his breast. 432 þe body þān in þe middes laid / like as y yow leere.  
The Crane is a fowle / þat stronge is *with* to fare ;  
þe whynges ye areyse / fulle large evȳn thare ;  
of hyre trompe <sup>1</sup> in þe brest / loke þat ye beware.
- Peacocks, &c.*: carve like you do the Crane, keeping their feet on. 436 towche not hir trompe / euermore þat ye spare.  
Pecok / Stork / Bustarde / & Shovellewre,  
ye must vnlace þem in þe plite <sup>2</sup> / of þe crane prest  
& pure,  
so þat vche of þēn haue þeyre feete aftur my cure,  
436 and euer of a sharpe knyff wayte þat ye be sure.
- Quails, larks, pigeons*: give your lord the legs first. 440 Of quayle / sparrow / larke / & litelle / mertinet,  
pygeoun / swallow / thrusche / osulle / ye not for-  
gete,  
þe legges to ley to *your* souereyne ye ne lett,  
440 and afturward þe whyngus if his lust be to ete.
- Fawn*: serve the kidney first, then a rib. Pick the fyxfax out of the neck. 444 Off Fowēn / kid / lambe, / þe kydney furst it lay,  
þān lifft vp the shuldur, do as y yow say,  
þiff he wille þerof ete / a rybbe to hȳm convey ;  
444 but in þe nek þe fyxfax<sup>3</sup> þat þow do away.  
venesoun rost / in þe dische if youre souerayne hit  
chese,  
þe shuldir of a pigge furst / þān a rybbe, yf hit  
wille hym plese ;
- Pig*: 1. shoulder, 2. rib.

<sup>1</sup> "The singular structure of the windpipe and its convolutions lodged between the two plates of bone forming the sides of the keel of the sternum of this bird (the Crane) have long been known. The trachea or windpipe, quitting the neck of the bird, passes downwards and backwards between the branches of the merrythought towards the inferior edge of the keel, which is hollowed out to receive it. Into this groove the trachea passes, . . . and after making three turns passes again forwards and upwards and ultimately backwards to be attached to the two lobes of the lungs." Yarrell, *Brit. Birds* ii. 441. Atkinson.

<sup>2</sup> Way, manner. Plyte or state (plight, P.). *Status*. P. Parv.

<sup>3</sup> A sort of gristle, the tendon of the neck. Germ. *Aachse*, Brockett. And see Wheatley's Dict. of Reduplicated Words.

- þe cony, ley hym oñ þe bak in þe disch, if he haue grece, Rabbit: lay him on his back;
- 448 while ye par away þe skyñ oñ vche side / & þañ breke hym or y[e] sece pare off his skin;
- betwene þe hyndur leggis breke þe canelle boon,<sup>1</sup> þañ with youre knyfe areyse þe sides alonge þe chyne Alone; break his haunch bone, cut him down each side of the back, lay him on his belly,
- so lay your cony wombelonge vche side to þe chyne / by craft as y comne,
- 452 betwene þe bulke, chyne, þe sides to-gedure lat þem be doon;
- The .ij. sides departe from þe chyne, þus is my loore, separate the sides from the chine,
- þen ley bulke, chyne, & sides, to-gedire / as þey were yore. put them together again,
- Furst kit owte þe nape in þe nek / þe shuldurs before; cutting out the nape of the neck;
- 456 with þe sides serve youre souerayne / hit state to restore. give your lord the sides.
- Rabettes sowkers,<sup>2</sup> þe furþer parte from þe hyndur, ye deuide; Sucking rabbits: cut in two, then
- þañ þe hyndur part at tweyn ye kut þat tyde, þe hind part in two; þe skin off, pare the skin off,
- 460 þañ serue youre souerayne of þe same / þe deynteist of þe side. serve the daintiest bit from the aide.
- T**he maner & forme of kervynge of metes þat byñ groos, [Fol. 177 b.] Such is the way of carving gross meats.
- afftur my symplenes y haue shewed, as y suppose : yet, good soñ, amonge oper estates euer as þow goose,

<sup>1</sup> The 'canelle boon' between the hind legs must be the pelvis, or pelvic arch, or else the *ilium* or haunch-bone: and in cutting up the rabbit many good carvers customarily disjoint the haunch-bones before helping any one to the rump. Atkinson.

<sup>2</sup> Rabet, yonge conye, *Cunicellus*. P. Parv. 'The Conie beareth her Rabettes xxx dayes, and then kindeleth, and then she must be bucked againe, for els she will eate vp hir Rabets. 1575. Geo. Turberville, The Booke of Venerie, p. 178, ch. 63.'—H. H. Gibbs.

464 as ye se / and by vse of youre self / ye may gete  
yow loos.

But furþermore enforme yow y must in metis  
kervynge ;

Cut each piece  
into four slices (?)  
for your master to  
dip in his sauce.

Mynse ye must iiij lees<sup>1</sup> / to oon morselle hangynge,  
þat youre mastir may take with .ij. fyngurs in his  
sawce dippyng,

468 and so no napkyñ / brest, ne borclothe<sup>2</sup>, in any wise  
enbrowynge.

Of large birds'  
wings,

Of gret fowle / in to þe sawce mynse þe whynge  
this wise ;

put only three  
bits at onco in the  
sauce.

pas not .ijj. morcelles in þe sawce at onis, as  
y yow avise ;

To youre souerayne þe gret fowles legge ley, as is þe  
gise,

472 and þus mowe ye neuer mysse of alle connyng  
seruise.

Of small birds'  
wings,

Of alle maner smale bryddis, þe whyngis oñ þe  
trencher leyinge,

scrape the flesh to  
the end of the  
bone,

with þe poynt of youre knyfe / þe flesche to þe  
boon end ye brynge,

and put it on  
your lord's  
trencher.

and so conveye hit oñ þe trenchere, þat wise your  
souerayne plesynge,

476 and with faire salt & trenchoure / hyñ also oft  
renewynge.

*How to carve  
Baked Meats.*

### Bake metes.<sup>3</sup>

Almanere bakemetes þat byñ good and hoot,

Open hem aboute þe brym of þe coffyn<sup>4</sup> cote,

Open hot ones at  
the top of the  
crust,

<sup>1</sup> slices, or rather strips.

<sup>2</sup> board-cloth, table-cloth.

<sup>3</sup> Part IV. of *Liber Cure Cocorum*, p. 38—42, is 'of bakun mete.'  
On Dishes and Courses generally, see *Randle Holme*, Bk. III. Chap.  
III. p. 77—86.

<sup>4</sup> rere a *cofyn* of flowre so fre. *L. C. C.*, p. 38, l. 8. The crust  
of a raised pie.

- and alle þat byn cold / & lusteth youre souereyn to  
note, cold ones
- 480 alwey in þe mydway open hem ye mote. in the middle.
- Of capon, chiken, or teele, in coffyn bake, Take Teal, &c., out  
Owt of þe pye furst þat ye hem take, of their pie,
- In a dische besyde / þat ye þe whyngus slake, and mince their  
484 thynk<sup>1</sup> y-mynsed in to þe same *with your knyfe* ye slake, wings.
- And stere welle þe stuff þer-in *with þe poynt of* stir the gravy in;  
*your knyfe*;
- Mynse ye thynne þe whyngis, be it in to veele or  
byffe ;
- with a spon* lightly to ete *your souerayne may* your lord may eat  
be leeff, it with a spoon.
- 488 So *with* suche diet as is holsom he may lengthe  
his life.
- V**enesoun bake, of boor or othur venure, [Fol. 178.]  
Cut Venison, &c.,  
Kut it in þe pastey, & ley hit on his trenchure. in the pas<sup>47</sup>.
- Pygeon bake, þe leggis leid to youre lord sure,
- 492 Custard,<sup>2</sup> chekkid buche,<sup>3</sup> square *with þe knyfe* ; Custard : cut in  
squares with a  
knife.  
*þus is þe cure*

<sup>1</sup> for thin ; see line 486.

<sup>2</sup> ? A dish of batter somewhat like our Yorkshire Pudding ; not the *Crustade* or pie of chickens, pigeons, and small birds of the *Household Ordinances*, p. 442, and *Crustate of flesshe of Liber Cure*, p. 40.

<sup>3</sup> ? *buche de bois*. A logge, backe stocke, or great billet. Cot. I suppose the *buche* to refer to the manner of *checkering* the custard, buche-wise, and not to be a dish. Venison is 'chekkid,' l. 388-9. This rendering is confirmed by *The Boke of Keruynges* "Custarde, cheke them inch square" (in *Keruynges of Flesshe*). Another possible rendering of *buche* as a dish of batter or the like, seems probable from the 'Bouce Jane, a dish in Ancient Cookery' (Wright's *Provl. Dict.*), but the recipe for it in *Household Ordinances*, p. 431, shows that it was a stew, which could not be checkered or squared. It consisted of milk boiled with chopped herbs, half-roasted chickens or capons cut into pieces, 'pynes and raysynges of corance,' all boiled together. In *Household Ordinances*, p. 162-4, *Bouche*, or *Bouche of court*, is used for allowance. The 'Knights and others of the King's Councell,' &c., had each

þān þe souerayne, with his spone whān he lustethe  
to ete.  
Dowcets; pare  
away the sides;  
serve in a  
sawcer.  
Payne-puff: pare  
the bottom,  
cut off the top.  
(? parneys)  
Fried things are  
indigestible.

of dowcetes,<sup>1</sup> pare away the sides to þe botōm, &  
þat ye lete,  
In a sawcere afore youre souerayne semely ye hit sett  
496 whān hȳm likethe to atast: looke ye not forgete.  
Payne puff,<sup>2</sup> pare þe botom nyze þe stuff, take hede,  
Kut of þe toppe of a payne puff, do thus as y rede ;  
Also pety perueys<sup>3</sup> be fayre and clene / so god be  
yourspede.  
500 off Fryed metes<sup>4</sup> be ware, for þey ar Fumose in dede.

'for their *Bouch* in the morning one chet loafe, one manchett, one gallon of ale; for afternoone, one manchett, one gallon of ale; for after supper, one manchett, &c.'

<sup>1</sup> See the recipe, end of this volume. In Sir John Howard's Household Books is an entry in 1467, 'for viij boshelles of flour for *dowsetes* vj s. viij d.' p. 396, ed. 1841. See note 5 to l. 699, below.

<sup>2</sup> The last recipe in *The Forme of Cury*, p. 89, is one for Payn Puff, but as it refers to the preceding receipt, that is given first here.

XX  
THE PETY PERUAUNT.\* IX.XV.[=195]

Take male Marow. hole parade, and kerue it rawe; powdour of Gyngur, yolks of Ayrene, datis mynced, raisōns of corānce, salt a lytel, & loke þat þou make þy past with 3olkes of Ayren, & þat no water come þerto; and fourme þy coffyn, and make up þy past.

XX  
PAYN PUFF IX.XVI.[=196]

Eodem modo fait payn puff. but make it more tendre þe past, and loke þe past be rounde of þe payn puf as a coffyn & a pye.

Randle Holme treats of Puffe, Puffs, and Pains, p. 84, col. 1, 2, but does not mention *Payn Puff*. 'Payn puffe, and pety-pettys, and cuspis and doucettis,' are mentioned among the last dishes of a service on Flessh-Day (*H. Ord.*, p. 450), but no recipe for either is given in the book.

<sup>3</sup> In lines 707, 748, the *pety perueys* come between the fish and pasties. I cannot identify them as fish. I suppose they were pies, perhaps *The Pety Peruaunt* of note 2 above; or better still, the fish-pies, *Petipetas* (or *pety-pettys* of the last note), which Randle Holme says 'are Pies made of Carps and Eels, first roasted, and then minced, and with Spices made up in Pies.'

<sup>4</sup> De cibi eleccione: (Sloane MS. 1986, fol. 59 b, and elsewhere,) "Frixia nocent, elixa fouent, assata coherent."

\* Glossed *Petypanel*, a *Murchpayne*. Leland, Coll. vi. p. 6. Pegge.



## Fried metes.

- O** Fruture vian<sup>1</sup> / Frutur sawge,<sup>1</sup> byn̄ good / Poached-egg (?)  
bettur is Frutur powche ;<sup>1</sup> fritters are best.
- Appulle fruture<sup>2</sup> / is good hoot / but þe cold ye not  
towche.
- Tansey<sup>3</sup> is good hoot / els cast it not in youre Tansey is good  
clowche. hot.
- 504 alle maner of leessez<sup>4</sup> / ye may forbere / herbere in Don't eat Leessez.  
yow none sowche.
- Cookes with þeire newe conceytes, choppynge /  
stampyng, & gryndyng, Cooks are always  
Many new curies / alle day þey ar contryvyng  
& Fyndyng inventing new  
þat provokethe þe peple to perelles of passage / dishes  
þrouz peyne soore pyndyng, that tempt people
- 508 & þrouz nice excesse of suche receytes / of þe and endanger  
life to make a endyng. their lives :
- Some with Sireppis<sup>5</sup> / Sawces / Sewes,<sup>6</sup> and Syrups  
soppes,<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Meat, sage, & poached, fritters? <sup>2</sup> Recipe in *L. Cure*, p. 39.

<sup>3</sup> There is a recipe 'for a Tansy Cake' in *Lib. C.*, p. 50. Cogan says of *Tansie*,—"it auoideth fleume. . . Also it killeth worms, and purgeth the matter whereof they be engendred. Wherefore it is much vsed among vs in England, about Easter, with fried Eggs, not without good cause, to purge away the fleume engendred of fish in Lent season, whereof worms are soone bred in them that be thereto disposed." Tansey, says Bailey (*Diet. Domesticum*) is recommended for the dissipating of wind in the stomach and belly. He gives the recipe for 'A Tansy' made of spinage, milk, cream, eggs, grated bread and nutmeg, heated till it's as thick as a hasty pudding, and then baked.

<sup>4</sup> Slices or strips of meat, &c., in sauce. See note to l. 516, p. 34.

<sup>5</sup> Recipe 'For Sirup,' *Liber Cure*, p. 43, and 'Syrup for a Capon or Faysant,' *H. Ord.* p. 440.

<sup>6</sup> potages, soups.

<sup>7</sup> Soppes in Fenell, *Slitte Soppes*, *H. Ord.* p. 445.

Comedies,	Comedies / Cawdelles <sup>1</sup> cast in Cawdrons / ponnes, or pottes,	} Len- voy
Jellies, that stop the bowels.	leesses / Ielies <sup>2</sup> / Fruturs / fried mete þat stoppes 512 and distemperethe alle þe body, bothe bak, bely, & roppes : <sup>3</sup>	
Some dishes are prepared with un- clarified honey.	Some maner cury of Cookes craft Sotelly y haue espied, how þeire dischmetes ar dressid with hony not clarified.	
Cow-heele and Calves' feet are sometimes mixed	Cow heelis / and Calves fete / ar dere y-bouȝt some tide	
with unsugared leches and Jellies.	516 To medille amonge leeches <sup>4</sup> & Ielies / whaȝ suger shalle syt a-side.	

### Potages.<sup>5</sup>

[Fol. 178 b.]	<b>W</b> ortus with an henne / Cony / beef, or els aȝ haare,
Furmitie with venison,	Frumenty <sup>6</sup> with venesoun / pesyȝ with bakoȝ, longe wortes not spare ; Growelle of force <sup>7</sup> / Gravelle of beeff <sup>8</sup> / or motoun, haue ye no care ;

<sup>1</sup> Recipe for a Cawdel, *L. C. C.* p. 51.

<sup>2</sup> Recipes for Gele in Chekyns or of Hennes, and Gele of Flesshe, *H. Ord.* p. 437.

<sup>3</sup> A.S. *roppas*, the bowels.

<sup>4</sup> "leche" is a slice or strip, *H. Ord.* p. 472 (440), p. 456 (399)—'cut hit on leches as hit were pescoddes,' p. 439,—and also a stew or dish in which strips of pork, &c., are cooked. See Leche Lumbarde, *H. Ord.* p. 438-9. Fr. *lesche*, a long slice or shine of bread, &c. Cot. *Hic lesca As*, scywe (shive or slice), Wright's Vocab. p. 198: *heo lesca*, a schyfe, p. 241. See also Mr Way's long note 1; Prompt. Parv., p. 292, and the recipes for 64 different "Leche vyaundys" in MS. Harl. 279, that he refers to.

<sup>5</sup> For Potages see Part I. of *Liber Cure Cocorum*, p. 7—27.

<sup>6</sup> Recipe for Potage de Frumenty in *H. Ord.* p. 425, and for Furmente in *Liber Cure*, p. 7, *H. Ord.* 462.

<sup>7</sup> Recipe 'For gruel of fors,' *Lib. C.* p. 47, and *H. Ord.* p. 425.

<sup>8</sup> ? minced or powdered beef: Fr. *gravelle*, small grauell or sand. Cot. 'Powdred motoun,' l. 533, means sprinkled, salted.

- 520 Gely, mortrows<sup>1</sup> / creyme of almondes, þe mylke<sup>2</sup> mortrewes,  
þer-of is good fare.
- Iusselle<sup>3</sup>, tartlett<sup>4</sup>, cabages<sup>5</sup>, & nombles<sup>6</sup> of jussell, &c., are  
vennure,<sup>7</sup> good.
- alle þese potages ar good and sure  
of oþer sewes & potages þat ar not made by nature, Other out-of-the-  
way soups  
524 alle Suche siropis sett a side youre heere to endure. set aside.
- N**ow, soñ, y haue yow shewid somewhat of myne Such is a  
avise,  
þe service of a flesche feest folowyng englondis flesh feast in the  
gise; English way.
- Forgeþe ye not my loore / but looke ye bere good  
y3es
- 528 vppoñ oþur connyng kervers : now haue y told  
yow wise.

### Diverse Sauces.<sup>8</sup>

Sauces.

- A**lso to know youre sawces for flesche conveni- Sauces provoke  
ently, ently,  
hit provokithe a fyne apete if sawce youre a fine appetite.  
mete be bie;  
to the lust of youre lord looke þat ye haue þer Have ready  
redy

<sup>1</sup> Recipes for 'Mortrewes de Chare,' *Lib. C.* p. 9; 'of fysshe,' p. 19; blanchéd, p. 13; and *H. Ord.* pp. 438, 454, 470.

<sup>2</sup> Butter of Almonde mylke, *Lib. C.* p. 15; *H. Ord.* p. 447.

<sup>3</sup> See the recipe, end of this volume.

<sup>4</sup> Recipe for *Tartlotes* in *Lib. C. C.* p. 41.

<sup>5</sup> Recipe for *Cabaches* in *H. Ord.* p. 426, and *caboche*s, p. 454, both the vegetable. There is a fish *caboche* in the 15th cent. *Nominal*e in Wright's *Vocab. Hic caput, A<sup>e</sup>*, *Caboche*, p. 189, col. 1, the bullhead, or miller's thumb, called in French *chabot*.

<sup>6</sup> See two recipes for *Nombuls* in *Liber Cure*, p. 10, and for 'Nombuls of a Dere,' in *H. Ord.* p. 427.

The long *r* and curl for *e* in the MS. look like *f*, as if for *vennuf*.

<sup>8</sup> For *Sauces (Salsamenta)* see Part II. of *Liber Cure*, p. 27—34.

	532 suche sawce as hym likethe / to make hym glad & mery.
Mustard for brawn, &c.,	Mustard <sup>1</sup> is meete for brawne / beef, or powdred <sup>2</sup> motoun ;
Verjuice for veal, &c., Chawdon for cygnet and swan,	verdius <sup>3</sup> to boyled capoun / veel / chiken / or bakoñ ; And to signet / & swaī, conveyent is þe chawdoñ <sup>4</sup> ;
Garlic, &c., for beef and goose,	536 Roost beeff / & goos / with garlek, vinegre, or pepur, in conclusioun.
Ginger for fawn, &c.,	Gynger sawce <sup>5</sup> to lambe, to kyd / pigge, or fawñ / in fere ; to feysand, partriche, or cony / Mustard with þe sugure ;
Mustard and sugar for pheasant, &c., Gamelyn for heronsew, &c.,	Sawce gamelyn <sup>6</sup> to heyroñ-sewe / egret / crane / & plover ;
Sugar and Salt for brew, &c.,	540 also / brewe <sup>7</sup> / Curlew / sugre & salt / with watere of þe ryvere ;

<sup>1</sup> Recipe 'for lumbardus Mustard' in *Liber Cure*, p. 30.

<sup>2</sup> Fleshe *powdred* or salted. *Caro salsa, vel salita*. Withals.

<sup>3</sup> The juice of unripe grapes. See *Maison Rustique*, p. 620.

<sup>4</sup> Chaudwyn, l. 688 below. See a recipe for "Chaudern for Swannes" in *Household Ordinances*, p. 441; and for "þandon (MS. chawdon \*) for wyld digges, swannus and piggus," in *Liber Cure*, p. 9, and "Sawce for swannus," *Ibid.*, p. 29. It was made of chopped liver and entrails boiled with blood, bread, wine, vinegar, pepper, cloves, and ginger.

<sup>5</sup> See the recipe "To make Gynger Sause" in *H. Ord.* p. 441, and "For sawce gynger," *L. C. C.* p. 52.

<sup>6</sup> No doubt the "sawce fyne þat men calles camelyne" of *Liber Cure*, p. 30, 'raysons of corouns,' nuts, bread crusts, cloves, ginger, cinnamon, powdered together and mixed with vinegar. "Camelin, sauce cameline, A certaine daintie Italian sauce." Cot.

<sup>7</sup> A bird mentioned in *Archæologia*, xiii. 341. Hall. See note, l. 422.

\* Sloane 1986, p. 48, or fol. 27 b. It is not safe to differ from Mr Morris, but on comparing the C of 'Chawdoñ for swannis,' col. 1, with that of 'Caudelle of almonde,' at the top of the second col., I have no doubt that the letter is C. So on fol. 31 b. the C of Chawdon is more like the C of Charlet opposite than the T of Take under it. The C of Caudel dalmon on fol. 34 b., and that of *Cuttellis*, fol. 24, l. 5, are of the same shape.

- Also for bustard / betowre / & shoveler,<sup>1</sup> Gamelyn for  
 gamelyñ<sup>2</sup> is in sesoun ; bustard, &c.,
- Wodcok / lapewynk / Mertenet / larke, & venysoun,<sup>3</sup> Salt and Cinna-  
 Sparows / thrusches / alle pese .vij. with salt & mon for wood-  
 synamome : cock, thrushes,  
 &c.,
- 544 Quayles, sparowes, & snytes, whañ peire sesoun and quails, &c.  
 com,<sup>3</sup>
- Thus to provoke an appetite þe Sawce hathe is  
 operacioun.

### Kervynge of Fische.<sup>4</sup>

*How to carve  
 Fish.*

**N**ow, good soñ, of kervynge of fysche y wot y  
 must þe leere :

To peson<sup>5</sup> or frumēnty take þe tayle of þe bevere,<sup>6</sup> With pea soup or  
 firmly serve a  
 Beaver's.

<sup>1</sup> Shovelers feed most commonly upon the Sea-coast upon cockles and Shell-fish : being taken home, and dieted with new garbage and good meat, they are nothing inferior to fatted Gulls. *Muffett*, p. 109. *Hic populus*, a schevelard (the *anas clypeata* of naturalists). Wright's Voc., p. 253.

<sup>2</sup> See note 6 to line 539, above.

<sup>3</sup> Is not this line superfluous? After 135 stanzas of 4 lines each, we here come to one of 5 lines. I suspect l. 544 is simply de trop. W. W. Skeat.

<sup>4</sup> For the fish in the Poem mentioned by Yarrell, and for references to him, see the list at the end of this *Boke of Nurture*.

<sup>5</sup> Recipes for "Grene Pesen" are in *H. Ord.* p. 426-7, p. 470 ; and *Porre of Pesen*, &c. p. 444.

<sup>6</sup> Topsell in his *Fourfooted Beasts*, ed. Rowland, 1658, p. 36, says of Beavers, "There hath been taken of them whose tails have weighed four pound weight, and they are accounted a very delicate dish, for being dressed they eat like Barbles : they are used by the Lotharingians and Savoyans [says Bellonius] for meat allowed to be eaten on fish-dayes, although the body that beareth them be flesh and unclean for food. The manner of their dressing is, first roasting, and afterward seething in an open pot, that so the evill vapour may go away, and some in pottage made with Saffron ; other with Ginger, and many with Brine ; it is certain that the tail and forefeet taste very sweet, from whence came the Proverbe, *That sweet is that fish, which is not fish at all.*"

tail, salt Porpoise, &c.	548 or 3iff ye haue salt purpose <sup>1</sup> / 3ele <sup>2</sup> / torrentille <sup>3</sup> , deynteithus fulle dere, ye must do afture þe forme of frumenty, as y said while ere.  Bakeñ herynge, dressid & di3t wíth white sugure ; þe white herynge by þe bak a brode ye splat hým sure,
Split up Herrings.	552 bothe roughe & boonus / voyded / þeñ may youre lorde endure to ete merily wíth mustard þat tyme to his plesure.
take out the roe and bones,	Of alle maner salt fische, looke ye pare away the felle,
eat with mustard.	Salt samoun / Congur <sup>4</sup> , grone <sup>5</sup> fische / boþe lynge <sup>6</sup> & myllewelle <sup>7</sup> ,
Take the skin off salt fish,	556 & oñ youre soueraynes trencheur ley hit, as y yow telle. þe sawce þer-to, good mustard, alway accordethe welle.
Salmon, Ling, &c.,	
and let the sauce be mustard,	

<sup>1</sup> See the recipe for "Furmente with Purpeys," *H. Ord.* p. 442.

<sup>2</sup> I suppose this to be Seal. If it is Eel, see recipes for "Eles in Surre, Browet, Gravê, Brasyle," in *H. Ord.* p. 467-8.

<sup>3</sup> Winkyn de Worde has 'a salte purpos or sele turrentyne.' If this is right, torrentille must apply to 3ele, and be a species of seal: if not, it must be allied to the Trout or Torrentyne, l. 835.

<sup>4</sup> Congur in Pyole, *H. Ord.* p. 469. 'I must needs agree with Diocles, who being asked, *whether were the better fish, a Pike or a Conger*: That (said he) sodden, and this broild; shewing us thereby, that all flaggy, slimy and moist fish (as Eeles, Congers, Lampreys, Oisters, Cockles, Mustles, and Scalopes) are best broild, roasted or bakt; but all other fish of a firm substance and drier constitution is rather to be sodden.' *Muffett*, p. 145.

<sup>5</sup> So MS., but *grone* may mean *green*, see l. 851 and note to it. If not, ? for Fr. *gronan*, a gurnard. The Scotch *crowner* is a species of gurnard.

<sup>6</sup> Lynge, fysshe, *Colin*, Palsgrave; but *Colin*, a Sea-cob, or Gull. Cotgrave. See *Promptorium*, p. 296.

<sup>7</sup> Fr. *Merlus ou Merluz*, A Mellwell, or Keeling, a kind of small Cod whereof Stockfish is made. Cotgrave. And see *Prompt. Parv.* p. 348, note 4. "Cod-fish is a great Sea-whiting, called also a Keeling or Melwel." *Bennett's Muffett on Food*, p. 148.

- Saltfysche, stokfische<sup>1</sup> / merlynge<sup>2</sup> / makerelle, but-  
tur ye may but for Mackarel,  
&c., butter
- with swete buttur of Claynos<sup>3</sup> or els of hakenay,  
560 þe boonus, skynnes / & fynnes, furst y-fette a-way, of Claynes or  
Hackney (?)
- þeñ sett youre dische þere as youre souereyn may  
tast & assay.
- Pike<sup>4</sup>, to youre souereyn y wold þat it be layd, Of Pike, the belly  
is best,
- þe wombe is best, as y haue herd it saide,
- 564 Fysche & skyn to-gedir be hit conuaied  
with pike sawce y-noughe þer-to / & hit shall not with plenty of  
sauce.
- The salt lamprey, gobeñ hit a slout<sup>5</sup> .vij. pecis y Salt Lampreys,  
cut in seven  
gobbets,  
pick out the back-  
bones,
- assigne ;
- þañ pike owt þe boonus nyze þe bak spyne,

<sup>1</sup> Cogan says of stockfish, "Concerning which fish I will say no more than Erasmus hath written in his *Colloquio*. *There is a kind of fishe, which is called in English Stockfish: it nourisheth no more than a stock*. Yet I haue eaten of a pie made onely with Stockefishe, whiche hath been verie good, but the goodnesse was not so much in the fishe as in the cookerie, which may make that saourie, which of it selfe is vnsavourie . . . it is sayd a good Cooke can make you good meate of a whetstone. . . . Therefore a good Cooke is a good iewell, and to be much made of." "Stockfish whilst it is unbeaten is called Buckhorne, because it is so tough; when it is beaten upon the stock, it is termed stockfish." *Muffett*. Lord Percy (A.D. 1512) was to have "cxl Stok fisch for the expensys of my house for an hole Yere, after ij.d. obol. the pece," p. 7, and "ccccxlij Salt fisch . . . after iiij the pece," besides 9 barrels of white and 10 cades of red herring, 5 cades of Sprats (*sprootis*), 400 score salt salmon, 3 firkins of salt sturgeon and 5 cags of salt eels.

<sup>2</sup> Fr. *Merlan*, a Whiting, a Merling. Cot. 'The best Whittings are taken in Tweede, called *Merlings*, of like shape and vertue with ours, but far bigger.' *Muffett*, p. 174.

<sup>3</sup> MS. may be Cleynes. ? what place can it be; Clayness, Claynose? Claybury is near Woodford in Essex.

<sup>4</sup> A recipe for Pykes in Brasey is in *H. Ord.* p. 451. The head of a Carp, the *tail* of a Pike, and the Belly of a Bream are most esteemed for their tenderness, shortness, and well rellishing. *Muffett*, p. 177.

<sup>5</sup> Cut it in gobets or lumps a-slope. "Aslet or a-slowte (asloppe, a slope), *Oblique*." P. Parv. But *slout* may be *slot*, bolt of a door, and so *aslout* = in long strips.

- 568 and ley hit oñ *your lordes trenchere* wheþer he  
sowpe or dyne,  
erve with onions & galentine. & þat ye haue ssoddyñ ynons<sup>1</sup> to meddille wíth  
galantyne.<sup>2</sup>
- Plaice: cut off the fins, cross it with a knife, sauce with wine, &c. 572 Off playce,<sup>3</sup> looke ye put a-way þe watur clene,  
afftur þat þe fynnes also, þat þey be not sene ;  
Crosse hym þeñ wíth *your knyffe* þat is so kene ;  
wyne or ale / powder þer-to, youre souerayñ welle  
to queme.
- Gurnard, Chub, Gurnard / roche<sup>4</sup> / breme / chevyñ / base / melet /  
in her kervynge,  
Perche / rooche<sup>5</sup> / darce<sup>6</sup> / Makerelle, & whitynge,
- Roach, Dace, Cod, &c., split up and spread on the dish. 576 Codde / haddock / by þe bak / splat þeñ in þe  
dische liynge,  
pike owt þe boonus, clense þe refett<sup>7</sup> in þe bely  
bydynge ;
- [Fol. 179 b.] Soolus<sup>8</sup> / Carpe / Breme de mere,<sup>9</sup> & trowt,

<sup>1</sup> Onions make a man stink and wink. Berthelson, 1754. 'The Onion, though it be the Countrey mans meat, is better to vse than to tast: for he that eateth euerie day tender Onions with Honey to his breakfast, shall liue the more healthfull, so that they be not too new.' *Maison Rustique*, p. 178, ed. 1616.

<sup>2</sup> Recipes for this sauce are in *Liber C.* p. 30, and *H. Ord.* p. 441: powdered crusts, galingale, ginger, and salt, steeped in vinegar and strained. See note to l. 634 below.

<sup>3</sup> See "Plays in Cene," that is, Ceus, chives, small onions somewhat like eschalots. *H. Ord.* p. 452. See note 5, l. 822.

<sup>4</sup> Of all sea-fish Rochets and Gurnards are to be preferred; for their flesh is firm, and their substance purest of all other. Next unto them Plaise and Soles are to be numbered, being eaten in time; for if either of them be once stale, there is no flesh more carrion-like, nor more troublesome to the belly of man. *Mouffet*, p. 164.

<sup>5</sup> Roches or Loches in *Egurdouce*, *H. Ord.* p. 469.

<sup>6</sup> Or dace.

<sup>7</sup> *Rivet*, roe of a fish. Halliwell. *Dan. ravn, rogn* (rowne of Pr. Parv.) under which Molbech refers to AS. *hræfe* (raven, Bosworth) as meaning roe or spawn. G. P. Marsh. But see *refeccyon*, P. Parv.

<sup>8</sup> See "Soles in Cyne," that is, Cyue, *H. Ord.* p. 452.

<sup>9</sup> Black Sea Bream, or Old Wife. *Cantharus griseus*. Atkinson. "Abramides Marinæ. Breams of the Sea be a white and solid



- þey must be takyn̄ of as þey in þe dische lowt,  
 580 bely & bak / by gobyn̄<sup>1</sup> þe boon̄ to pike owt,  
 so serve ye lordes trenchere, looke ye welle abowt.  
 Whale / Swerdfysche / purpose / dorray<sup>2</sup> / roasted  
 wele, Whale, porpoise,  
 Bret<sup>3</sup> / samon̄ / Congur<sup>4</sup> / sturgeon / turbut, & congur, turbot,  
 3ele,  
 584 þornebak / thurle polle / hound fysch<sup>5</sup> / halybut, to Halybut, &c.,  
 hym þat hathe heele,  
 alle þese / cut in þe dische as youre lord etethe at cut in the dish,  
 meele.  
 Tenche<sup>6</sup> in Iely or in Sawce<sup>7</sup> / loke þere ye kut and also Tench in  
 hit so, jelly.

and on̄ youre lordes trenchere se þat it be do.  
 588 Elis & lampurnes<sup>8</sup> roasted / where þat euer ye go, On roast  
 Lamprons  
 substance, good juice, most easie digestion, and good nourishment.”  
*Muffett*, p. 148.

<sup>1</sup> gobbets, pieces, see l. 638.

<sup>2</sup> Fr. *Dorée* : f. The Doree, or Saint Peters fish ; also (though not so properly) the Goldfish or Goldenie. Cotgrave.

<sup>3</sup> *Brett*, §xxi. He beareth Azure a *Birt* (or *Burt* or *Berte*) proper by the name of *Brit*. . . It is by the Germans termed a *Brett-fish* or *Brett-cock*. Randle Holme.

<sup>4</sup> Rec. for Congur in Sause, *H. Ord.* p. 401 ; in Pyole, p. 469.

<sup>5</sup> This must be Randle Holme's "*Dog fish* or *Sea Dog Fish*. It is by the Dutch termed a *Flackhund*, and a *Hundfish* : the Skin is hard and redish, beset with hard and sharp scales ; sharp and rough and black, the Belly is more white and softer. Bk II. Ch. XIV. No. lv, p. 343-4. For names of Fish the whole chapter should be consulted, p. 321—345.

<sup>6</sup> "His flesh is stopping, slimy, viscous, & very unwholesome ; and (as Alexander Benedictus writeth) of a most unclean and damnable nourishment . . . they engender palsies, stop the lungs, putrifie in the stomach, and bring a man that much eats them to infinite diseases . . . they are worst being fried, *besi being kept in gelly*, made strong of wine and spices." *Muffett*, p. 189.

<sup>7</sup> Recipes for Tenches in grave, *L. C. C.* p. 25 ; in Cylk (wine, &c.), *H. Ord.* p. 470 ; in Bresyle (boiled with spices, &c.), p. 468.

<sup>8</sup> Lamprons in Galentyn, *H. Ord.* p. 449. "Lampreys and Lamprons differ in bigness only and in goodness ; they are both a very sweet and nourishing meat. . . The little ones called Lamprons are best broild, but the great ones called Lampreys are best baked." *Muffett*, p. 181-3. See l. 630-40 of this poem.

- cast vinegar, &c.,  
and bone them. Cast vinegre & powder *peron* / furst fette *pe bonus*  
*pe*m fro.
- Crabs are hard to  
carve: break  
every claw. Crabbe is a slutt / to kerve / & a wrawd<sup>1</sup> wight ;  
breke euery Clawe / a *sondur* / for *pat* is his  
ryght :
- put all the meat  
in the body-shell. 592 In *pe brode shelle* putt youre stuff / but furst  
haue a sight  
*pat* it be clene from *skyn* / & senow / or ye  
begyn to dight.  
And what<sup>2</sup> ye haue piked / *pe stuff* owt of euery  
*shelle*
- and then season it  
with with *pe* poynt of youre knyff, loke ye temper hit  
welle,
- vinegar or verjuice  
and powder. (?) 596 put vinegre / *perto*, verdjus, or ayselle,<sup>3</sup>  
Cast *per-on* powdur, the bettur it wille smelle.
- Heat it, and give  
it to your lord. Send *pe* Crabbe to *pe kychyn* / *pere* for to hete,  
agayn hit *facche* to *py souerayne* sittyng at mete;
- Put the claws,  
hroken, in a dish. 600 breke *pe* clawes of *pe* crabbe / *pe* smalle & *pe* grete,  
In a disch *pe*m ye lay / if hit like your *souer-*  
*ayne* to ete.
- The sea Crayfish :  
cut it asunder. Crevice<sup>4</sup> / *pus* wise ye must them dight :  
Depart the crevice a-sondire euy<sup>n</sup> to youre sight,
- slit the helly of  
the haak part, 604 Slytt *pe* bely of the hyndur part / & so do ye  
ryght,
- take out the fish, and alle hoole take owt *pe* fische, like as y yow  
behight.

<sup>1</sup> Wraw, froward, ongoodly. *Perversus . . exasperans*. Pr. Parv.

<sup>2</sup> for *whan*, when.

<sup>3</sup> A kind of vinegar; A.S. *eisile*, vinegar; given to Christ on the Cross.

<sup>4</sup> *Escrevisse*: f. A Crevice, or Crayfish [see l. 618]; (By some Authors, but not so properly, the Crab-fish is also tearmed so.) *Escrevisse de mer*. A Lobster; or, (more properly) a Sea-Crevice. Cotgrave. A *Crevice*, or a *Crefish*, or as some write it, a *Crevis Fish*, are in all respects the same in form, and are a Species of the Lobster, but of a lesser size, and the head is set more into the body of the *Crevice* than in the *Lobster*. Some call this a *Ganwell*. R. Holme, p. 338, col. 1, § xxx.

- Pare away þe red skyñ for dyuers cawse & dowt,  
and make clene þe place also / þat ye calle his clean out the gowt  
in  
gowt,<sup>1</sup>
- 608 hit lies in þe myddes of þe bak / looke ye pike the middle of the  
sea Crayfish's  
back; pick it out,  
it owt ;  
areise hit by þe þyknes of a grote / þe fische tear it off the fish,  
rownd about.
- put it in a dische leese by lees<sup>2</sup> / & þat ye not  
forgete  
to put vinegre to þe same / so it towche not þe and put vinegar  
to it;  
mete ;
- 612 breke þe gret clawes youre self / ye nede no break the claws  
cooke to trete,  
Set þem on þe table / ye may / with-owt any and set them on  
the table.  
maner heete.
- The bak of þe Crevis, þus he must be sted : Treat the hack  
like the crab,  
array hym as ye dothe / þe crabbe, if þat any be  
had,
- 616 and bope endes of þe shelle / Stoppe them fast stopping both  
ends with bread.  
with bred,  
& serue / youre souereyn þer with / as he likethe  
to be fedd.
- Of Crevis dewe douz<sup>3</sup> Cut his bely a-way, [Fol. 180.]  
þe fische in A dische clenly þat ye lay The fresh-water  
Crayfish : serue  
with vinegar and  
powder.
- 620 with vineger & powdur þer vppoñ, þus is vsed ay,  
þañ youre souerayne / whañ hym semethe, sadly  
he may assay.

<sup>1</sup> No doubt the intestinal tract, running along the middle of the body and tail. Dr Günther. Of Crevisses and Shrimps, Muffett says, p. 177, they "give also a kind of exercise for such as be weak: for head and brest must first be divided from their bodies; then each of them must be dis scaled, and clean picked with much pidling; then the long gut lying along the back of the Crevisse is to be voided."

<sup>2</sup> slice by slice.

<sup>3</sup> The fresh-water crayfish is beautiful eating, Dr Günther says.

- Salt Sturgeon :  
slit its joll, or  
head, thin.
- Whelk: cut off  
its head and tail,
- throw away its  
operculum,  
mantle, &c.,
- cut it in two, and  
put it on the  
sturgeon,
- adding vinegar.
- Carve Baked  
Lampreys thus:  
take off the pie-  
cerust, put thin  
slices of bread on  
a Dish,
- pour galentyne  
ovr the bread,
- add cinnamon  
and red wine.
- The Iolle<sup>1</sup> of þe salt sturgeoun / thyñ / take hede  
ye slytt,  
& rownd about þe dische dresse ye musteñ hit.
- 624 þe whelke<sup>2</sup> / looke þat þe hed / and taye away  
be kytt,  
his pyntill<sup>3</sup> & gutt / almond & mantille,<sup>4</sup> away  
þer fro ye pitt ;
- 628 Then kut ye þe whelk asondur, even pecis two,  
and ley þe pecis þerof / vppoñ youre sturgeoun so,  
rownd all abowt þe disch / while þat hit wille go ;  
put vinegre þer-vppoñ / þe bettur þañ wille hit do.  
Fresche lamprey bake<sup>5</sup> / þus it must be dight :  
Opeñ þe pastey lid, þer-in to haue a sight,  
632 Take þeñ white bred þyñ y-kut & lizt,  
lay hit in a chargere / dische, or plater, ryght ;  
with a spone þeñ take owt þe gentille galentyne,<sup>6</sup>  
In þe dische, oñ þe bred / ley hit, lemman myne,  
636 þeñ take powdur of Synamome, & temper hit  
with red wyne :

<sup>1</sup> Iolle of a fysshe, *teste*. Palsgrave. Ioll, as of salmon, &c., *caput*. Gouldm. in *Promptorium*, p. 264.

<sup>2</sup> For to make a potage of welkes, *Liber Cure*, p. 17. "Perwinkles or Whelks, are nothing but sea-snails, feeding upon the finest mud of the shore and the best weeds." *Muffett*, p. 164.

<sup>3</sup> *Pintle* generally means the penis; but Dr Günther says the whelk has no visible organs of generation, though it has a projecting tube by which it takes in water, and the function of this might have been misunderstood. Dr G. could suggest nothing for *almond*, but on looking at the drawing of the male Whelk (*Buccinum undatum*) creeping, in the Penny Cyclopædia, v. 9, p. 454, col. 2 (art. Entomostomata), it is quite clear that the *almond* must mean the animal's horny, oval *operculum* on its hinder part. 'Most spiral shells have an *operculum*, or lid, with which to close the aperture when they withdraw for shelter. It is developed on a particular lobe at the posterior part of the foot, and consists of horny layers, sometimes hardened with shelly matter.' *Woodward's Mollusca*, p. 47.

<sup>4</sup> That part of the integument of mollusca which contains the viscera and secretes the shell, is termed the *mantle*. Woodward.

<sup>5</sup> Recipe "For lamprays haken," in *Liber Cure*, p. 38.

<sup>6</sup> A sauce made of crumbs, galingale, ginger, salt, and vinegar. See the Recipe in *Liber Cure*, p. 30.

þe same wold plese a pore mañ / y suppose, welle &  
fyne.

Mynse ye þe gobyns as thyñ as a grote,  
þañ lay þeñ vppoñ youre galantyne stondynge oñ a  
chaffire hoothe :

Mince the lam-  
preys,  
lay them on the  
sauce, &c., on a  
hot plate.

640 þus must ye dize a lamprey owt of his coffyn cote,  
and so may youre souerayne ete merily be noote.

serve up to your  
lord.

White herynge in a dische, if hit be seaward &  
fresshe,

White herrings  
fresh;

your souereyn to ete in seesoun of yere / þer-  
aftur he wille Asche.

644 looke he be white by þe boon / þe roughe white  
& nesche ;

the roe must be  
white and tender

with salt & wyne serue ye hym þe same / boldly,  
& not to basshe.

serve with salt  
and wine.

Shrympes welle pyked / þe scales away ye cast,  
Round about a sawcer / ley ye þem in hast ;

Shrimps picked :  
lay them round  
a sawcer, and  
serve with  
vinegar."

648 þe vinegre in þe same sawcer, þat youre lord may  
attast,  
þañ with þe said fische / he may fede hym / &  
of þem make no wast."

"**N**Ow, fadir, feire falle ye / & crist yow haue in  
cure,

"Thanks, father,

For of þe nurture of kervynge y suppose þat y be sure,  
652 but yet a-nodur office þer is / saue y dar not endure  
to frayne yow any further / for feere of displesure :

I know about  
Carving now,  
[Fol. 180 b.]

For to be a sewere y wold y hed þe comnynge,  
þañ durst y do my devoire / with any worship-  
fulle to be wonnynge ;

but I hardly dare  
ask you about  
a Sewer's duties,

656 señ þat y know þe course / & þe craft of kervynge,  
y wold se þe sizt of a Sewere<sup>1</sup> / what wey he /  
shewethe in seruynge."

how he is to  
serve."

<sup>1</sup> See the duties and allowances of "A Sewar for the Kynge,"  
Edw. IV., in *Household Ordinances*, pp. 36-7; Henry VII., p. 118.  
King Edmund risked his life for his ass sewer, p. 36.

*The Duties of a  
Sewer.*

**O**ffice of a sewer.<sup>1</sup>

- "Son, since you wish to learn,
- N**ow sen yt is so, my son / þat science ye wold fayn lere,  
drede yow no þynge daungeresnes; þus<sup>2</sup> y shalle do my devere
- I will gladly teach you. 660 to enforme yow feithfully with ryght gladsom chere, & yf ye wolle lysten my lore / somewhat ye shalle here :
- Let the Sewer, as soon as the Master begins to say grace,
- Take hede whan þe worshipfulle hed / þat is of any place  
hath wasche afore mete / and bigynneth to sey þe grace,
- hie to the kitchen. 664 Vn-to þe kechyñ þan looke ye take youre trace,  
Entendyng & at youre commaundyng þe seruaundes of þe place ;
- I. Ask the Panter
- Furst speke with þe pantere / or officere of þe spicery
- for fruits (as butter, grapes, &c.), 668 For frutes a-fore mete to ete þem fastyngaly,  
as buttur / plommes / damesyns, grapes, and chery,  
Suche in sesons of þe yere / ar served / to make meñ mery,
- if they are to be served.
- Serche and enquere of þe m̄ / yf suche seruyse shalle be þat day ;
- II. Ask the Cook
- þan comyn with þe cooke / and looke what he wille say ;
- and Surveyor 672 þe surveyoure & he / þe certeynte telle yow wille þay,

<sup>1</sup> The word Sewer in the MS. is written small, the flourishes of the big initial O having taken up so much room. The name of the office of *sewer* is derived from the Old French *esculier*, or the *scutellarius*, i. e. the person who had to arrange the dishes, in the same way as the *scutellery* (scullery) was by rights the place where the dishes were kept. *Domestic Architecture*, v. 3, p. 80 n.

<sup>2</sup> Inserted in a seemingly later hand.

- what metes // & how many disches / þey dyd what discha are prepared.  
fore puruay.
- And whān þe surveoure<sup>1</sup> & þe Cooke / *with* yow  
done accorde,
- þen shall þe cook dresse alle þynge to þe sur- III. Let tna Cook  
serve up the  
dishes.  
veynge borde,
- 676 þe surveoure sadly / & soburly / *with-owtē* any  
discorde  
Delyuer forthe his disches, ye to convey þem to the Surveyor  
deliver them  
þe lorde ;
- And whēn ye bithe at þe borde / of *seruyce* and [Fol. 181.]  
and you, the  
Sewer, have  
surveynge,
- se þat ye haue officers boþe courtly and *comynge*, skilful officers to  
preuent any dish  
being stolen.
- 680 For drede of a dische of youre course stelynge<sup>1</sup>,  
whyche myght cawse a vileny lightly in youre  
*seruice* sewynge.
- And se þat ye haue *seruytours* semely / þe disches IV. Have proper  
servants,  
for to bere,
- Marchalles*, *Squyers* / & *sergeauntes* of armes<sup>2</sup>, if Marshals, &c.,  
þat þey be there,
- 684 þat youre lordes mete may be brought *without* to bring the dishes  
from the kitchen.  
dowt or dere ;
- to sett it surely oñ þe borde / youre self nede not V. You set them  
on the table  
yourself.  
feere.

<sup>1</sup> See the duties and allowances of "A Surveyour for the Kyng" (Edw. IV.) in *Household Ord.* p. 37. Among other things he is to see 'that no thing be purloyned,' (cf. line 680 below), and the forty Squyers of Household who help serve the King's table from 'the surveying bourde' are to see that 'of every messe that cummyth from the dressing bourde . . . thereof be nothing withdrawe by the squires.' *ib.* p. 45.

<sup>2</sup> Squyers of Houshold xl . . . xx squires attendaunt upon the Kings (Edw. IV.) person in ryding . . . and to help serve his table from the surveying bourde. *H. Ord.* p. 45. Sergeauntes of Armes IIII., whereof ii alway to be attending upon the Kings person and chambre. . . . In like wise at the conveyance of his meate at every course from the surveying bourde, p. 47.

*A Meat Dinner.**A dynere of flesche.*<sup>1</sup>*First Course.**The Furst Course.*

- |   |   |                    |
|---|---|--------------------|
| 1. Mustard and<br>brawn.                    | <b>F</b> urst set forthe mustard / & brawne / of boore, <sup>2</sup><br>þe wild swyne,  |                    |
| 2. Potage.                                  | Suche potage / as þe cooke hathe made / of yerbis /<br>spice / & wyne,  |                    |
| 3. Stewed Pheasant and Swan, &c.            | 688 Beeff, moton <sup>3</sup> / Stewed feysaund / Swa <sup>n</sup> <sup>4</sup> with<br>the Chawdwy <sup>n</sup> , <sup>5</sup> |                    |
| 4. Baked Venison.                           | Capoun, pigge / vensoun bake, leche lombard <sup>6</sup> /<br>frutere viaunt <sup>7</sup> fyne;                                 |                    |
| 5. A Device of<br>Gabriel greeting<br>Mary. | And pa <sup>n</sup> a Sotelte :<br>Maydon mary þat holy virgyne,<br>692 And Gabrielle gretynge hur / with<br>an Ave.            | } <b>A Sotelte</b> |

<sup>1</sup> Compare the less gorgeous feeds specified on pp. 54-5 of *Liber Cure*, and pp. 449-50 of *Household Ordinances*. Also with this and the following 'Dinere of Fische' should be compared "the Diett for the King's Majesty and the Queen's Grace" on a Flesh Day and a Fish Day, A.D. 1526, contained in *Household Ordinances*, p. 174-6. Though Harry the Eighth was king, he was allowed only two courses on each day, as against the Duke of Gloucester's three given here. The daily cost for King and Queen was £4. 3s. 4d.; yearly, £1520. 13s. 4d. See also in Markham's *Houswife*, pp. 98-101, the ordering of 'extraordinary great Feasts of Princes' as well as those 'for much more humble men.'

<sup>2</sup> See Recipes for Bor in Counfett, Boor in Brasey, Bore in Egurdouce, in *H. Ord.* p. 435.

<sup>3</sup> *Chair de mouton manger de glouton*: Pro. Flesh of a Mutton is food for a glutton; (or was held so in old times, when Beefe and Bacon were your onely dainties.) Cot.

<sup>4</sup> The rule for the succession of dishes is stated in *Liber Cure*, p. 55, as whole-footed birds first, and of these the greatest, as swan, goose, and drake, to precede. Afterwards come baked meats and other dainties.

<sup>5</sup> See note to l. 535 above.

<sup>6</sup> See the Recipe for Leche Lombard in *Household Ordinances*, p. 438. Pork, eggs, pepper, cloves, currants, dates, sugar, powdered together, boiled in a bladder, cut into strips, and served with hot rich sauce.

<sup>7</sup> Meat fritter?, mentioned in l. 501.



## The Secōnd Course.

## Secōnd Course.

- Two potages, blanger mangere,<sup>1</sup> & Also Iely<sup>2</sup> :  
 For a standard / vensoun rost / kyd, favne, or  
 cony,  
 bustard, stork / crane / pecok in hakille ryally,<sup>3</sup>  
 696 heiron-sew or / betowre, *with-serue* with bred,  
 yf þat drynk be by ;
- Partriche, wodcok / plovere / egret / Rabettes  
 sowkere<sup>4</sup> ;
- Gret briddes / larkes / gentille breme de mere,  
 dowcettes,<sup>5</sup> payne puff, *with* leche / Ioly<sup>6</sup> Ambere,  
 700 Fretoure powche / a sotelte folowyng in fere,  
 þe course for to fullfyller,  
 An angelle goodly kañ appere,  
 and syngyng *with* a mery chere,  
 704 Vn-to .iij. sheperdes vppon añ hille.

1. Blanc Mange (of  
Meat).  
2. Roast Venison,  
&c.

3. Peacocks,  
heronsew.

egrets, sucking  
rabbits,

larks, bream, &c.

4. Dowcets, amber  
Leche,  
poached fritters.

5. A Device of an  
Angel appearing

to three Shep-  
herds on a hill.

The iij<sup>d</sup> Course.

## Third Course.

- “ Creme of almondes, & mameny, þe iij. course  
 in coost,  
 Curlew / brew / snytes / quayles / sparows /  
 mertenettes rost,

1. Almond cream.

2. Curlews,  
Snipes, &c.

<sup>1</sup> See “ Blaumanger to Potage ” p. 430 of *Household Ordinances* ;  
Blawmangere, p. 455 ; Blanc Manger, *L. C. C.* p. 9, and Blanc  
Maungere of fysshe, p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> “ Gele in Chekyns or of Hennes,” and “ Gelle of Flesshe,”  
*H. Ord.* p. 437.

<sup>3</sup> See the recipe “ At a Feeste Roiall, Pecoakes shall be dight on  
this Manere,” *H. Ord.* p. 439 ; but there he is to be served “ forthe  
with the last cours.” The *hackle* refers, I suppose, to his being  
sown in his skin when cold after roasting.

<sup>4</sup> The fat of *Rabet-suckers*, and little Birds, and small Chickens,  
is not discommendable, because it is soon and lightly overcome of  
an indifferent stomach. *Muffett*, p. 110.

<sup>5</sup> Recipe at end of this volume. Dowcet mete, or swete cake  
mete (bake mete, P.) *Dulceum, ductileum*. P. Parv. Dousette, a  
lytell flawne, *dariolle*. Palsgrave. Fr. *flanmet* ; m. A doucet or  
little custard. Cot. See note 1 to l. 494 above.

<sup>6</sup> May be *Iely*, amber jelly, instead of a beautiful amber leche.

3. Fresh-water  
crayfish, &c. Perche in gely / Crevisse dewe douz / pety perueis<sup>1</sup>  
with þe moost,
4. Baked Quinces,  
Sage fritters, &c. 708 Quynces bake / leche dugard / Fruturæ sage / y  
speke of cost,  
and soteltees fulle soleyñ :
5. Devices:  
The Mother of  
Christ, presented  
by the Kings of  
Cologne. 712 þat lady þat conseuyd by the holygost  
hyñ þat distroyed þe fendes boost,  
presentid plesauntly by þe kynges of coleyñ.  
Afftur þis, delicatis mo.
- Dessert.*  
White apples,  
caraways,  
wafers and  
Ypocras.  
*Clear the Table.* Blaunderelle, or pepyns, with caraway in confite,  
Waffurs to ete / ypocras to drynk with delite.  
716 now þis fest is fynysched / voyd þe table quyte  
Go we to þe fysche fest while we haue respite,  
& þañ with goddes grace þe fest wille be do.

*A Fish Dinner.**A Dinere of fische.<sup>2</sup>**First Course.**The First Course.*

1. Minnows, &c. "Musclade or<sup>3</sup> menows // with þe Samoun bel-  
lows<sup>4</sup> // eles, lampurns in fere ;
2. Porpoise and  
peas. 720 Peson with þe purpose // ar good potage, as y  
suppose //  
as fallethe for tyme of þe yere :  
[Fol. 182.] Bakeñ herynge // Sugre þeron strewynge //  
grene myllewelle, deyntethe & not dere ;
3. Fresh Millwell.  
4. Roast Pike. 724 pike<sup>5</sup> / lamprey / or Soolis // purpose rosted on  
coles<sup>6</sup> //

<sup>1</sup> See the note to line 499.<sup>2</sup> Compare "For a servise on fysshe day," *Liber Cure*, p. 54, and *Household Ordinances*, p. 449.<sup>3</sup> For of. See 'Sewes on Fische Dayes,' l. 821.<sup>4</sup> ? for *bellies* : see 'the haly of þe fresch samoun,' l. 823 in *Sewes on Fische Dayes*; or it may be for the *sounds* or breathing apparatus.<sup>5</sup> Pykes in *Brasey, H. Ord.* p. 451.<sup>6</sup> Purpesses, Tursons, or sea-hogs, are of the nature of swine, never good till they be fat . . . it is an unsavoury meat . . . yet many Ladies and Gentlemen love it exceedingly, bak'd like venison. *Mouffet*, p. 165.

- gurnard* / *lampurnes* bake / a *leche*, & a *friture*;  
 a *semely* *sotelte* *folowyng*e *evyñ* þere. 5. A Device :  
 A *galaunt* *yonge* *mañ*, a *wanton* *wigh*, A young man  
 728 *pypynge* & *syngynge* / *lovyng*e & *lyght*, pipng  
*Standynge* oñ a *clowd*, *Sanguineus* he *hight*, on a cloud, and  
 þe *begynnyng*e of þe *sesoñ* þat *cleped* is *ver*.<sup>1</sup> called *Sanguineus*, or *Spring*.

## The second course.

Second Course.

- “*Dates* in *confyte* // *Iely* *red* and *white* // 1. *Dates* and  
 732 þis is *good* *dewyng*e<sup>1</sup>; *Jelly*,  
*Congur*, *somoñ*, *dorray* // In *sirippe* if þey *lay* // 2. *Doree* in *Syrup*,  
 with *oper* *disches* in *sewyng*e. 3. *Turbot*, &c.,  
*Brett* / *turbut*<sup>2</sup> / or *halybut* // *Carpe*, *base* / *mylet*,  
 or *trowt* // 3. *Turbot*, &c.,  
 736 *Cheveñ*,<sup>3</sup> *breme* / *renewyng*e ; 4. *Eels*, *Fritters*,  
*3ole* / *Eles*, *lampurnes* / *rost* // a *leche*, a *fryture*, y 5. A Device :  
 make *now* *bost* // A Man of War,  
 þe *second* / *sotelte* *sewyng*e. red and angry  
 A *mañ* of *warre* *semyng*e he was,  
 740 A *roughe*, a *red*, *angry* *syre*,  
 An *hasty* *mañ* *standynge* in *fyre*,  
 As *hoot* as *somer* by his *attyre* ;  
 his *name* was *peroñ*, & *cleped* *Estas*. called *Estas*, or  
Summer.

<sup>1</sup> þ due-ing, that is, service ; not moistening.

<sup>2</sup> *Rhombi*. *Turbut*s . . some call the *Sea-Pheasant* . . whilst they be young . . they are called *Butts*. They are best being sodden. *Muffett*, p. 173. “*Pegeons*, *buttes*, and *elis*,” are paid for as *hakys* (*hawks*) *mete*, on x Sept. 6 R. H(entry VII) in the *Howard Household Books*, 1481-90, p. 508.

<sup>3</sup> *Gulls*, *Guffs*, *Pulches*, *Chevins*, and *Millers-thombs* are a kind of jolt-headed *Gudgins*, very sweet, tender, and wholesome. *Muffett*, p. 180. *Randle Holme* says, ‘A *Chevyn* or a *Pollarde* ; it is in Latin called *Capitus*, from its great head ; the Germans *Schwail*, or *Atet* ; and *Myn* or *Mouen* ; a *Schwyzfish*, from whence we title it a *Chub fish*.’ ch. xiv. § xxvii.

*Third Course.**The thrid course.*

1. Almond  
Cream, &c., 744 Creme of almond<sup>1</sup> Iardyne // & mameny<sup>2</sup> // good  
& fyne //  
Potage for þe .iiij<sup>d</sup> seruyse.
2. Sturgeon, Fresch sturgen / breme de mere // Perche in  
Iely / oryent & clere //
- Whelks, Minnows, whelkes, menuse ; þus we devise :
3. Shrimps, &c., 748 Shrympis / Fresch herynge bryled // pety perueis  
may not be exiled,  
leche fryture,<sup>3</sup> a tansey gyse //
4. Fritters. The sotelte / a mañ with sikelle in his hande, In a  
5. A Device :  
A Man with a  
Sickle, ryvere of watur stande /  
wrapped in wedes in a werysom wyse,
- tired, 752 hauynge no deyntheithe to daunce :  
þe thrid age of mañ by liklynes ;  
hervist we clepe hym, fulle of werynes
- called Harvest. 3et þer folowythe mo þat we must dres,  
756 regardes riche þat ar fulle of plesaunce.

*Fourth Course.**The .iiij. course of frute.*

- [Fol. 182 b.]  
Hot apples,  
Ginger, Wafers,  
Ypocras. Whot appuls & peres with sugre Candy,  
Withe Gyngre columbyne, mynsed manerly,  
Wafurs with ypocras.
- 760 Now þis fest is fynysched / for to make glad chere :  
and þaughe so be þat þe vse & manere  
not afore tyme be seyn has,  
Neuerthelese aftur my symple affeccioñ
- The last Device, 764 y must conclude with þe fourth compleccioñ,  
'yemps' þe cold terme of þe yere,  
Wyntur / with his lokkys grey / febille & old,  
Sytynge vppoñ þe stone / bothe hard & cold,
- 768 Nigard in hert & hevyr of chere.

<sup>1</sup> "Creme of Almond Mylk." *H. Ord.* p. 447.<sup>2</sup> See the recipe, end of this volume.<sup>3</sup> Compare "leche fryes made of frit and friture," *H. Ord.* p. 449 ; Service on Fisse Day, last line.

- T**he furst Sotelte, as y said, 'Sanguineus' hight  
 [T]he furst age of mañ / Iocond & light,  
 þe springyng tyme clepe 'ver.'
- 772 ¶ The second course / 'colericus' by callynge,  
 Full of Fyghtyng / blasfemyng, & brallyng,  
 Fallyng at veryaunce with felow & fere.
- ¶ The thrid sotelte, y declare as y kan,  
 776 'Autumpnus,' þat is þe .iiij<sup>d</sup> age of mañ,  
 With a flewische <sup>1</sup> countenaunce.
- ¶ The iiiij<sup>th</sup> countenaunce <sup>2</sup>, as y seid before,  
 is wyntur with his lokkes hoore,  
 780 þe last age of mañ fulle of grevaunce.
- T**hese iiiij. soteltees devised in towse,<sup>3</sup>  
 wher þey byñ shewed in an howse,  
 hithe dothe gret plesaunce  
 784 with oper sightes of gret Nowelte  
 þañ hañ be shewed in Rialle feestes of solempnyte,  
 A notable cost þe ordynaunce.

These Devices  
 represent the Ages  
 of Man:  
*Sanguineus*, the  
 1st age, of  
 pleasure.  
*Colericus*, the 2nd,  
 of quarrelling.

*Autumpnus*  
 the 3rd,

of melancholy.

*Winter*, the 4th,  
 of aches and  
 troubles.

These Devices  
 give great  
 pleasure, when  
 shown in a house.

The superscripcioun of þe soutiltees about  
 specified, here folowethe Versus

Inscriptions for  
 the Devices.

*Spring.*

**Sanguineus.**  
 788 **Largus, amans, hillaris, ridens, rubei que** Loving,  
 coloris, laughing,  
**Cantans, carnosus, satis audax, atque** singing,  
 benignus. benign.

<sup>1</sup> Melancholy, full of phlegm: see the superscription l. 792 below.  
 'Flew, complecyon, (fleume of compleccyon, K. flewe, P.) *Flegma*,  
 Catholicon in P. Parv.

<sup>2</sup> Mistake for *Sotelte*.

<sup>3</sup> The first letter of this word is neither a clear *t* nor *e*, though  
 more like *t* than *e*. It was first written *Couse* (as if for *cou[r]se*,  
 succession, which makes good sense) or *touse*, and then a *w* was put  
 over the *u*. If the word is *towse*, the only others I can find like  
 it are tow, 'towe of hempe or flax,' Promptorium; '*heruper*, to  
 discheuell, *towse*, or disorder the haire.' Cot.

*Summer.*[Fol. 188.]  
Prickly, angry,

crafty, lean.

*Autumn.*Sleepy, dull,  
sluggish, fat,

white-faced.

*Winter.*

Envious, sad,

timid, yellow-  
coloured.*A Franklin's  
Feast.*Brawn, bacon and  
pease,beef and boiled  
chickens,roast goose,  
capon, and  
custade.*Second Course.*  
Mortrewes,

veal, rabbit,

chicken,  
dowcettes,fritters,  
or leche,¶ *Estas***Hirsutus, Fallax / irascens / prodigus,**  
**satis audax,****Colericus.****Astutus, gracilis / Siccus / crocei que coloris.**¶ *Autumpnus***Hic sompnolentus / piger, in sputamine**  
**multus,****Fleumaticus.**

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**Ebes hinc sensus / pinguis, facie color**  
**albus.**¶ *yemps***Invidus et tristis / Cupidus / dextre**  
**que tenacis,****Malencolicus.****Non expers fraudis, timidus, lutei que**  
**coloris.***A fest for a franklen.*“**A** Franklen may make a feste *Improberabile*,896 brawne *with* mustard is concordable,  
bakoñ *serued with* pesoñ,beef or motoñ stewed *seruysable*,  
Boyled Chykoñ or capoñ agreeable,

800 convenyent for þe sesoñ ;

Rosted goose & pygge *fulle* profitable,  
Capoñ / Bakemete, or Custade Costable,  
when eggis & crayme be gesoñ.804 þefore stuffe of household is behoveable,  
Mortrowes or Iusselle<sup>1</sup> ar delectable  
for þe second course by resoñ.

Thañ veel, lambe, kyd, or cony,

808 Chykoñ or pigeoñ roasted tendurly,  
bakemetes or dowcettes<sup>2</sup> *with alle*.þeñ followyng, frytours & a leche lovely ;  
Suche *seruyse* in *sesoun* is *fulle* semely812 To *serue with* bothe chambur & halle.<sup>1</sup> See Recipe at end of volume.    <sup>2</sup> See Recipe at end of volume.

- Theñ appuls & peris *with* spices delicately  
 Aftur þe terme of þe yere fulle deynteithly,  
*with* bred and chese to calle.
- 816 Spised cakes and wafurs worthily  
 withe bragot<sup>1</sup> & methē,<sup>2</sup> þus meñ may meryly  
 please welle bothe gret & smalle.”

spiced pears,  
 bread and chesse,  
 spiced cakes,  
 bragot and mead.

### Sewes on fishe dayes.

[Fol. 183 b.]  
*Dinners on Fish-*  
*days.*

- “**F**lowndurs / gogeons, muskels,<sup>3</sup> menuce in  
 sewe,
- 820 Eles, lampurnes, venprides / quyk & newe,  
 Musclade in wortes / musclade<sup>4</sup> of almondes for  
 states fulle dewe,  
 Oysturs in Ceuy<sup>5</sup> / oysturs in grauey,<sup>6</sup> your helthe  
 to renewe,  
 The baly of þe fresche samoñ / els purpose, or  
 seele<sup>7</sup>,

Gudgeons,  
 minnows,  
 venprides (?)  
 musclade (?) of  
 almonds,  
 oysters dressed,  
 porpoise or seal,

<sup>1</sup> See a recipe for making it of ale, honey, and spices, in [Cogan's] Haven of Health, chap. 239, p. 268, in Nares. Phillips leaves out the ale.

<sup>2</sup> Mead, a pleasant Drink made of Honey and Water. Phillips.

<sup>3</sup> A recipe for Muscels in Sewe and Cadel of Muscels to Potage, at p. 445 *H. Ord.* Others 'For mustul (? muscul or *Mustela*, the eel-powt, Fr. *Mustelle*, the Powte or Eeele-powte) pie,' and 'For porray of mustuls,' in *Liber Cure*, p. 46-7.

<sup>4</sup> ? a preparation of Muscles, as *Applade Ryal* (Harl. MS. 279, Recipe Cxxxv.) of Apples, *Quinade*, Rec. Cxv of Quinces, *Pynade* (fol. 27 b.) of Pynotis (a kind of nut); or is it *Mesclade* or *Meslade*, fol. 33, an omelette—'to euery good meslade take a þowsand eyroun or mo.' *Herbelade* (fol. 42 b.) is a liquor of boiled lard and herbe, mixed with dates, currants, and 'Pynez,' strained, sugared, coloured, whipped, & put into 'fayre round cofyns.'

<sup>5</sup> *Eschalotte*: f. A Cive or Chiue. *Escurs*, The little sallade hearb called, Ciues, or Chines. Cotgrave.

<sup>6</sup> For to make potage of oysturs, *Liber Cure*, p. 17. Oysturs in brewette, p. 53.

<sup>7</sup> Seales flesh is counted as hard of digestion, as it is gross of substance, especially being old; wherefore I leave it to Mariners and Sailers, for whose stomacks it is fittest, and who know the best way how to prepare it. *Muffett*, p. 167.

pike cullis.	824	Colice <sup>1</sup> of pike, shrympus <sup>2</sup> / or perche, ye know fulle wele ;
jelly, dates,		Partye gely / Creme of almondes <sup>3</sup> / dates in confite / to rekeuer heele,
quinces, pears,		Quinces & peris / Cirypppe with parcely rotes / riȝt so bygyñ your mele.
houndfish, rice,		Mortrowis of houndfische <sup>4</sup> / & Rice standynge <sup>5</sup> white,
mameny.	828	Mameny, <sup>6</sup> mylke of almondes, Rice rennyng liquyte,—
If you don't like these potages, taste them only.		pese potages ar holsom for þem þat hañ delite perof to ete / & if not so / þeñ taste he but a lite.”

F'ish Sauces.

### Sauce for fish.<sup>7</sup>

“Yowre sawces to make y shalle geue yow  
lerynge :

<sup>1</sup> Cullis (in Cookery) a strained Liquor made of any sort of dress'd Meat, or other things pounded in a Mortar, and pass'd thro' a Hair-sieve : These Cullises are usually pour'd upon Messes, and into hot Pies, a little before they are ser'd up to Table. Phillips. See also the recipe for making 'æ coleise of a cocke or capon, from the *Haven of Health*, in Nares. Fr. *Coulis* : m. A cullis, or broth of boiled meat strained ; fit for a sicke, or weake bodie. Cotgrave.

<sup>2</sup> Shrimps are of two sorts, the one crookbacked, the other straitbacked : the first sort is called of Frenchmen *Caramots de la santé*, healthful shrimps ; because they recover sick and consumed persons ; of all other they are most nimble, witty, and skipping, and of best juice. *Muffett*, p. 167. In cooking them, he directs them to be “unscaled, to vent the windiness which is in them, being sodden with their scales ; whereof lust and disposition to venery might arise,” p. 168.

<sup>3</sup> See the recipe for “Creme of Almonde Mylk,” *Household Ordinances*, p. 447.

<sup>4</sup> “Mortrewes of Fyssh,” *H. Ord.* p. 469 ; “Mortrews of fyssh,” *L. C. C.* p. 19.

<sup>5</sup> See “Rys Lumbarde,” *H. Ord.* p. 438, l. 3, ‘and if thow wilt have hit stondynge, take rawe ȝolkes of egges,’ &c.

<sup>6</sup> See the Recipe at the end of this volume.

<sup>7</sup> ‘Let no fish be sodden or eaten without salt, pepper, wine, onions or hot spices ; for all fish (compared with flesh) is cold and



- 832 Mustard is<sup>1</sup> / is metest *with alle maner salt herynge,* Mustard for salt herring.
- Salt fysche, salt Congur, samour, *with sparlynge,*<sup>2</sup> conger,
- Salt ele, salt makerelle, & also *with merlynge.*<sup>3</sup> mackerel, &c.
- Vynegur is good to salt purpose & *torrentyne,*<sup>4</sup> Vinegar for salt porpoise, swordfish, &c.
- 836 Salt sturgeon, salt swyrd-fysche *savery & fyne.* Sour wine for whale,
- Salt Thurlepolle, salt whale,<sup>5</sup> is good *with egre wyne,*
- with the powdur put þer-on shall cawse oon welle* with powder.
- to dyne.*
- Playce with wyne; & pike with his reffett;* Wine for plaice.

moist, of little nourishment, engendring watrish and thin blood.  
*Muffett*, p. 146, with a curious continuation. *Hoc Sinapium, Ance.*  
 mustarde.

Salgia, sirpillum, piper, alia, sal, petrocillum,  
 Ex hiis sit salsa, non est sententia falsa.

15th cent. Pict. Vocab. in Wright's Voc. p. 267, col. 1.

<sup>1</sup> þ is repeated by mistake.

<sup>2</sup> Spurlings are but broad Sprats, taken chiefly upon our Northern coast; which being drest and pickled as Anchovaes be in Provence, rather surpass them than come behind them in taste and goodness. . . As for Red Sprats and Spurlings, I vouchsafe them not the name of any wholesome nourishment, or rather of no nourishment at all; commending them for nothing, but that they are bawdes to enforce appetite, and serve well the poor mans turn to quench hunger. *Muffett*, p. 169.

<sup>3</sup> A Whiting, a Merling, Fr. *Merlan*. '*Merling*: A Stock-fish, or *Marling*, else *Merling*; in Latine *Martianus* and *Marlangus*.' R. Holme, p. 333, col. 1.

<sup>4</sup> After searching all the Dictionaries and Glossaries I could get hold of in the Museum for this *Torrentyne*, which was the plague of my life for six weeks, I had recourse to Dr Günther. He searched Rondelet and Belon in vain for the word, and then suggested ALDROVANDI as the last resource. In the *De Piscibus*, Lib. V., I accordingly found (where he treats of *Trout*), "*Scoppa, grammaticus Italus, Torrentinam nominat, rectius Torrentinam vocaturus, à torrentibus nimirum: in his n[ominatim] & riuis montanis abundat.*" (ed. 1644, cum indice copiosissimo.)

<sup>5</sup> *Whales* flesh is the hardest of all other, and unusuall to be eaten of our Countrymen, no not when they are very young and tenderest; yet the livers of Whales, Sturgeons, and Dolphins smell like violets, taste most pleasantly being salted, and give competent nourishment, as Cardan writeth. *Muffett*, p. 173, ed. Bennet, 1655.

- Galantine for lamprey. 840 þe galantyne<sup>1</sup> for þe lamprey / where þey may be gete ;
- Verjuice for nullet. Cinnamon for base, carp, and chuh. verdius<sup>2</sup> to roche / darce / breme / soles / & molett ;
- Garlic, verjuice, and pepper. Baase, flow[n]durs / Carpe / Cheveñ / Synamome ye þer-to sett.
- for houndfish, 844 For þornebak / houndfysche / & also fresche herynge,
- stockfish, &c. hake<sup>3</sup>, stokfyshe<sup>4</sup>, haddock<sup>5</sup> / cod<sup>6</sup> / & whytynge— ar moost metist for thes metes, as techithe vs þe wrytynge.
- [Fol. 184.] Vinegar, cinnamon, and ginger, for fresh-water crayfish, 848 Vinegre / powdur withe synamome / and gyngere, to rost Eles / lampurnes / Crevez dew douz, and breme de mere,
- fresh porpoise, For Gurnard / for roche / & fresche purpose, if hit appere,
- sturgeon, &c. Fresche sturgeon / shrympes / perche / molett / y wold it were here.
- Green Sauce for green fish (fresh ling): **G**rene sawce<sup>7</sup> is good with grene fisch<sup>8</sup>, y here say;

<sup>1</sup> See the recipe in *Liber Cure Cocorum*, p. 30; and Felettes in Galentyne, *H. Ord.* p. 433.

<sup>2</sup> Veriuse, or sause made of grapes not full ripe, *Ompharium*. Withals.

<sup>3</sup> Hakes be of the same nature [as Haddocks], resembling a Cod in taste, but a Ling in likeness. *Muffett*, p. 153.

<sup>4</sup> 'Stocke fysshe, they [the French] have none,' says Palgrave.

<sup>5</sup> Haddocks are little Cods, of light substance, crumbling flesh, and good nourishment in the Sommer time, especially whilst Venison is in season. *Muffett*, p. 153.

<sup>6</sup> Keling. R. Holme, xxiv, p. 334, col. 1, has "He beareth Cules a *Cod Fish* argent. by the name of *Codling*. Of others termed a *Stockfish*, or an *Haberdine*: In the North part of this Kingdome it is called a *Keling*, In the Southerne parts a *Cod*, and in the Westerne parts a *Welwell*."

<sup>7</sup> See the Recipes for 'Pur verde sawce,' *Liber Cure*, p. 27, and 'Vert Sause' (herbs, bread-crumbs, vinegar, pepper, ginger, &c.), *H. Ord.* p. 441. Grene Sause, condimentum herbaceum. Withals.

<sup>8</sup> Ling perhaps looks for great extolling, being counted the beefe of the Sea, and standing every fish day (as a cold supporter) at my

- 852 botte lynge / brett<sup>1</sup> & fresche turbut / gete it who  
so may.  
yet make moche of mustard, & put it not away, Mustard is best  
for every dish.  
For *wit* every dische he is dewest / who so lust  
to assay.
- Other sawces to sovereyns ar *serued* in som Other sauces are  
eerved at grand  
feasts, but the  
above will please  
familiar guests."  
solempne festis,
- 856 but these will plese them fulle welle / þat ar but  
hoomly gestis.  
Now have y shewyd yow, my soñ, somewhat of  
dyuerse Iestis  
þat ar remembred in lordes courte / þere as all  
rialte restis."
- "**N**OW fayre falle yow fadir / in faythe y am " Fair fall you,  
father !  
full fayñ,
- 860 For lousomly ye han lered me þe nurtur þat ye You have taught  
me lovesomely ;  
but  
han sayñ ;  
plesethe it you to certifiye me with ooñ worde or please tell me.  
twayñ  
þe Curtesy to conceue conveniently for every too, the duties of  
a Chamberlain."  
chamburlyayñ."

### The office off a chamburlyayne.<sup>2</sup>

*The Chamberlain's  
Duties.*

- "**T**he Curtesy of a chamburlyayñ is in office to He must be  
diligent,  
be diligent,

Lord Maiors table; yet it is nothing but a long Cod : whereof the greater sised is called Organe Ling, and the other Codling, because it is no longer then a Cod, and yet hath the taste of Ling: *whilst it is new it is called GREEN-FISH*; when it is salted it is called Ling, perhaps of lying, because the longer it lyeth . . . the better it is, waxing in the end as yellow as the gold noble, at which time they are worth a noble a piece. *Muffett*, p. 154-5.

<sup>1</sup> A brit or turbret, *rhombus*. Withals, 1556. Bret, Brut, or Burt, a Fish of the Turbot-kind. Phillips.

<sup>2</sup> These duties of the Chamberlain, and those of him in the Wardrobe which follow, should be compared with the chapter *De Officio Garcionum* of "The Boke of Curtasye" ll. 435—520 below. See also the duties and allowances of 'A Chamberlayn for the King'

- neatly dressed,  
clean-washed,  
  
careful of fire and  
candle,  
  
attentive to his  
master,  
  
light of ear,  
  
looking out for  
things that will  
please.  
  
The Chamberlain  
must prepare for  
his lord  
a clean shirt,  
  
under and upper  
coat and doublet,  
  
breeches, socka,  
and slippers as  
brown as a water-  
leech.  
  
In the morning,  
  
must have clean  
linen ready,  
warmed by  
  
a clear fire.
- 864 Clenli clad, his clopis not all to-rent ;  
handis & face wascheñ fayre, his hed well kempt ;  
& war euer of fyre and candille þat he be not  
neccligent.  
  
To youre mastir looke ye geue diligent attend-  
aunce ;  
868 be curteyse, glad of chere, & light of ere in euery  
semblaunce,  
euer waytynge to þat thyng þat may do hym  
plesaunce :  
to these propurtees if ye will apply, it may yow  
welle avaunce.  
  
Se that youre souerayne haue clene shurt &  
breche,  
872 a petycote,<sup>1</sup> a dublett, a longe coote, if he were  
suche,  
his hosiñ well brusshed, his sokkes not to seche,  
his shoñ or slyppers as browne as is þe watur-  
leche.  
  
In þe morow tyde, agaynst youre souerayne doth  
ryse,  
876 wayte hys lynnyñ þat hit be clene ; þeñ warme  
hēt in þis wise,  
by a clere fyre withowt smoke / if it be cold or  
frese,  
and so may ye youre souerayñ plese at þe best  
asise.

*H. Ord.* p. 31-2. He has only to see that the men under him do the work mentioned in these pages. See office of Warderobe of Bedds, *H. O.* p. 40 ; Gromes of Chambyr, x, Pages of Chambre, IIII, *H. O.*, p. 41, &c. The arraying and unarraying of Henry VII. were done by the Esquires of the Body, *H. Ord.* p. 118, two of whom lay outside his room.

<sup>1</sup> A short or small coat worn under the long over-coat. *Petycote*, *tunicula*, P. P., and 'j. *petticoats* of lynen clothe without slyves,' there cited from Sir J. Fastolfe's Wardrobe, 1459. *Archæol.* xxi. 253. *subucula*, *le, est etiam genus intimæ vestis*, a peticote. Withals.

- Agayne he riseth vp, make redy youre fote shete  
 880 in þis maner made greithe / & þat ye not forgete  
 furst a chayere a-fore þe fyre / or som oþer honest  
 sete  
 Withe a cosshyñ þer vppon / & a noþur for the  
 feete /
- aboute þe coschyñ & chayere þe said shete ouer  
 sprad
- 884 So þat it keuer þe fote coschyñ and chayere, riȝt  
 as y bad ;  
 Also combe & kercheff / looke þere bothe be had  
 youre souereyñ hed to kymbe or he be graytly  
 clad :
- T**han pray youre souereyñ with wordus man- asks his lord  
 suetely
- 888 to com to a good fyre and aray hym ther by,  
 and there to sytt or stand / to his persone ples-  
 auntly,  
 and ye euer redy to awayte with maners metely.
- Furst hold to hym a petycote aboute youre brest  
 and harme,
- 892 his dublet þañ aftur to put in boþe hys arme,  
 his stomachere welle y-chaffed to kepe hym fro  
 harme,  
 his vampeys<sup>1</sup> and sokkes, þañ all day he may go  
 warme ;

When his lord  
 rises, he gets  
 ready the foot-  
 sheet;  
 puts a cushioned  
 chair before the  
 fire,

[Fol. 184 b.]  
 a cushion for the  
 feet,

and over all  
 spreads the foot-  
 sheet:

has a comb and  
 kerchief ready,  
 and then

asks his lord

to come to the fire  
 and dress while  
 he waits by.

1. Give your  
 master his under  
 coat,

2. His doublet,

3. Stomacher well  
 warmed,

4. Vampeys and  
 socks,

<sup>1</sup> Vamps or *Vampays*, an odd kind of short Hose or Stockings that cover'd the Feet, and came up only to the Ankle, just above the Shooe; the Breeches reaching down to the Calf of the Leg. Whence to graft a new Footing on old Stockings is still call'd *Vampying*. Phillips. Fairholt does not give the word. The Vampeys went outside the sock, I presume, as no mention is made of them with the socks and slippers after the bath, l. 987; but Strutt, and Fairholt after him, have engraved a drawing which shows that the Saxons wore the sock over the stocking, both being within the shoe. 'Vampey of a hose—*avant pied*. 'Vauntpe of a hose—*uantpie*.' Palsgrave. A.D. 1467, 'fore *vampyinge* of a payre for the said Lew vj.d.' p. 396, *Manners & Household Expenses*, 1841.

5. Draw on his socks, breeches, and shoes, 896
6. Pull up his breeches,  
7. Tie 'em up,
8. Lace his doublet,  
9. Put a kerchief round his neck, 900
10. Comb his head with an ivory comb,  
11. Give him warm water to wash with,  
12. Kneel down
- and ask him what gown he'll wear: 904
13. Get the gown,  
14. Hold it out to' him:  
15. Get his girdle,  
18. His Robs (see 1. 957),  
17. His hood or hat. 908
18. Before he goes brush him carefully.  
Before your lord goes to church, 916
- Then drawe oñ his sokkis / & hosyñ by the fure,  
his shoñ laced or bokelid, draw theñ oñ sure ;  
Strike his hosyñ vppewarde his legge ye endure,  
þeñ trusse ye them vp strayte / to his plesure,  
Then lace his dublett euery hoole so by & bye ;  
oñ his shuldur about his nek a kercheff þere  
must lye,  
and curteisly þañ ye kymbe his hed with combe  
of yvery,  
and watur warme his handes to wasche, & face  
also clenly.
- Then knele a dowñ oñ youre kne / & þus to youre  
souerayñ ye say  
“ Syr, what Robe or govñ pleseth it yow to were  
to day ? ”  
Suche as he axeth fore / loke ye plese hym to pay,  
þañ hold it to hym a brode, his body þer-in to  
array ;  
his gurdelle, if he were, be it strayt or lewse ;  
Set his garment goodly / aftur as ye know þe vse ;  
take hym hode or hatt / for his hed cloke or  
cappe de huse ;  
So shalle ye plese hym prestly, no nede to make  
excuse  
Wheþur hit be feyre or foule, or mysty alle withe  
reyñ.  
Or youre mastir depart his place, afore þat þis be  
seyñ,  
to brusche besily about hym ; loke all be pur and  
playñ  
wheþur he were sateñ / sendell, vellewet, scarlet,  
or greyñ.  
Prynce or prelate if hit be, or any oþer potestate,  
or he entur in to þe church, be it erly or late,

- perceue all pyngē for his pewē þat it be made preparate, see that his pew is made ready,
- boþe cosshyn / carpet / & curteyn / bedes & boke, cushion, curtain, &c.  
forgete not that.
- T**hañ to youre souereynes chambur walke ye in hast ; Return to his bedroom,
- 920 all þe clopes of þe bed, them aside ye cast ; throw off the clothes,  
þe Fethurbed ye bete / without hurt, so no heat the feather-bed,  
feddurs ye wast,
- Fustiañ<sup>1</sup> and shetis clene by sight and sans ye see that the fustian and sheets are clean.  
tast.
- Kover with a keuerlyte clenly / þat bed go Cover the bed with a coverlet,  
manerly made ;
- 924 þe bankers & quosshyns, in þe chambur se þem spread out the bench-covers and cushions,  
feire y-sprad, set up the head-sheet and pillow,  
boþe hedshete & pillow also, þat þe[y] be saaff vp stad,  
the vrnelle & basoñ also that they away be had. remove the urinal and basin,  
[Fol. 186.]  
Se the carpettis about þe bed be forth spred & lay carpets round the bed, and with  
laid,
- 928 wyndowes & cuppeborde with carpettis & others dress the windows and cupboard,  
cosshyns splayd ; have a fire laid.  
Se þer be a good fyre in þe chambur conveyed,  
with wood & fuelle redy þe fuyre to bete & aide.
- S**e þe privehouse for esement<sup>2</sup> be fayre, soote, & Keep the Privy sweet and clean,  
clene,
- 932 & þat þe bordes þer vppoñ / be keuered withe cover the boarda with green cloth,  
clothe feyre & grene,

<sup>1</sup> Henry VII. had a fustian and sheet under his feather bed, over the bed a sheet, then 'the over fustian above,' and then 'a pane of ermines' like an eider-down quilt. 'A head. sheets of raynes' and another of ermines were over the pillows. After the ceremony of making the bed, all the esquires, ushers, and others present, had bread, ale, and wine, outside the chamber, 'and soe to drinke altogether.' *H. Ord.* p. 122.

<sup>2</sup> A siege house, *sedes excrementorum*. A draught or priue, *latrina*. Withals.

so that no wood  
shows at the hole;  
put a cushion  
there,

and have some  
blanket, cotton, or  
linen to wipe on;

have a basin,  
jug, and towel,  
ready for your

lord to wash when  
he leaves the  
privy.

& þe hoole / hym self, looke þer no borde be sene,  
þeroñ a feire quoschyñ / þe ordoure no mañ to  
tene

looke þer be blanket / cotyñ / or lynyñ to wipe  
þe neþur ende<sup>1</sup>;

936 and euer when he clepith, wayte redy & entende,  
basoun and ewere, & oñ your shuldur a towelle,  
my frende<sup>2</sup>;

In þis wise worship shalle ye wyñ / where þat  
euer ye wende

### The Warderobez.<sup>3</sup>

In the Wardrobe  
take care to keep  
the clothes well,  
and brush 'em

with a soft brush

at least once a  
week,

for fear of moths.

Look after your  
Drapery and  
Skinnery.

940 **I**N þe wardrobe ye must muche entende  
besily  
the robes to kepe well / & also to brusche  
þem clenly;

with the ende of a soft brusche ye brusche þem  
clenly,  
and yet ouer moche bruschyng werethe cloth  
lyghtly.

944 lett neuer wollyñ cloth ne furre passe a seuenyght  
to be vnbrossheñ & shakyñ / tend þerto aright,  
for moughtes be redy euer in þem to gendur & a-  
lyst;

perfore to drapery / & skynnery euer haue ye a  
sight.

<sup>1</sup> An arse wispe, *penicillum*, -li, vel *anitergium*. Withals. From a passage in William of Malmesbury's autograph *De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum* it would seem that water was the earlier cleanser.

<sup>2</sup> In the MS. this line was omitted by the copier, and inserted in red under the next line by the corrector, who has underscored all the chief words of the text in red, besides touching up the capital and other letters.

<sup>3</sup> See the 'Warderobez,' p. 37, and the 'office of Warderobe of Robes,' in *H. Ord.* p. 39.



- youre souerayn aftir mete / his stomak to digest  
 948 yef he wille take a slepe / hym self þere for to  
 rest, If your lord will  
take a nap after  
his meal,  
 looke bothe kercheff & combe / þat ye haue þere  
 prest, hava ready  
kerchief, comb,  
 bothe pillow & hedshete / for hym þe[y] must be  
 drest ; pillow and head-  
abeet  
 yet be ye nott ferre hym fro, take tent what y say,  
 952 For moche slepe is not medcynable in myddis of (don't let him  
sleep too long),  
 þe day.  
 wayte þat ye haue watur to wasche / & towelle water and towel.  
 alle way  
 aftur slepe and sege / honeste will not hit denay.
- W**hañ youre souerayne hath supped / & to When he goes to  
bed,  
 chambur takithe his gate,
- 956 þañ sprede forthe youre fote shete / like as y lered 1. Spread out the  
footsheet,  
 yow late ;  
 thañ his gowne ye gadir of, or garment of his 2. Take off your  
lord'a Rohe  
 estate,  
 by his licence / & ley hit vpp in suche place as and put it away.  
 ye best wate.  
 vppon his bak a mantell ye ley / his body to 3. Put a cloak on  
his back,  
 kepe from cold,
- 960 Set hym on his fote shete <sup>1</sup> / made redy as y yow 4. Set him on his  
footsheet,  
 told ;  
 his shoñ, sokkis, & hosyñ / to draw of be ye bolde ; 5. Pull off his  
shoes, socks, and  
hreechea,  
 þe hosyñ on youre shuldyr cast / on vppon your [Fol. 185 h.]  
 arme ye hold ; 6. Throw the  
hreechea over  
your arm,  
 youre souereynes hed ye kembe / but furst ye 7. Comb his hed,  
 knele to ground ;
- 964 þe kercheff and cappe on his hed / hit wolde be 8. Put on his  
kerchief and  
nightcap,  
 warmly wounde ;

<sup>1</sup> þo lorde schalle shyft hys gowne at nyzt,  
 Syttand on foteshete tyl he be dyzt.

9. Have the bed,  
and headsheet,  
&c., ready,

his bed / y-sprede / þe shete for þe hed / þe  
pelow prest þat stounde,  
þat when youre souereyn to bed shall go / to  
slepe þere saaf & sounde,

10. Draw the  
curtains,  
11. Set the night-  
light,

968 The curteyns let draw þem þe bed round about ;  
se his mortar<sup>1</sup> with wax or perchere<sup>2</sup> þat it go not  
owt ;

12. Drive out  
dogs and cats,

dryve out dogge and catte, or els geue þem a  
clovt ;

13. Bow to your  
lord,

Of youre souerayne take no leue<sup>3</sup> ; / but low to  
hym alowt.

14. Keep the  
night-stool and  
urinal ready for  
whenever he calls,

972 looke þat ye haue þe bason for chambur & also  
þe vrnalle

and take it back  
when done with.

redy at alle howres when he wille clepe or calle :  
his nede performed, þe same receue agayn ye  
shalle,  
& þus may ye haue a thank / & reward when þat  
euer hit falle.

*How to prepare  
a Bath.*

**A** bathe or stewe so called.

3eff youre souerayne wille to þe bathe, his  
body to wasche clene,

Hang round the  
roof, sheets

976 hang shetis round about þe roof; do thus as y  
meene ;

full of sweet  
herbs,  
have five or six  
sponges to sit or  
lean on,

euery shete full of flowres & herbis soote & grene,  
and looke ye haue sponges .v. or vj. þeroñ to  
sytte or lene :

<sup>1</sup> Morter . . a kind of Lamp or Wax-taper. *Mortarium* (in old Latin records) a Mortar, Taper, or Light set in Churches, to burn over the Graves or Shrines of the Dead. Phillips.

<sup>2</sup> Perchers, the Paris-Candles formerly us'd in England; also the bigger sort of Candles, especially of Wax, which were commonly set upon the Altars. Phil.

<sup>3</sup> The Boke of Curtasye (l. 519-20) lets the (chief) usher who puts the lord to bed, go his way, and says

3omon vssher be-fore þe dore  
In vtter chambur lies on þe flore.

- looke þer be a gret sponge, þer-oñ youre souer- and one great  
ayne to sytt ; sponge to sit on
- 980 þeroñ a shetè, & so he may bathe hym þere a with a sheestover  
fytte ;
- vndir his feete also a sponge, 3iff þer be any to and a sponge  
putt ; under his feet.
- and alwey be sure of þe dur, & se þat he be shutt. Mind the door's  
shut.
- A basyñ full in youre hand of herbis hote & With a basinful of  
fresche, hot herbs,
- 984 & with a soft sponge in hand, his body þat ye wash him with a  
wasche ; soft sponge,
- Rynse hym with rose watur warme & feire throw rose-water  
vppoñ hym flasche, on him ;
- þeñ lett hym go to bed / but looke it be soote & let him go to bed.  
nesche ;
- but furst sett oñ his sokkis, his slyppers oñ his Put his socks  
feete, and slippers on,
- 988 þat he may go feyre to þe fyre, þere to take his stand him on his  
fote shete, footsheet,
- þañ withe a clene clothe / to wye away all wete ; wipe him dry,  
take him to bed  
thañ brynge hym to his bed, his bales there to to cure his  
troubles.
- bete."

### The makynge of a bathe medicinable.<sup>1</sup>

To make a  
Medicinal Bath.

"Holy hokke / & yardehok<sup>2</sup> / peritory<sup>3</sup> / and  
þe brown fenelle,<sup>4</sup>

[Fol. 186.]  
Boil together  
hollyhock

<sup>1</sup> See note at end. Mr Gillett, of the Vicarage, Runham, Filby, Norwich, sends me these notes on the herbs for this Bathe Medicinable:—"<sup>2</sup> YARDEHOK = Mallow, some species. They are all more or less mucilaginous and emollient. If Yarde = *Virga*; then it is Marshmallow, or *Malva Sylvestris*; if yarde = erde, earth; then the *rotundifolia*.—<sup>3</sup> PARITORY is Pellitory of the wall, *parietaria*. Wall pellitory abounds in nitrate of potass. There are two other pellitories: 'P. of Spain'—this is *Pyrethrum*, which the Spanish corrupted into *pelitre*, and we corrupted *pelitre* into pellitory. The other, bastard-pellitory, is *Achillea Ptarmica*.—<sup>4</sup> BROWN FENNELLE = probably *Peucedanum officinale*, or Hoss fennel, a dangerous plant;

centaury,

992 walle wort<sup>5</sup> / herbe Iohn<sup>6</sup> / Sentory<sup>7</sup> / rybbe-  
wort<sup>8</sup> / & camamelle,herb-benet,  
☞hey hove<sup>9</sup> / heyriff<sup>10</sup> / herbe benet<sup>11</sup> / brese-  
wort<sup>12</sup> / & smallache,<sup>13</sup>

certainly not *Anethum Graveolens*, which is always dill, dyle, dile, &c.—<sup>8</sup>RYBBEWORT, *Plantago lanceolata*, mucilaginous.—<sup>9</sup>HEYHOVE = *Glechoma hederacea*, bitter and aromatic, abounding in a principle like camphor.—<sup>10</sup>HEYRIFF = harif = *Galium Aparine*, and allied species. They were formerly considered good for scorbutic diseases, when applied externally. Lately, in France, they have been administered internally against epilepsy.—<sup>12</sup>BRESEWORT; if = brisewort or bruisewort, it would be *Sambucus Ebulus*, but this seems most unlikely.—<sup>13</sup>BROKE LEMPK = brooklime. *Veronica Beccabunga*, formerly considered as an anti-scorbutic applied externally. It is very inert. If a person fed on it, it might do some good, i.e. about a quarter of the good that the same quantity of water-cress would do.—BILGRES, probably = henbane, *hyoscyamus niger*. Compare Dutch [Du. *Bilsen*, Hexham,] and German *Bilse*. *Bil* = hyle = boil, modern. It was formerly applied externally, with marsh-mallow and other mucilaginous and emollient plants, to ulcers, boils, &c. It might do great good if the tumours were unbroken, but is awfully dangerous. So is *Peucedanum officinale*. My Latin names are those of Smith: *English Flora*. Babington has re-named them, and Bentham again altered them. I like my mumpsimus better than their sumpsimus.”

<sup>2</sup> ‘The common Mallowe, or the tawle wilde Mallow, and the common Hockes’ of Lyte’s Dodoens, 1578, p. 581, *Malva sylvestris*, as distinguished from the *Malva sativa*, or “*Rosa ultramarina*, that is to say, the Beyondesea Rose, in Frenche, *Maulue de iardin* or *cultiuée*. . . in English, Holyhockes, and great tame Mallow, or great Mallowes of the Garden.” The “Dwarffe Mallowe . . . is called *Malva sylvestris pumila*.”

<sup>3</sup> Peritory, *parietaria*, *vrseolaris*, vel *astericum*. Withals.

<sup>4</sup>? The sweet Fennel, *Anethum Graveolens*, formerly much used in medicine (Thomson). The gigantic fennel is (*Ferula*) *Assafetida*.

<sup>5</sup> *Sambucus ebulus*, Danewort. See Mr Gillett’s note for Book of Quintessence in Hampole’s Treatises. Fr. *hieble*, Wallwort, dwarfe Elderne, Danewort. Cotgr.

<sup>6</sup> Erbe Iōn’, or Seynt Ionys worte. *Perforata*, *fuga demonum*, *ypericon*. P. Parv.

<sup>7</sup> Centaury.

<sup>8</sup> Ribwort, *arnoglossa*. Ribwoort or ribgrasse, *plantago*. Withals. *Plantain petit*. Ribwort, Ribwort Plantaine, Dogs-rib, Lambes-tongue. Cotgrave. *Plantago lanceolata*, A.S. *ribbe*.

<sup>10</sup> Haylife, an herbe. Palsgr. *Galium aparine*, A.S. *hegerifan corn*, grains of hedgerife (hayreve, or hayreff), are among the herbs prescribed in *Leechdoms*, v. 2, p. 345, for “a salve against the elfin race & nocturnal [goblin] visitors, & for the woman with whom

- broke lempk<sup>1</sup> / Scabiose<sup>2</sup> / Bilgres / wildflax / scabious,  
is good for ache ;
- wethy leves / grene otes / boyled in fere fulle soft, withy leaves ;
- 996 Cast þeñ hote in to a vesselle / & sett youre throw them hot  
soverayñ alloft, into a vessel, set
- and suffire þat hete a while as hoot as he may a-bide ; your lord on it :  
se þat place be couered welle ouer / & close oñ let him hear it as  
hot as he can,  
euery side ;
- and what dissesse ye be vexed with, grevaunce and whatever  
ouþer peyñ, disease he has
- 1000 þis medycyne shalle make yow hoole surely, as will certainly be  
meñ seyñ." cured,  
as men say.

The office of ussher & marshalle.<sup>3</sup>  
<sup>4</sup> my lorde, my master, of lilleshulle abbot<sup>4</sup>

*The Duties of an  
Usher and  
Marshal.*

"The office of a connyng vschere or mar-  
shalle with-owt fable

the devil hath carnal commerce."

<sup>11</sup> *Herba Benedicta*. Avens.

<sup>12</sup> *Herbe a foulon*. Fullers hearbe, Sopewort, Mocke-gillouers, Bruisewort. Cotgrave. "AS. 1. *brysewyrt*, pimpernel, *anagallis*. *Anagallis*, brisewort." Gl. Rawlinson, c. 506, Gl. Harl. 3388. Leechdoms, vol. 1, p. 374. 2. *Bellis perennis*, MS. Laud. 553, fol. 9. Plainly for Hembriswyrt, daisy, AS. *daeges eage*. "Consolidam minor. Daysie is an herbe þat sum men callt hembrisworthe oþer bonewort." Gl. Douce, 290. Cockayne. *Leechdoms*, v. 2, Glossary.

<sup>13</sup> *Persil de marais*. Smallage ; or, wild water Parseley. Cot.

<sup>1</sup> Brokelyme *fabaria*. Withals. *Veronica Becabungua*, Water-Speedwell. ' *Hleomoce*, *Hleomoc*, brooklime (where lime is the Saxon name (*Hleomoc*) in decay), *Veronica beccabungua*, with *V. anagallis*. . . "It waxeth in brooks" . . . Both sorts *Lemmike*, Dansk. They were the greater and the less "brokelemke," Gl. Bodley, 536. " *Fabaria domestica lemke*." Gl. Rawl. c. 607. . . Islandic *Lemiki*. Cockayne. Gloss. to *Leechdoms*, v. 2. It is prescribed, with the two centauries, for suppressed menses, and with *pulegium*, to bring a dead child away, &c. *Ib.* p. 331.

<sup>2</sup> Scabiosa, the Herb *Scabious*, so call'd from its Virtue in curing the Itch ; it is also good for Impostumes, Coughs, Pleurisy, Quinsey, &c. Phillips.

<sup>3</sup> See the duties and allowances of 'The Gentylnen Usshers of Chaumbre .IIII. of Edw. IV., in *H. Ord.* p. 37 ; and the duties of Henry VIII's Knight Marshal, *ib.* p. 150.

<sup>4</sup> This line is in a later hand.

He must know  
the rank and pre-  
cedence of all  
people.

1004 must know alle estates of the church goodly &  
greable,  
and þe excellent estate of a kyng with his blode  
honorable :  
hit is a notable nurture / connyng, curyouse,  
and commendable.

I. 1. The Pope.  
2. Emperor.  
3. King.

4. Cardinal. 1008

5. Prince.

6. Archbishop.

7. Royal Duke.

II. Bishop, &c. 1012

III. 1. Viscount.  
2. Mitred abbot.

3. Three Chief  
Justices.  
4. Mayor of  
London.  
IV. (The Knight's  
rank.)

1. Cathedral  
Prior, Knight  
Bachelor. 1016  
2. Dean, Arch-  
deacon.

3. Master of the  
Rolls.

4. Puisné Judge.  
5. Clerk of the  
Crown.

6. Mayor of  
Calais. 1020

[Fol. 186 b.]  
7. Doctor of  
Divinity.  
8. Prothonotary.  
9. Pope's Legate.

**T**he pope hath no peere ;

Emperowre is nex hym euery where ;  
Kyng corespondent ; þus nurture shalle yow  
lere.

1008 hohe Cardynelle, þe dignyte dothe requere ;

Kyngis soñe, pryñce ye hym Calle ;

Archebischope is to hym peregalle.

Duke of þe blode royalle,

1012 bishoppe / Marques / & erle / coequalle.

**V**ycount / legate / baroune / suffrigañ / abbot  
with mytur feyre,

barovñ of þeschekere / iij. þe cheff Iusticez / of  
londoñ þe meyre ;

Pryoure Cathedrale, mytur abbot without /  
a knyght bachillere

1016 Prioure / deane / archedekoñ / a knyght / þe  
body Esquyere,

Mastir of the rolles / riȝt þus rykeñ y,

Vndir Iustice may sitte hym by :

Clerke of the crowne / & theschekere Con-  
venyently

1020 Meyre of Calice ye may preferre plesauntly.

Provyncialle, & doctur diuynne,

Prothonotur, apertli to-gedur þey may dyne.

**Þ**e popes legate or collectoure, to-gedur ye  
assigne,

The estate  
of a

The estate of a	}	Doctur of bothe lawes, beyng in science digne.	V. (The Squire's rank.)
		<b>H</b> ym þat hath byn meyre / & a londynere,	1. Doctor of Laws.
		Sargeaunt of lawe / he may <i>with</i> hym com- pere ;	2. Ex-Mayor of London. 3. Serjeant of Law.
1028	}	The mastirs of the Chauncery <i>with</i> comford & chere,	4. Masters of Chancery.
		þe worshipfulle prechoure of pardoun in þat place to appere.	6. Preacher.
1032	}	The clerkes of connyng that hañ taken degre, And alle othur ordurs of chastite chosyn, & also of pouerte,	6. Masters of Arts. 7. Other Religious.
		alle parsons & vicaries þat ar of dignyte,	8. Parsons and Vicars.
		parishe prestes keyng cure, vn-to þem loke ye se.	9. Parish Priests.
1036	}	For þe baliffes of a Cite purvey ye must a space.	10. City Bailiffs.
		A yemañ of þe crowne / Sargeaunt of armes <i>with</i> mace,	11. Serjeant at Arme.
		A herrowd of Armes as gret a dygnyte has, Specially kyng harrawd / must haue þe <i>princi-</i> <i>palle</i> place ;	12. Heralds (the King'e Herald has first place),
1040	}	Worshipfulle merchaundes and riche artyficeris, Gentilmeñ welle nurtured & of good maneris, <i>With</i> gentilwommen / and namely lordes nur- rieris,	13. Merchants, 14. Gentlemen, 15. Gentlewomen
		alle these may sit at a table of good squyeris.	may all eat with squires.
		<b>L</b> o, soñ, y haue shewid the <i>after</i> my symple wytte	I have now told
1044	}	euery state <i>after</i> þeire degre, to þy knowleche y shalle <i>commytte</i> ,	you the rank of every class,
		and how þey shalle be <i>serued</i> , y shalle shew the 3ett,	and now I'll tell you
		in what place <i>after</i> þeire dignyte how þey owght to sytte :	how they may be grouped at table.

I. Pope, King, Prince, Archbishop and Duke.	Estate of a	{ Pope, Emperowre / kynge or cardynalle, Prynce with goldyn rodde Royalle, Archebischoppe / vsyng to were þe palle, Duke / alle þese of dygnyte owzt not kepe þe halle.
II. Bishop, Mar- quis, Viscount, Earl.		
III. The Mayor of London, Baron, Mifred Abbot, three Chief Justices, Speaker,	1052	þe meyre of london, & a baron, an abbot myterly, the iij. chef Iustice; þe spekere of þe parlement, propurly
may sit together, two or three at a mess.	1056	
IV. The other ranks (three or four to a mess)	Of alle oper estates to a messe / iij. or iiij. þus may ye sure, And of alle estatis þat ar egalle with a knyght / digne & demure, Off abbot & prioure saunc; mytur, of convent þey hañ cure ;	
equal to a Knight, namely, unmitred Abbot,		1060
Dean, Master of the Rolls,	[Fol. 187.] under Judges,	Doctor of Divinity,
Prothonotary,	1064	Also þe meyre of þe stapulle / In like purpose þer may appere.
Mayor of Calais.	V. Other ranks equal to a Squire, four to a mess.	



- Sargeaundes of lawe / & hyȝ pat hath byȝ meyre  
of london aforne,
- 1068 and þe mastyr of þe chauncery, þey may not be  
forborne. Serjeants of Law,  
ex-Mayor of  
London,  
Masters of  
Chancery,
- Alle prechers / residencers / and persones þat  
ar greable, Preachers and  
Parsons,
- Apprentise of lawe In courtis pletable, Apprentices of  
Law,
- Marchaundes & Franklonȝ, worshipfulle &  
honorable, Merchants and  
Franklins.
- 1072 þey may be set semely at a squyers table.  
These worthy<sup>1</sup> Estates a-foreseid / high of re-  
nowne,  
Vche Estate syngulerly in halle shalle sit a-  
downe, Each estate or  
rank shall sit at
- that none of hem se othure / at mete tyme in  
feld nor in towne, meat by itself,  
not seeing  
another.
- 1076 but vche of þeȝ self in Chambur or in pavil-  
owne.  
**Y**eff þe bischoppe of þe provynce of Caunturbury  
be in þe presence of the archebischoppe of yorke  
reuerently, The Bishop of  
Canterbury shall  
be served apart  
from the Arch-  
bishop of York,
- þeire seruice shalle be kouered / vche bisshoppe  
syngulerly,
- 1080 and in þe presence of þe metropolytane none  
oþer sicurly. and the Metro-  
politan alone.
- yeff bischoppes of yorke provynce be fortune be  
syttyng The Bishop of  
York
- In þe presence of þe primate of Englonȝ þaȝ  
beynge, must not eat  
before the  
Primate of  
England.
- þey must be couered in alle þeyre seruynges,
- 1084 and not in presence of þe bischoppe of yorke  
þere apperynges.
- N**ow, soȝ, y perceue þat for dyuerse cawses / Sometimes  
as welle as for ignoraunce,  
a merchalle is put oft tymes in gret comberaunce a Marshal is  
<sup>1</sup> royalle is written over worthy.

- puzzled by Lords of royal blood being poor, and others not royal being rich; 1088 For som lordes þat ar of blod royalle / & litelle of lyvelode *per* chaunce,  
and some of gret lyvelode / & no blode royalle to avaunce;
- also by a Lady of royal blood marrying a knight, and *vice versa*. And som knyght is weddid / to a lady of royalle blode,  
and a poore lady to blod ryalle, manfulle & myghty of mode :
- The Lady of royal blood shall keep her rank; the Lady of low blood shall take her husband's rank. 1092 þe lady of blod royalle shalle kepe þe state / þat she afore in stode,  
the lady of low blode & degre / kepe her lordis estate, y make hit good.
- Property is not so worthy as royal blood, so the latter prevails over the former, for royal blood may become King. 1096 The substau<sup>n</sup>ce of lyvelode is not so digne / as is blode royalle,  
*þerfore* blode royalle opteyneth þe souereynte in chambur & in halle,  
For blode royalle somtyme tigt to be kyng in palle ;  
of þe whiche matere y meve no more : let god gouerne alle !
- The parents of a Pope or Cardinal must not presume 1100 **T**here as pope or cardynalle in þeire estate beyng,  
þat hañ fadur & modur by theire dayes lyvyng,  
þeire fadur or modir ne may in any wise be *presumynge*  
to be egalle *with* theire soñ standynge ne sit-tyng :
- and must not want to sit by him. Therefore fadir ne moder / þey owe not to desire to sytte or stond by þeyre son / his state wille hit not require,  
but in a separate room. but by þem self / a chambur assigned for them sure,
- [Fol. 187 b.] 1104 Vn-to whom vche office ought gladly to do plesure.
- A Marshal must look to the rank of every estate, To the birthe of vche estate a *marshalle* must se,  
and þeñ next of his lyne / for þeyre dignyte ;

- 1108 þen folowyng, to officers afftere þeire degre,  
As chauncelere, Steward / Chamburleyñ /  
tresorere if he be :
- More ouer take hede he must / to aliene / com- and do honour  
mers straungeres, to foreign visitors  
and to straungers of þis land, resi[d]ent dwell- and residents.  
eres,  
and exalte þem to honoure / if þe be of honest  
maneres ;
- 1112 þeñ alle oper aftur þeire degre / like as cace  
requeres.
- In a manerable mershalle þe comnyng is moost A well-trained  
commendable Marshal  
to haue a fore sight to straungers, to sett þem at should think  
þe table ; beforehand where  
For if þey haue gentille chere / & gydyng to place strangers  
manerable, at the table.
- 1116 þe mershalle doth his souereyñ honoure / & he  
þe more lawdable.
- ¶ 3eff þow be a mershalle to any lord of þis land, If the King sends  
yff þe kyng send to þy souereyñ eny his seruand any messenger to  
by sand, your Lord
- |                |                         |                   |                |   |                             |   |
|----------------|-------------------------|-------------------|----------------|---|-----------------------------|---|
| ¶ 3eff þe be u | }                       | knyght            | xrebe þym us u | } | barouñ honorand             | receive him one<br>degre higher<br>than his rank. |
|                |                         | Squyere           |                |   | knyght w <sup>it</sup> hand |   |
|                |                         | yomañ of þe crowñ |                |   | Squyere                     |   |
|                |                         | grome             |                |   | yemañ in manere             |   |
|                |                         | page              |                |   | grome goodly in fere        |   |
| Childe         | grome gentille lernere. |                   |                |   |                             |   |
- 1125 ¶ hit rebuketh not a knyght / þe knyges grome to The King's groom  
sytte at his table, may dine with a  
no more hit dothe a mershalle of maners plesable ; Knight or  
and so from þe hiest degre / to þe lowest honor- Marshal,  
able,
- 1128 if þe mershalle haue a sight þerto, he is com-  
mendable.

A Marshal must also understand the rank of County and Borough Officers,

¶ Wisdom wolle a *mershalle* manerably þat he vndirstand alle þe worshipfulle officers of the comunialte of þis land, of Shires / Citees / borowes ; like as þey ar rulant,

1132 þey must be sett *aftur* þeire astate dewe in degre as þey stand.

¶ hit belongethe to a *mershalle* to haue a fore sight of alle estatis of þis land in euery place pight, For þestate of a knyght of blode, lyvelode, & myght,

[Fol. 188.] and that a Knight of blood and property is above

a poor Knight,

1136 is not *peregalle* to a symple & a pooere knyght.

the Mayor of London above the Mayor of Queenhorough,

¶ Also þe meyre of london, notable of dignyte, and of queneborow<sup>1</sup> þe meire, no þynge like in degre,

at one messe þey owght in no wise to sitt ne be ; 1140 hit no þynge besemethe / þerfore to suche semble ye se /

the Abbot of Westminster above the poor Abbot of Tintern, [Fol. 188 a.]

¶ Also þe abbote of Westmynstere, þe hiest of þis lande /

The abbot of tynterne<sup>2</sup> þe poorest, y vndirstande, þey ar boþe abbotes of name, & not lyke of fame to fande ;

<sup>1</sup> Queenborough, an ancient, but poor town of Kent, in the Isle of Sheppey, situated at the mouth of the river Medway. The chief employment of the inhabitants is oyster-dredging. *Walker's Gazetteer*, by *Kershaw*, 1801.

<sup>2</sup> The Annual Receipts of the Monastery "de Tinterna in Marchia Wallie," are stated in the *Valor Eccl.* vol. iv. p. 370-1, and the result is

	£	s.	d.
Summa totalis clare valoris dec' predict'	celviiij	v	x ob'
Decima inde	xxv'	xvj	vj ob'q'

Those of the Monasterium Sancti Petri Westm. are given at v. 1, p. 410-24, and their net amount stated to be £4470 0 2d.

	£	s.	d.
Et remanent clare	m <sup>l</sup> x <sup>l</sup> iiij <sup>l</sup> xx	—	ij q'
Decima inde	iiij <sup>l</sup> xlvij	—	— q'

- 1144 3et Tynterne *wit* Westmynster shalle now *per*  
sitte ne stande.
- ¶ Also þe Pryoure of Caunturbury,<sup>1</sup> a cheff churche the Prior of  
of dignyte, Canterbury  
And þe prioure of Dudley,<sup>2</sup> no þynge so digne above the Prior of  
as he :— Dudley,  
3et may not þe prioure of dudley, symple of degre,
- 1148 Sitte *wit* þe prioure of Caunturbury: *per* is  
why, a dyuersite.
- ¶ And remembre euermore / a<sup>n</sup> rule *per* is  
generalle :
- A prioure þat is a prelate of any churche Cathe- the Prior who is  
dralle, Prelate of a  
above abbot or prioure *wit*-in the diocise sitte Cathedral Church  
he shalle, above any Abbot  
or Prior of his  
diocese,
- 1152 In churche / in chapelle / in chambur / & in  
halle.
- ¶ Right so reuerend docturs, degre of xij. yere, þem a Doctor of 12  
ye must assigne years' standing  
to sitte aboute hym / þat commensed hath but .ix. above one of 9  
and þaughþe þe yonger may larger spend gold red be the richer),  
& fyne,
- 1156 3et shalle þe eldur sitte aboute / wheþur he  
drynke or dyne.
- ¶ like wise the aldremen, 3ef þey be eny where, the old Aldermen

<sup>1</sup> The clear revenue of the Deanery of Canterbury (Decan' Cantuar') is returned in Valor Eccl. v. 1, p. 27—32, at £163 0 21d.

	£	s.	d.
Rem'	clxij	—	xxi
Decima pars inde	xvj	vj	ij

while that of Prioratus de Dudley is only

	£	s.	d.
Summa de claro	xxxiiij	—	xvj
Decima pars inde	ij	vij	j ob'q'

Valor Ecclesiasticus, v. 3, p. 104-5.

<sup>2</sup> Dudley, a town of Worcestershire, insulated in Staffordshire, containing about 2000 families, most of whom are employed in the manufacture of nails and other iron wares. Walker, 1801.

- above the young ones, and
1. the Master of a craft.  
2. the ex-warden.
- 1160
- 1164
- 1168
- 1172
- Now I have told you of
- Court Manners, how to manage
- io Pantry, Buttery, Carving, and as Sewer, and Marshal,
- þe yongere shalle sitte or stande benethe þe elder riȝt þere ;
- and of euery craft þe mastir aftur rule & manere, and þen þe eldest of þem, þat warden was þe fore yere.
- ¶ Soche poyntes, with many oþer, belongethe to a mershall ;
- þerfore whensoever youre sovereyn a feest make shall,
- demeene what estates shalle sitte in the hall,
- þaȝ resoȝn with youre self lest youre lord yow calle ;
- ¶ Thus may ye devise youre marshallynge, like as y yow lere,
- þe honour and worshippe of youre souereyn euery where ;
- And ȝeff ye haue eny dowt / euer looke þat ye enquere,
- 1168 Resorte euer to youre souereyne / or to þe cheff officere ;
- ¶ Thus shalle ye to any state / do wronge ne preiudice,
- to sette euery persone accordyng with-owteȝ mys,
- as aftur þe birthe / livelode / dignite / a-fore y taught yow this,
- 1172 alle degrees of highe officere, & worthy as he is.
- ¶ **N**ow good soȝn, y haue shewed the / & brought þe in vre,
- to know þe Curtesie of court / & these þow may take in cure,
- In pantry / botery / or cellere / & in kervyng a-fore a sovereyne demewre,
- 1176 A sewer / or a mershalle : in þes science / y suppose ye byȝn sewre,

- ¶ Which in my dayes y lernyd withe a prynce fulle  
royalle, as I learnt with a  
Royal Prince  
with whom vschere in chambur was y, & mer-  
shalle also in halle, whose Usher and  
Marshal I was.  
vnto whom alle þese officeres foreseid / þey euer All other officers  
entende shalle,
- 1180 Euir to fulfill my commaundement when þat y have to obey me.  
to þem calle :
- For we may allow & dissalow / oure office is þe Our office is the  
chief,  
cheeff  
In cellere & spicery / & the Cooke, be he loothe whether the Cook  
likes it or not.  
or leeff.<sup>1</sup>
- ¶ Thus þe diligences of dyuerse officez y haue [Fol. 188 b.]  
All these offices  
may be filled by  
one man,  
shewed to þe allone,
- 1184 the which science may be shewed & doon by  
a syngeler<sup>2</sup> persone ;  
but þe dignyte of a prynce requirethe vche office but a Prince's  
dignity requires  
each office to  
have its officer,  
and a servant  
nder him,  
must haue oon  
to be rewlere in his rome / a seruaunder hyñ  
waytyngē oñ.
- ¶ Moore-ouer hit requirethe euerich of þem in office (all knowing  
their duties  
perfectly)  
to haue perfite science,
- 1188 For dowt and drede doynge his souereyn dis-  
plicence,  
hym to attende, and his gestis to plese in place to wait on their  
Lord and please  
his guests.  
where þey ar presence,  
that his souereyn þroughe his seruice may make  
grete congauidence.
- ¶ For a prynce to serue, ne dowt he not / and god Dou't feare to serue  
a prynce;  
be his spede !

<sup>1</sup> Two lines are wanting here to make up the stanza. They must have been left out when the copier turned his page, and began again.

<sup>2</sup> The word in the MS. is *syngler* or *syngler* with a line through the *l*. It may be for *synguler*, *singulus*, *i. unus per se*, sunderly, vocab. in *R.l. Ant.* v. 1, p. 9, col. 1.

- take good heed to your duties,  
watch,  
and you need not fear.
- 1192 Furþer þaṅ his office / & þer-to let hẏm take good hede,  
and his warde wayte wisely // & euermore þer-in haue drede ;  
þus doynge his dewte dewly, to dowte he shalle not nede.
- Tasting is done only for those of royal blood,*  
as a Pope,  
Kiug,  
Duks, and Earl : not below.
- ¶ Tastyng and credence<sup>1</sup> longethe to blode & birth royalle,<sup>2</sup>  
1196 As pope / emperoure / Emperatrice, and Cardynalle,  
kyng / queene / prynce / Archebischope in palle,  
Duke / Erle, and no mo / þat y to remembraunce / calle.
- Tasting is done for fear of poison ;*
- ¶ Credence is vsed, & tastyng, for drede of poy-senyng,  
1200 To alle officers y-sworne / and grete othe by chargyng ;  
þerfore vche maṅ in office kepe his rome sewre, closyng  
Cloos howse / chest / & gardevyaṅ<sup>3</sup>, for drede of congettyng.
- therefore keep your room secure, and close your safe, for fear of tricks.*  
A Prince's
- Steward and Chamberlain
- ¶ Steward and Chamburlyṅ of a prince of royalte,  
1204 þey haue / knowleche of homages, seruice, and fewte ;  
so þey haue ouersight of euery office / aftur þeire degre,
- have the oversight of all offices*

<sup>1</sup> *Credence* as *creance* . . . a taste or essay taken of another man's meat. Cotgrave.

<sup>2</sup> Compare *The Boke of Curtasye*, l. 495-8,  
No mete for mon schalle sayed be  
Bot for kyng or prynce or duke so fre ;  
For heiers of paraunce also y-wys  
Mete shalle be seyed.

<sup>3</sup> *Gardmanger* (Fr.) a Storehouse for meat. Blount, ed. 1681, *Garde-viant*, a Wallet for a Soldier to put his Victuals in. Phillipps, ed. 1701.



- by wrytynge þe knowleche / & þe Credence to and of tasting,  
ouerse ;
- ¶ Therefore in makyng of his credence, it is to and they must  
drede, y sey,
- 1208 To mershalle / sewere<sup>1</sup> and kervere þey must tell the Marshal,  
allowte allwey, Sewer, and Carver  
to teche hym of his office / þe credence hym to how to do it.  
prey :  
þus shalle he not stond in makyng of his cre-  
dence in no fray.
- ¶ Moore of þis connyng y Cast not me to con- I don't propose  
treve : to write more on  
this matter.
- 1212 my tyme is not to tary, hit drawest fast to eve.  
þis tretyse þat y haue entitiled, if it ye entende I tried this  
to preve, treatise  
y assayed me self in youthe with-outeñ any myself, in my  
greve, youth,
- while y was yonge y-noughe & lusty in dede,
- 1216 y enjoyed þese maters foreseid / & to lerne y and enjoyed these  
toke good hede ; maters,  
but croked age hath compelled me / & leue court but now age  
y must nede. compels me to  
leave the court ;  
þefore, sone, assay thy self / & god shalle be þy so try yourself."  
spede."
- “ Now feire falle yow, fadur / & blessid mote “Blessing on you,  
ye be, Father, for this
- 1220 For þis comenyng / & þe connyng / þat y[e] your teaching of  
haue here shewed me ! me !  
now dar y do seruice diligent / to dyuers of Now I shall dare  
dignyte, to serve  
where for scantnes of connyng y durst no mañ where before I  
y-se. was afraid.

<sup>1</sup> The Boke of Curtasye makes the Sewer alone assay or taste  
'alle the mete' (line 763—76), and the Butler the drink (line  
786).

[Fol. 189.]  
I will try, and  
shall learn by  
practice.

May God reward  
you for teaching  
me!"

"Good soon, and  
all readers of this

*Boke of Nurture,*

pray for the soul  
of me, John  
Russell, (servant  
of Humphrey,  
Duke of Glou-  
cester;) also for

the Duke, my  
wife, father, and  
mother, that wa

may all go to  
blise when we  
die."

Little booke,  
command me to

all learners,

and to the ex-  
perienced, whom  
I pray

to correct its  
faults.

Any such,

So *perfitely* sethe y hit *perceue* / my parte y  
wolle *preue* and assay ;

- 1224 bope by *practike* and *exercise* / yet som good  
lerne y may :  
and for youre *gentille lernynge* / y am bound  
*euer* to pray  
that oure lorde rewarde you in blis that lasteth  
aye."

"**N**ow, good soñ, thy self *with* other þat  
shalle þe succede,

- 1228 *whiche þus boke of nurture* shalle note / lerne,  
& *ouer rede*,  
pray for the sowle of Iohñ Russelle, þat god  
do hym mede,  
Som tyme *seruaunde with* duke vmfrey, duc <sup>1</sup> of  
Glowceter in dede.

For þat prynce *pereles prayethe* / & for suche  
other mo,

- 1232 þe sowle of my wife / my fadur and modir also,  
vn-to Mary modyr and mayd / she fende us  
from owre foe,  
and brynge vs alle to blis when we shalle hens  
goo. **AMEN."**

**G**o forthe lytelle boke, and lowly þow me  
commende

- 1236 vnto alle yonge gentilmen / þat lust to lerne or  
entende,  
and specially to þem þat han exsperience, *praynge*  
*þe[m]* to amende  
and correcte þat is amysse, þere as y fawte or  
offende.

¶ And if so þat any be founde / as þrouz myñ  
necligence,

<sup>1</sup> The *duc* has a red stroke through it, probably to cut it out.

- 1240 Cast þe cawse oñ my copy / rude / & bare of  
eloquence, put to my copy-  
ing.  
whiche to drawe out [I] haue do my besy dili- which I haue  
done as I best  
could.  
gence,  
redily to reforme hit / by resoñ and bettur  
sentence.
- ¶ As for ryme or resoñ, þe forewryter was not to The transcriber is  
not to blame;  
blame,
- 1244 For as he founde hit aforne hym, so wrote he he copied what  
was before him.  
þe same,  
and þaughe he or y in oure matere digres or  
degrade,  
blame neithur of vs / For we neuyre hit made ; and neither of us  
wrote it,
- ¶ Symple as y had insight / somewhat þe ryme y I only corrected  
the rhyme.  
correcte ;
- 1248 blame y cowde no mañ / y haue no persone sus-  
pecte.  
Now, good god, graunt vs grace / oure sowles God ! grant us  
grace  
neuer to Infecte !  
þañ may we regne in þi regioun / eternally with to rule in Heaven  
with Thine elect !  
thyne electe.

[Some word or words in large black letter have been cut off at  
the bottom of the page.]

## NOTES.

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l. 11-12. John Russell lets off his won't-learns very easily. Wilyam Bulleyn had a different treatment for them. See the extract from him on "Boxyng & Neckweede" after these *Notes*.

l. 49. See the interesting "Lord Fairfax's Orders for the Servants of his Household" [after the Civil Wars], in Bishop Percy's notes to the Northumberland Household Book, p. 421-4, ed. 1827.

l. 51. Chip . 'other .ij. pages . . . them oweth to chippe bredde, but not too nye the crumme.' *H. Ord.* p. 71-2. The "Chippings of Trencher-Brede" in Lord Percy's household were used "for the fedyinge of my lords houndis." *Percy H. Book*, p. 353.

l. 56. *Trencher bread*. ITEM that the *Trencher Brede* be maid of the Meale as it cummyth frome the Milne. *Percy Household Book*, p. 58.

l. 66. Cannell, a Spout, a tap, a cocke in a conduit. *Epistomium. Vne canelle, vn robinet.* Baret.

l. 68. Faucet. Also he [the yeoman of the Butler of Ale] asketh allowance for tubbys, treyes, and *faucettes*, occupied all the yeare before. *H. Ord.* p. 77.

l. 74. *Figs*. A. Borde, *Introduction*, assigns the gathering of figs to "the Mores whych do dwel in Barbary," . . . "and christen men do by them, & they wil be diligent and wyl do al maner of seruice, but they be set most comonli to vile things; they be called slaues, thei do gader grapes and *fygges*, and with some of the *fygges* they wyl wip ther tayle, & put them in the frayle." Figs he mentions under Judæa. "Iury is called y<sup>e</sup> lande of Inde, it is a noble countre of ryches, plenty of wine & corne. . . *Fygges* and Raysions, & all other frutes." In his *Regyment*, fol. M. iii., Borde says of 'Fygges. . They doth stere a man to veneryous actes, for they doth auge and increase the seede of generacion. And also they doth prouoke a man to sweate: wherfore they doth ingendre lyce.'

ll. 74-95. *Chese*. 'there is iiij. sortes of Chese, which is to say, grene Chese, softe chese, harde chese, or spermyse. Grene chese is not called grene by y<sup>e</sup> reason of colour, but for y<sup>e</sup> newnes of it, for the whay is not half pressed out of it, and in operacion it is colde and moyste. Softe chese not to new nor to olde, is best, for in operacion it is hote and moyste.

Harde chese is hote and drye, and euyll to dygest. Spermyse is a Chese the whiche is made with curdes and with the Iuce of herbes. . Yet besydes these .iiij natures of chese, there is a chese called a Irweue [rewene, ed. 1567] chese, the whiche, if it be well ordered, doth passe all other cheses, none excesse taken.' A. Borde, *Reg.* fol. I. i. See note on l. 85.

l. 78, 83. The Bill-berry or *Windberry*, R. Holme, Bk. II., p. 52, col. 1; p. 79, col. 1; three Wharl Berries or Bill-Berries. . They are termed Whortle Berries or *Wind Berries*, p. 81, col. 2. § xxviii. See the prose Burlesques, *Reliq. Antiq.*, v. 1, p. 82. Why hopes thu nott for sothe that ther stode wonus a coke on Seynt Pale stepull toppe, and drewe up the strapuls of his brech. How preves thu that? Be all the .iiij. doctors of *Wynbere hylles*, that is to saye, Vertas, Gadatryme, Trumpas, and Dadyl-trymsert.

l. 79. *Fruits*. These officers make provvysions in seasons of the yere accordynge for fruytes to be had of the Kinges gardynes withoute prises; as cherries, peares, apples, nuttes greete and smalle, for somer season; and lenten, wardens, quinces and other; and also of presentes gevyn to the Kinge; they be pourveyours of *blaundrelles*, pepyns, and of all other fruytes. *H. Ord.* p. 82.

l. 80. Mr Dawson Turner's argument that the "ad album pulverem" of the Leicester Roll, A.D. 1265, was white sugar pounded (Pref. to Household Expenses, ed. 1841, p. li.), proves only that the *xiiij lib. Zucari* there mentioned, were not bought for making *White powder* only.

ll. 81-93. *Crayme*. 'Rawe crayme undecocted, eaten with strawberyes, or hurttes, is a rurall mannes bazket. I haue knowen such bankettes hath put men in iobardy of theyr lyues.' A. Borde, *Regymet*, fol. I. ij.

l. 82, l. 93. *Junket*. The auncient manner of grateful suitors, who, hauing prevailed, were woont to present the Judges, or the Reporters, of their causes, with Comfets or other *Jonkets*. Cotgrave, w. *espice*.

l. 85. *Cheese*. Whan stone pottes be broken, what is better to glew them againe or make them fast; nothing like the Symunt made of Cheese; know therfore it will quickly build a stone in a drie body, which is ful of choler adust. And here in Englande be diuers kindes of Cheeses, as Suff. Essex, Banburie .&c. according to their places & feeding of their cattel, time of ye yere, layre of their Kine, clenlinesse of their Dayres, quantitie of their Butter; for the more Butter, the worse Cheese. *Bullein*, fol. lxxxv.

l. 89. *Butter*. A. Borde, *Introduction*, makes the *Flemynge* say,

Buttermouth Flemyng, men doth me call.

Butter is good meate, it doth relent the gall.

l. 94. *Posset* is hot Milk poured on Ale or Sack, having Sugar, grated Bisket, Eggs, with other ingredients boiled in it, which goes all to a Curd. R. Holme.

l. 94. *Poset* ale is made with hote mylke and colde ale; it is a temperate drynke. A. Borde, *Reg.* G. iij.

l. 98. *Trencher*. The College servant 'Scrape Trencher,' R. Holme, Bk. III., Chap. iv., p. 099 [199], notes the change of material from bread to wood.

I. 105. Hot wines & sweet or confectioned with spices, or very strong Ale or Beere, is not good at meales, for thereby the meat is rather corrupted then digested, and they make *hot and stinking vapours* to ascend vp to the braines. Sir Jn. Harrington. *Pres. of Health*, 1624, p. 23.

l. 109. Reboyle. 'If any wyne be corrupted, *reboyled*, or unwholsome for mannys body, then by the controller it to be shewed at the counting bourde, so that by assent all suche pypes or vesselles defectife be dampned and cast upon the losses of the seyd chiefe Butler.' *H. Ord.* p. 73.

l. 109. Lete, leek. 'Purveyours of Wyne . . . to ride and oversee the places there as the Kinges wyne he lodged, that it be saufely kept from peril of *leeking* and breaking of vessels, or lacke of hoopinge or other couperage, and all other crafte for the rackinge, coynynge, rebatinge, and other salvations of wyne, &c.' *H. Ord.* p. 74.

SWETE WYNES, p. 8, l. 118-20.\*

a. Generally:

Halliwell gives under *Piment* the following list of wines from MS. Rawlinson. C. 86.

*Malmasyes, Tires, and Rumneys,*  
 With *Caperikis, Completes †, and Osueys,*  
*Vernuge, Cute, and Raspays* also,  
 Whippet and Pyngmedo, that that ben lawyers therto;  
 And I will have also wyne de Ryne,  
 With new maid *Clarye*, that is good and fyne,  
*Muscadell, Terantyne, and Bastard,*  
 With *Ypocras* and *Pymment* comyng afterwarde.

MS. Rawl. C. 86.

And under *Malvesyne* this:

Ye shall have Spayneche wyne and Gascoyne,  
*Rose coloure, whyt, claret, rampyon,*  
*Tyre, capryck, and malvesyne,*  
*Sak, raspyce, alycaunt, rumney,*  
*Greke, ipocrase, new made clary,*  
 Suche as ye never had.

Interlude of the Four Elements (no date).

Of the wine drunk in England in Elizabeth's time, Harrison (Holinshed's Chron. v. 1, p. 167, col. 2, ed. 1586) says, "As all estates doo exceed herin, I meane for strangenesse and number of costlie dishes, so these forget not to vse the like excesse in wine, in so much as there is no kind to be had (neither anie where more store of all sorts than in England, although we have none growing with us, but yearlie to the proportion of 20,000 or 30,000 tun and vpwards, notwithstanding the dailie restreincts of the same brought over vnto vs) wherof at great meetings there is not some store to be had. Neither do I meane this of small wines onlie, as *Claret, White, Red, French,*

\* See *Maison Rustique* or *The Country Farme*, p. 630-1, as to the qualities of Sweet Wines.

† See *Campolet* in "The Boke of Keruyng."

&c., which amount to about fiftie-six sorts, according to the number of regions from whence they come: but also of the thirtie kinds of Italian, Grecian, Spanish, Canarian, &c., whereof *Vernage*, *Cate*, *pument*, *Raspis*, *Muscadell*, *Romnie*, *Bastard*, *Tire*, *Oseie*, *Caprike*, *Clareie*, and *Malmesie*, are not least of all accompted of, bicause of their strength and valure. For as I haue said in meat, so the stronger the wine is, the more it is desired, by means wherof in old time, the best was called *Theologicum*, because it was had from the cleargie and religious men, vnto whose houses manie of the laitie would often send for bottels filled with the same, being sure that they would neither drinke nor be serued of the worst, or such as was anie waies mingled or brued by the vintener: naie the merchant would haue thought that his soule should haue gone streight-waie to the diuell, if he should haue serued them with other than the best."

On Wine, see also Royal Rolls, B.M. 14 B. xix.

β. Specially: The following extracts are from Henderson's *History of Ancient and Modern Wines*, 1824, except where otherwise stated:—

1. *Vernage* was a red wine, of a bright colour, and a sweetish and somewhat rough flavour, which was grown in Tuscany and other parts of Italy, and derived its name from the thick-skinned grape, *vernaccia* (corresponding with the *vinaciola* of the ancients), that was used in the preparation of it (See Bacci. Nat. Vinor. Hist., p. 20, 62). It is highly praised by Redi.\*

2. *Vernagelle* is not mentioned by Henderson. The name shows it to have been a variety of *Vernage*.

3. l. 118. *Cute*. "As for the *cuit* named in Latin *Sapa*, it commeth neere to the nature of wine, and in truth nothing els it is, but Must or new wine boiled til one third part and no more do remain; & this *cuit*, if it be made of white Must is counted the better." *Holland's Plinies Nat. Hist.*, p. 157. "(of the dried grape or raisin which they call *Astaphis*). . The sweet *cuit* which is made thereof hath a speciall power and virtue against the Hæmorrhoids alone, of all other serpents," p. 148. "Of new pressed wine is made the wine called *Cute*, in Latin, *Sapu*; and it is by boiling the new pressed wine so long, as till that there remaine but one of three parts. Of new pressed wine is also made another *Cute*, called of the Latines *Defrutum*, and this is by boiling of the new wine onely so long, as till the halfe part be consumed, and the rest become of the thicknesse of honey." *Maison Rustique*, p. 622. 'Cute. A.S. *Cæren*, L. *carenum*, wine boiled down one-third, and sweetened.' Cockayne, Gloss. to Leechdoms.

4. *Pyment*. In order to cover the harshness and acidity common to the greater part of the wines of this period, and to give them an agreeable flavour, it was not unusual to mix honey and spices with them. Thus compounded they passed under the generic name of *piments*, † probably because they were

\* *Vernage* was made in the Genoese territory. The best was grown at San Gemignano, and in Bacci's time was in great request at Rome. The wine known as *Vernaccia* in Tuscany was always of a white or golden colour. *Henderson*, p. 396.

† See the recipe for making *Piment* in Halliwell's Dictionary, s. v.

originally prepared by the *pigmentarii* or apothecaries; and they were used much in the same manner as the *liqueurs* of modern times. *Hend.* p. 283.

The varieties of Piment most frequently mentioned are the

*Hippocras & Clarry.* The former was made with either white or red wine, in which different aromatic ingredients were infused; and took its name from the particular sort of bag, termed Hippocrates's Sleeve, through which it was strained. *Clarry*, on the other hand, which (with wine of *Osey*) we have seen noticed in the Act 5 Richard II. (St. 1, c. 4, *vin douce, ou clarre*), was a claret or mixed wine, mingled with honey, and seasoned in much the same way, as may be inferred from an order of the 36th of Henry III. respecting the delivery of two casks of white wine and one of red, to make *Clarry* and other liquors for the king's table at York (duo dolia albi vini et garhiofilacum et unum dolium ruhri vini ad claretum faciendum). *Henderson*, p. 284. *Hippocras*, vinum Aromaticum. Withals. "Artificiall stuffe, as *ypogras* & wormewood wine." *Harrison, Descr. Brit.*, p. 167, col. 2, ed. 1586.

*Raspice.* "Vin Rapé," says *Henderson*, p. 286, note *v*. "a rough sweetish red wine, so called from its being made with unbruised grapes, which, having been freed from the stalks, are afterwards fermented along with them and a portion of other wine."\* *Ducange* has *Raspice*. RASPATICIUM, Ex racemis vinum, cujus præparationem tradit J. Wecker. Antidot. special. lib. 2, § 6, page 518 et 519. Paratur autem illud ex *raspatiis* et vinaceis, una cum uvis musto immissis. *Raspacia* itaque sunt, quæ *Varroni* et *Columellæ scopi, scopiones*, si bene legitur; unde nostrum *Raste*. *Ducange*, ed. 1845. *Raspecia*. Sed ex relato longiori contextu palam est, *Raspeciam* nihil aliud esse quam vinum mixtis acinis aliisve modis renovatum, nostris vulgo *Râpé*; hujusmodi enim vinum alterationi minus obnoxium est, ut hic dicitur de *Raspecia*. Vide mox *Raspetum*, Vinum recentatum, Gallis *Raspé*. Charta Henrici Ducis Brabantiae pro Communia Bruxellensi ann. 1229: *Qui vinum supra uvas habuerit, quod Raspetum vocatur, in tavernis ipsum vendere non potest*. Vide *Recentatum*. *Ducange*, ed. 1845.

The highly-praised *Raspatum* of *Baccius*, p. 30-2, of which, after quoting what *Pliny* says of secondary wines, he declares, "id primùm animaduerti volumus à nostra posteritate, quod *Lora* Latinorum, quam deuterium cum Græcis, et secundarium Vinum dixit *Plinius*, *δενρεπία*, seu *ποτιμὸν* *Dioscorides*, quodque *τρυνόν* vocauit *Galenus*, cum *Aquatis* quibus hodie vtimur in tota Italia, & cum nouo genere, quod à delectabili in gustu asperitate, *Raspatum* vocat; similem omnes hæ Voces habent significantiam factitiæ .s. ex aqua Vini. p. 30. Quod uni genus in Italia, ubi alterius vini copia non sit, parari simpliciter consuevit colore splendido rubentis purpuræ, sapore austero, ac dulcacido primis mensibus mox tamen exolescente, p. 31-2, &c. *Raspice* was also a name for Raspberries. Item, geuene to my lady Kingstone seruante bringing Strawberes and *Respeces* to my ladys grace xij d. *Privy Purse Expenses of the Princess Mary*, p. 31; and in his Glossary to this

\* Besides this meaning of *rapé* (same as *raspé*), *Cotgrave* gives first "A verie small wine comming of water cast upon the mother of grapes which have been pressed!"



book Sir F. Madden says, 'In a closet for Ladies 12mo. London, 1654, is a receipt "To preserve *Raspices*," and they are elsewhere called "*Raspisberries*." See "Delights for Ladies," 12mo. 1654.'

6. *Muscadelle of Grew: Bastard: Greke: Malvesyn*. "The wines which Greece, Languedoc, and Sapine doe send vs, or rather, which the delicacie and voluptuousnesse of our French throats cause to be fetched from beyond the Sea, such as are Sacks, *Muscadels* of Frontignan, *Malmesies*, *Bastards* (which seeme to me to be so called, because they are oftentimes adulterated and falsified with honey, as we see wine Hydromell to be prepared) and Corsick wines, so much vsed of the Romanes, are very pernicious unto vs, if we vse them as our common drinke. Notwithstanding, we proue them very singular good in cold diseases . . . but chiefly and principally Malmesey." Stevens and Liebault's *Maison Rustique*, or 'The Countrey Farme, by R. Surfet, reviewed by Gerv. Markham, 1616. *Muscadell*, vinum apianum. Withals. Mulsum, *wine and honie sodden together, sviete wine, basterde or Muscadell*. Withals. William Vaughan says, "Of Muscadell, Malmesie, and browne Bastard. These kindes of wines are onely for maried folkes, because they strengthen the back." *Naturall and Artificial Directions for Health*, 1602, p. 9.

Andrewe Borde, of Physicke, Doctor, in his Regyment or Dyetary of helth made in Mouztpylor, says, "Also these hote wyne, as Malmesey, wyne corse, wyne greke, Romanyke, Romney, Secke, Alygaune, Basterde, Tyre, Osaye, Muscadell, Caprycke, Tynt, Roberdany, with other hote wyne, be not good to drynke with meate, but after mete and with Oysters, with Saledes, with fruyte, a draughte or two may be suffered . . . Olde men may drynke, as I sayde, hygh wyne at theyr pleasure. Furthermore all swete wyne, and grose wyne, doth make a man fatte."

7. *Rompney*. Henderson, p. 288, says, "Another of the above-mentioned wines (in *the Squire of Low Degree*) designated by the name of the grape, was the Romenay, otherwise Romenay, Rumney, Romaine, or Romagnia. That it could not be the produce of the Ecclesiastical State, as the two last corruptions of the word would seem to imply, may be safely averred; for at no period, since the decline of the empire, has the Roman soil furnished any wines for exportation; and even Bacci, with all his partiality, is obliged to found his eulogy of them on their ancient fame, and to confess that, in his time, they had fallen into disrepute." He argues also against the notion that this wine came from Romana in Aragon, and concludes that it was probably a Greek wine, as Bacci (*Nat. Vin. Hist.* p. 333) tells us that the wine from the Ionian Islands and adjoining continent was called in Italian *Romania*,—from the Saracen *Rum-ili*. Now this is all very well, but how about the name of *Rompney of Modene* or Modena, just outside the Western boundary of the Romagna,—not Meudon, in France, "amongst all the wines which we use at Paris, as concerning the red, the best are those of Coussey, Seure, Vaunes, and *Meudon*." *Maison Rustique*, p. 642.—Who will hold to John Russell, and still consider *Romney* an Italian wine? *Rumney*, vinum resinatum. Withals.

8. *Bastard*. Henderson argues against the above-quoted (No. 6) supposition of Charles Etienne's (which is supported by Cotgrave's *Vin miellé*, honied wine, *bastard*, Metheglin, sweet wine), and adopts Venner's account (*Via Recta ad Vitam Longam*), that "Bastard is in virtue somewhat like to muskadell, and may also in stead thereof be used; it is in goodness so much inferiour to muskadell, as the same is to malmsey." It took its name, Henderson thinks, from the grape of which it was made, probably a bastard species of muscadine. "One of the varieties of vines now cultivated in the Alto Douro, and also in Madeira, is called *bastardo*, and the must which it yields is of a sweetish quality. Of the Bastard wine there were two sorts,—white and brown (brown and white bastard, *Measure for Measure*, Act iii. sc. 2), both of them, according to Markham's report, "fat and strong; the tawny or brown kind being the sweetest." In *The Libelle of Englysch Polycye*, A.D. 1436 (Wright's *Political Songs*, v. 2, p. 160), 'wyne bastarde' is put among the commodyetees of Spayne.

9. *Tyre*, if not of Syrian growth, was probably a Calabrian or Sicilian wine, manufactured from the species of grape called *tirio*. *Tyre*, vium Tyrense, ex Tyro insula. Withals.

10. *Ozey*. Though this is placed among the "commodities of Portugal" in some verses inserted in the first volume of Hackluyt's *Voyages*, p. 188—Her land hath wine, *osey*, waxe, and grain,—yet, says Henderson, "a passage in Valois' Description of France, p. 12, seems to prove, beyond dispute, that *oseye* was an Alsatian wine; *Auzois* or *Osay* being, in old times, the name constantly used for Alsace. If this conjecture is well-founded, we may presume that *oseye* was a luscious-sweet, or straw-wine, similar to that which is still made in that province. That it was a rich, high-flavoured liquor is sufficiently shown by a receipt for imitating it, which may be seen in Markham (*English Housewife*, 1683, p. 115), and we learn from Bacci p. 350) that the wines which Alsace then furnished in great profusion to England as well as different parts of the continent, were of that description. In the 'Bataille des Vins' we find the 'Vin d'*Aussai*' associated with the growths of the Moselle." *Osey* is one 'Of the commoditees of Portingalle,' *Libelle*, p. 163.

11. *Torrentyne of Ebrew*. Is this from Tarentum, Tarragon, or Toledo? Whence in Ebrew land did our forefathers import wine? Mr G. Grove says, "I should at first say that *Torrentyne* referred to the wine from some wady (Vulgate, *torrens*) in which peculiarly rich grapes grew, like the wady of Eschool or of Sorek; but I don't remember any special valley being thus distinguished as 'The Torrent' above all others, and the vineyards are usually on hill-sides, not in vallies."

12. *Greke Malevesyñ*. "The best dessert wines were made from the Malvasia grape; and Candia, where it was chiefly cultivated, for a long time retained the monopoly," says Henderson. He quotes Martin Leake to explain the name. Monemvasia is a small fortified town in the bay of Epidaurus Limerá. "It was anciently a promontory called Minoa, but is now an island connected with the coast of Laconia by a bridge. The name of

*Monemvasia*, derived from the circumstances of its position (*μόνη ἑμβασία*, single entrance), was corrupted by the Italians to *Malvasia*; and the place being celebrated for the fine wines produced in the neighbourhood, *Malvasia* changed to *Malvoisie* in French, and *Malmsey* in English came to be applied to many of the rich wines of the Archipelago, Greece, and other countries." (*Researches in Greece*, p. 197.) *Maulmsey*, vinum creticum, vel creteum.

\* Withals.

13. *Caprik* may have been a wine from the island of Capri, or Cyprus.

14. *Clarey*. See above under *Pymont*, and the elaborate recipe for making it, in Household Ordinances, p. 473, under the heading "Medicina optima et experta pro Stomacho et pro Capite in Antiquo hominem." *Claret Wine*, vinum sanguineum subrubrum, vel rubellum. Withals. "The seconde wine is pure *Claret*, of a cleare lacent, or Yelow choler; this wine doth greatly norish and warme the body, and it is an holsome wine with meate." *Bullein*, fol. xj.

l. 122. *Spice*; l. 171. *Spicery*. Of "The commoditees and nyoetees of Venicyans and Florentynes," the author of the *Libelle* says, p. 171,

The grete galees of Venees and Florence  
Be wel ladene wyth thynges of complacence,  
Alle *spicerye and of grocers ware*,  
*Wyth swete wynes*, alle maners of cheffare,  
Apes, and japes, and marmusettes taylede,  
Nifles, trifles, that litelle have auailede,  
And thynges wyth which they fetely blere oure eye,  
Wyth thynges not enduryng that we bye.

l. 123. *Turnsole*. Newton's Herbal, plate 49, gives Yellow Turnsole (*Gerarde*), the Colouring Turnsole P(arkinson).

l. 123. *Tornesole*. *Achillea tormentosa*, A.S. *Solcherf*. 'This wort hath with it some wonderful divine qualities, that is, that its blossoms turn themselves according to the course of the sun, so that the blossoms when the sun is setting close themselves, and again when he upgoeth, they open and spread themselves.' *Leechdoms*, ed. Cockayne, v. 1, p. 155.

l. 123, 141. *Granes* are probably what are now called "Granes of Paradise," small pungent seeds brought from the East Indies, much resembling Cardamum seeds in appearance, but in properties approaching nearer to Pepper. See Lewis's *Materia Medica*, p. 298; in *North. H. Book*.

l. 131-2. I cannot identify these three sorts of Ginger, though *Gerarde* says: "Ginger groweth in Spaine, Barbary, in the Canary Islands, and the Azores," p. 6. Only two sorts of Ginger are mentioned in Parkinson's Herbal, p. 1613. 'Ginger grows in China, and is cultivated there.' Strother's Harman, 1727, v. 1, p. 101.

l. 141. Peper. "Pepir blake" is one of the commoditees of the Januays (or Genoese). *Libelle*, p. 172.

l. 177. In his chapter *Of Prunes and Damysens*, Andrew Borde says, Syxe or seuen Damysens eaten before dyner, be good to prouoke a mannes appe-

tyde; they doth mollyfie the bely, and be abstersyue. the skynne and the stones must be ablated and cast away, and not vsed. *Regyment*, N. i. b.

l. 178. *Ale*. See the praise of the unparalleled liquor called Ale, Methelgin, &c., in Iohn Taylor's *Drink and Welcome*, 1637. In his *Regiment*, A. Borde says, "Ale is made of malte and water; and they the whiche do put any other thyng to ale than is rehersed, except yest, barme, or goddes good,\* doth sophysticall there ale. Ale for an Englysshe man is a naturall drynke. Ale muste haue these properties, it must be fresshe and cleare, it muste not be ropy, nor smoky, nor it muste haue no werte nor tayle. Ale shulde not be dronke under .v. dayes olde. Newe Ale is vnholosome for all men. And sowre ale, and dead ale, and ale the whiche doth stande a tylte, is good for no man. Barly malte maketh better Ale than Oten malte or any other corne doth: it doth ingendre grose humours: but it maketh a man stronge.

Beere is made of malte, of hoppes, and water. It is a naturall drynke for a doche man. And nowe of late dayes [1557?] it is moche vsed in England to the detryment of many Englysshe men; specyally it kylleth them the whiche be troubled with the Colycke and the stone, and the strayne coylyon; for the drynke is a cold drynke. Yet it doth make a man fatte, and doth inflate the belly, as it doth appere by the doche mennes faces and belyes." A. Borde, *Regyment*, fol. G. ii.

l. 194. Neck-towel. The *neck-towelles* of the pantrey, ewerye, confection-arye, comters, hangers, liggers, and all that is the Kinges stuffe. *H. Ord.* p. 85.

l. 201. *Salts*. Other two groomes in this office [of Panetry] to help serve the hall, or other lordes, in absence of the yoman, and to cutte trenchours, to make *saltes*, &c. *H. Ord.*, p. 71.

l. 213. Raynes. Towelles of *raynes*, towelles of worke, and of playne clothe. *H. Ord.*, pp. 72, 84.

l. 237. *The Surnape*. In the Articles ordained by King Henry VII. for the Regulation of his Household, 31 Dec., 1494, are the following directions, p. 119.

As for the Sewer and Usher, and laying of the Surnape.

The sewer shall lay the surnape on the board-end whereas the bread and salte standeth, and lay forth the end of the same surnape and towell; then the usher should fasten his rodd in the foresaid surnape and towell, and soe drawing it downe the board, doeing his reverence afore the Kinge till it passe the board-end a good way, and there the sewer kneeling at the end of the board, and the usher at the other, stretching the said surnape and towell, and soe the usher to laie upp the end of the towell well on the boarde, and rise goeing before the Kinge, doeing his reverence to the King on the same side the surnape bee gone uppon, and on that side make an estate with his rodd; and then goeing before the Kinge doeing his reverence, and soe make another estate on the other side of the King, and soe goeing to the boards end againe, kneele downe to amend the towell, that there bee noe wrinkles

\* Halliwell says it means *yeast*. It cannot do so here.

save the estates ; and then the usher doeing his due reverence to the King ; goeing right before the Kinge with his rodd, the side of the same towell there as the bason shall stand ; and doeing his reverence to the Kinge, to goe to the boards end againe ; and when the King hath washed, to bee ready with his rodd to putt upp the surnape and meete the sewer against the Kinge, and then the sewer to take it upp. (The Freuch name was *Serre-nape*.)

1. 253. *State*. Divers Lords and *Astates*, p. 155 ; divers *astates* and gentils, p. 160. *Wardrobe Accounts of King Edward IV*.

1. 262. The Pauntry Towells, *Purpaynes*, Coverpaynes, Chipping-knyffs. Percy or Northumberland Hd. Book, p. 387.

1. 277. *Symple Conditions*. Compare these modern directions to a serving man : " While waiting at dinner, never be picking your nose, or scratching your head, or any other part of your body ; neither blow your nose in the room ; if you have a cold, and cannot help doing it, do it on the outside of the door ; but do not sound your nose like a trumpet, that all the house may hear when you blow it ; still it is better to blow your nose when it requires, than to be picking it and snuffing up the *mucus*, which is a filthy trick. Do not yawn or gape, or even sneeze, if you can avoid it ; and as to hawking and spitting, the name of such a thing is enough to forbid it, without a command. When you are standing behiud a person, to be ready to change the plates, &c., do not put your hands on the back of the chair, as it is very improper ; though I have seen some not only do so, but even beat a kind of tune upon it with their fingers. Instead of this, stand upright with your hands hanging down or before you, but not folded. Let your demeauour be such as becomes the situation which you are in. Be well dressed, and have light shoes that make no noise, your face and hands well washed, your finger-nails cut short and kept quite clean underneath ; have a nail-brush for that purpose, as it is a disgusting thing to see black dirt under the nails. Let the lapels of your coat be buttoned, as they will only be flying in your way." 1825. T. Cosnett. *Footman's Directory*, p. 97-8. Lord A. Percy's Waiters were changed every quarter. See the lists of them in the *Percy Household Book*, p. 53-4.

1. 280. Lice. See Thomas Phaire's Regiment of Life, The boke of Chyldren, H. h. 5 ; and A. Borde's Introduction, of the Irishe man,

Pediculus other whyle do byte me by the backe,  
Wherefore dyvers times I make theyr bones cracke.

And of the people of Lytle Briten,

Although I iag my hosen & my garment round about,  
Yet it is a vantage to pick *pediculus* owt.

1. 283. Rosemary is not mentioned among the herbs for the bath ; though a poem in praise of the herb says :

Moche of this herbe to seeth thou take  
In water, and a bathe thou make ;  
Hyt schal the make lyzt and joly,  
And also lykyng and zowuly.

*MS. of C. W. Loscombe, Esq., in Reliquie Antiquæ, i. 196.*

l. 300. Jet.

Rogue why Winkest thou,  
Jenny why *Jettest* thou.

are among R. Holme's Names of Slates, Bk. III. ch. v. p. 265, col. 1.

l. 328. Forks were not introduced into England till Coryat's time. See his *Cruddities* p. 90-1, 4to. London, 1611, on the strange use of the Fork in Italy. "I observ'd a custom in all those Italian Cities and Townes through the which I passed, that is not used in any other country that I saw in my travels, neither do I thinke that any other nation of Christendome doth use it, but only Italy. The Italian and also most Strangers that are comorant in Italy, doe always at their meals use a *Little Forke* when they cut their meat." Percy's notes, p. 417-18, North. H. Book.

l. 348-9. Fumositees. But to wash the feete in a decoction of Baye leaues, Rosemary, & Fenel, I greatly disalow not : for it turneth away from the head vapours & *fumes* dimming and ouercasting the mynde. Now the better to repress *fumes* and propulse vapours from the Brain, it shalbe excellent good after Supper to chaw *with* the teeth (the mouth being shut) a few graynes of Coriander first stieped in veneiger wherin Maioram hath bin decocted, & then thinly crusted or couered ouer *with* Sugar. It is scarcee credible what a special commoditye this bringeth to y<sup>e</sup> memory. No lesse vertuous & soueraign is the confection of Conserue of Quinces. Quinces called *Diacidonion*, if a prety quantity thereof be likewise taken after meate. For it disperseth *fumes*, & suffreth not vapours to strike vpwarde. T. Newton, *Lemnie's Touchstone*, ed. 1581, fol. 126. See note on l. 105 here.

l. 358. *Forced* or *Farced*, a Forced Leg of Mutton, is to stuff or fill it (or any Fowl) with a minced Meat of Beef, Veal, &c., with Herbs and Spices. *Farcing* is stuffing of any kind of Meats with Herbs or the like; some write it *Forsing* and *Farsing*. To *Farce* is to stuff anything. R. Holme.

l. 378. Brawn. In his chapter on Pygge, Brawne, Bacon, Andrew Borde says of bacon as follows: "Bacon is good for Carters, and plowe men, the which be euer labouryng in the earth or dunge; but & yf they haue the stone, and vse to eate it, they shall synge 'wo be to the pye!' Wherefore I do say that coloppes and egges is as holsome for them as a talowe candell is good for a horse mouth, or a peece of powdred Beefe is good for a blere eyed mare. Yet sensuall appetyde must haue a swynge at all these thynges, notwithstandinge." *Regyment*, fol. K. iii. b.

l. 382 & l. 515. *Venison*. I extract part of Andrewe Borde's chapter on this in his *Regyment*, fol. K. 4, b.

¶ Of wylde Beastes fleshe.

¶ I haue gone rounde about Chrystendome, and ouerthwarte Chrystendome, and a thousande or two and moore myles out of Chrystendome, Yet there is not so moche pleasure for Hartc and Hynde, Bucke and Doe, and for Roo-Bucke and Doc, as is in Englande lande: and although the fleshe be disaprsed in physicke, I praye God to sende me parte of the fleshe to eate, *physicke notwithstanding* . . . all physicions (phyon suchons, *orig.*) sayth

that Venson . . doth ingendre colorycke humours ; and of trueth-it doth so : Wherefore let them take the skynne, and let me haue the flesshe. I am sure it is a Lordes dysshe, and I am sure it is good for an Englysheman, for it doth anymate hym to be as he is : whiche is stronge and hardy. But I do aduertise euery man, for all my wordes, not to kylle and so to eate of it, excepte it be lawfully, for it is a meate for great men. And great men do not set so moche by the meate, as they doth by the pastyme of kyllynge of it.

l. 393. *Chine*, the Back-bone of any Beast or Fish. R. Holme.

l. 397. Stock Dove, *Columba cenas*, Yarrell ii. 293.

Doues haue this propertie by themselues, to bill one another and kisse before they tread. Holland's Plinie, v. 1, p. 300.

l. 401. Osprey or Fishing Hawk (the Mullet Hawk of Christchurch Bay), *Pandion Haliaëtus*, Y. i. 30.

l. 401, 482. Teal, *Anas crecca*, Y. iii. 282.

l. 402. Mallard or Wild Duck, *Anas boschas*, Y. iii. 265.

l. 421, 542. *Betowre*. Bittern, the Common, *Botaurus stellaris*, Y. ii. 571.

In the spring, and during the breeding season, the Bittern makes a loud booming or bellowing noise, whence, probably, the generic term *Botaurus* was selected for it ; but when roused at other times, the bird makes a sharp, harsh cry on rising, not unlike that of a Wild Goose. Yarrell, ii. 573. The Bittern was formerly in some estimation as an article of food for the table ; the flesh is said to resemble that of the Leveret in colour and taste, with some of the flavour of wild fowl. Sir Thomas Browne says that young Bitterns were considered a better dish than young Herons . . ii. 574. 'Hearon, Byttour, Shouelar. Being yong and fat, be lightlier digested then the Crane, & y<sup>e</sup> Bittour sooner then the Hearon.' Sir T. Eliot, *Castell of Health*, fol. 31.

l. 422. Heron. Holland (Plinie, p. 301) gives—1. A Criell or dwarfe Heron ; 2. Bittern ; 3. Carion Heron, for Pliny's—1. *Leucon* ; 2. *Asterias* ; 3. *Pellon*.

l. 437. *Martins* are given in the Bill of Fare of Archbp. Nevill's Feast, A.D. 1466, 3rd Course. R. Holme, p. 78.

l. 449. Cannell Bone. 'Susclavier. Vpon the *kannell bone* ; whence Veine susclaviere. The second maine ascendant branch of the hollow veine.' Cot.

l. 457. Compare *Rabbit Ronners* 1 doz., 2 s., temp. Hen. VIII., a<sup>o</sup> 33. *H. Ord.* p. 223.

l. 492. *Custard*, open Pies, or without lids, filled with Eggs and Milk ; called also Egg-Pie. R. Holme.

See the Recipes for 'Crustade Ryal,' 'Crustade' (with Chikonys y-smete or smal birdys), and 'Crustade gentyle' (with ground pork or veal), fol. 43, Harl. MS. 279. The Recipe for Crustade Ryal is, "Take and pike out þe marow of bonys as hool as þou may. þen take þe bonys an seþe hem in Watere or þat þe broþe be fat y-now. þen take Almaundys & wayssche hem clene & bray hem, & temper hem vppe with þe fat broþe ; þan wyl þe mylke be broun. þen take pouder Canelle, Gyngere, & Suger, & caste þer-on. þen take Roysonys of coraunce & lay in þe cofynne, & taylid Datys

& kyt a-long. þen take Eyroun a fewe y-straynid, & swenge among þe Milke þe ʒolke. þen take the botmon of þe cofynne þer þe Marow sohal stonde, & steke þer gret an long gobettys þeron vppe ryzt. & lat bake a whyle. þen pore in comade þer-on halful, & lat bake, & whan yt a-rysith, it is ynow; þen serue forth."

Sir F. Madden in his note on *Frees* pasties, in his Privy Purse Expenses of the Princess Mary, p. 131, col. 1, says, "The different species of Confectionary then in vogue are enumerated by Taylor the Water Poet, in his Tract intituled 'The Great Eater, or part of the admirable teeth and stomach's exploits of Nicholas Wood,' &c., published about 1610. 'Let any thing come in the shape of fodder or eating-stuffe, it is wellcome, whether it be Sawsedge, or *Custard*, or Eg-pye, or Cheese-cake, or Flawne, or Foole, or Froyze,\* or Tanzy, or Pancake, or Fritter, or Flap iacke,† or Posset, or Galleymawfrey, Mackerroone, Kickshaw, or Tantablin!'"

l. 500, 706, 730. Pety Perueis. *Perueis* should be *Perneis*, as the Sloane MS. 1985 shows. Alter text accordingly. Under the head of *bake Metis* or *Vyaunde Furnez*, in Harl. MS. 279, fol. 40 b, we have No. xiiij *Pety Pernollis*. Take fayre Floure Cofyns. þen take ʒolkys of Eyroun & trye hem fro þe whyte. & lat þe ʒolkys be al hole & noȝt to-broke. & ley .iiij. or .iiij. ʒolkys in a cofyn. and þan take marow of bonys, to or .iiij. gobettys, & cowche in þe cofynn. þen take pouder Gyngere, Sugre, Roysounys of coraunce, & caste a-boue, & þan kyure þin cofyn *with* þe same past. & bake hem & frye hem in fayre grece & *serue forth*.

xx *Pety Peruaunt*. Take fayre Flowre, Sugre, Safroun, an Salt. & make þeroffe fayre past & fayre cofyngis. þan take fayre y-tryid ʒolkys Raw & Sugre an pouder Gyngere, & Raysonys of Coraunce, & myncyd Datys, but not to small. þan caste al þis on a fayre bolle, & melle al to-goderys, & put in þin cofyn, & lat bake oþer Frye in Freysse grece. Harl. MS. 279.

l. 501, 701. *Powche*. I suppose this to be poached-egg fritters; but it may be the other *powche*; 'Take the Powche and the Lynour [? liver] of haddock, codlyng, and hake.' *Forme of Cury*, p. 47. Recipe 94.

l. 501. *Fritters* are small Pancakes, having slices of Apples in the Batter. R. Holme. Frutters, Fruter Napkin, and Fruter Crispin, were dishes at Archbp. Nevill's Feast, 7 Edw. IV. 1467-8 A.D.

l. 503. *Tansy Cake* is made of grated Bread, Eggs, Cream, Nutmeg, Ginger, mixt together and Fried in a Pan with Butter, with green Wheat and Tansy stamped. R. Holme. 'To prevent being Bug-bitten. Put a sprig or two of *tansy* at the bed head, or as near the pillow as the smell may be agreeable.' T. Cosnett's *Footman's Directory*, p. 292.

\* Froize, or pancake, *Fritilla*, *Frittur*, *rigulet*. Baret. *Omllet of Eggs* is Eggs beaten together with Mincéd suet, and so fried in a Pan, about the quantity of an Egg together, on one side, not to be turned, and served with a sauce of Vinegar and Sugar. An *Omllet* or *Froise*. R. Holme.

† Flapjack is "a fried cake made of butter, apples, &c." Jennings. It is not a pancake here, evidently. "Untill at last by the skill of the cooke, it is transform'd into the forme of a *flapjack*, which in our translation is cald a *pancake*." Taylor's *Jack-a-lent*, i. p. 115, in Nares.



l. 504, 511, &c. *Leach*, a kind of Jelly made of Cream, Ising-glass, Sugar, and Almonds, with other compounds (the later meaning, 1787). R. Holme.

l. 517-18. *Potages*. All maner of liquyde thynges, as Potage, sewe and all other brothes doth replete a man that eteth them with vntosyete. *Potage is not so moche vsed in all Chrystendome as it is vsed in Englande.* Potage is made of the licour in the whiche flesshe is sod in, with puttynge to, chopped herbes, and Otmell and salte. A. Borde, *Reg.* fol. H. ii.

l. 517, 731. *Jelly*, a kind of oily or fat liquor drawn from Calves or Neats feet boiled. R. Holme.

l. 519. *Grevel* is a kiud of Broth made only of Water, Grotes brused and Currans; some add Mace, sweet Herbs, Butter and Eggs and Sugar: some call it Pottage Gruel. R. Holme.

l. 521. *Cabages*. 'Tis scarce a hundred years since we first had cabbages out of Holland; Sir Anthony Ashley, of Wiburg St Giles, in Dorsetshire, being, as I am told, the first who planted them in England. Jn. Evelyn, *Acetaria*, § 11. They were introduced into Scotland by the soldiers of Cromwell's army. 1854. Notes and Queries, May 6, p. 424, col. 1.

l. 533. *Powdered* is contrasted with *fresh* in Household Ordinances: 'In beef daily or moton, fresh, or elles all *pouldred* is more availe, 5d.' *H. Ord.* p. 46. In Muffett (p. 173) it means pickled, 'As Porpesses must be baked while they are new, so Tunny is never good till it have been long *pouldred* with salt, vinegar, coriander, and hot spices.' In p. 154 it may be either salt or pickled; 'Horne-beaks are ever lean (as some think) because they are ever fighting; yet are they good and tender, whether they be eaten fresh or *pouldred*.' *Powdered*, says Nicolas, meant sprinkled over, and "powdered beef" i.e. beef sprinkled with salt, is still in use. *Privy Purse expenses of Elizabeth of Yorke, &c.*, p. 254, col. 1. See note to l. 378, 689, here.

l. 535-688. *Chaudoun*. MS. Harl. 1735, fol. 18, gives this Recipe. '¶ Chaudoun sauz of swannes. ¶ Tak y<sup>e</sup> issu of y<sup>e</sup> swannes, & wasche hem wel, skoure y<sup>e</sup> guttys with salt, sethiz al to-gidre. Tak of y<sup>e</sup> fleysche; hewe it smal, & y<sup>e</sup> guttys with alle. Tak bred, gyngere & galingale, Canel, grynd it & tempre it vp with bred; colour it with blood ore with brent bred, seson it vp with a lytyl vinegre; welle it al to-gydere.' And see the Chaudoun potage of Pygys, fol. 19, or p. 37.

l. 540. Crane, the Common, *Crus cinereu*, Y. ii. 530.

l. 540. Egret, or Great White Heron, *Ardea alba* Y. ii. 549. (Buff-coloured, Buff-backed, and Little Egret, are the varieties.)

l. 540. Hershaw or Common Heron, *Ardea cinerea*. Y. ii. 537 (nine other varieties).

l. 541. Plover, the Great (Norfolk Plover and Stone Curlew), *Edicnemus crepitans*, Y. ii. 465 (10 other varieties).

l. 541. Curlew the Common, *Numenius arquata*, Y. ii. 610 (there are other varieties).

l. 542. Bustard, the Great, *Otis tarda*, Y. ii. 428; the Little (rare here) ii. 452.

l. 542. Shoveler (blue-winged, or Broad-Bill), *Anas clypeata*, Y. iii. 247. Snipe, the Common, *Scolopax gallinago*, Y. iii. 38 (11 other sorts).

l. 543. Woodcock, *Scolopax rusticola*, Y. iii. 1.

l. 543. Lapwing or Peewit, *Vanellus cristatus*, ii. 515.

l. 543. The Martin, or House Martin, *Hirundo urbica*, Y. ii. 255; the Sand or Bank Martin, *Hirundo riparia*, ii. 261.

l. 544. Quail, the Common, *Coturnix vulgaris*, Y. ii. 413.

l. 546. On Fish wholesome or not, see Bullein, fol. lxxxij., and on Meats, fol. 82.

l. 548. Torrentille: Mr Skeat suggests 'Torrent-eel.' Though the spelling of Randle Holme's A *Sandile* or a *Sandeele* (Bk. II., p. 333), and Aldrovandi's (p. 252 h.) "De *Sandilz* Anglorum" may help this, yet, as Dr Günther says, eels have nothing to do with torrents. *Torrentille* may be the Italian *Tarentella*: see note on Torrentyne, l. 828 below.

l. 555. *Ling*. There shall be stryken of every Saltfische called a Lyng Fische vj Stroks after iij Stroks in a Side. *Percy Household Book*, p. 135.

l. 558. *Stockfish*. Vocatur autem 'Stockfisch' à trunco, cui hic piscis aridus tundendus imponitur. ariditate enim ita riget, ut nisi præmaceratus aqua, aut prætunsus, coqui non possit. *Gesner*, p. 219. 'Le te froteray à double carillon. I will beat thee like a *stockfish*, I will swinge thee while I may stand over thee.' Cotgrave. 'The tenne chapitule' of 'The Libelle of Englysch Polycye' is headed 'Of the coundius *stokfysse* of Yselonde,' &c., &c., and begins

Of Yseland to wryte is lytille nede,  
Save of *stockfische*.

A. Borde, in his Introduction to Knowledge, under Islond, says,

And I was borne in Islond, as brute as a beest;  
Whan I ete candels ends I am at a feest;  
Talow and raw *stockefyssh* I do loue to ete,  
In my country it is right good meate.

. . . In stede of bread they do eate *stocfyshe*, and they wyll eate rawe fyshe & fleshe; they be beastly creatures, vnmannered and vntaughte. The people be good fyshers; muche of theyr fishe they do barter with English men for mele, lases, and shoes & other pelfery. (See also under Denmarke.)

l. 559. *Mackerel*. See Muffett's comment on them, and the English and French ways of cooking them, p. 157.

l. 569. Onions. Walnuts be hurtfull to the Memory, and so are *Onyons*, because they annoy the Eyes with dazeling dimnesse through a hoate vapour. T. Newton, *Touchstone*, ed. 1581, fol. 125 b.

l. 572. A *Rochet* or *Rotbart* is a red kind of *Gurnard*, and is so called in the South parts of England; and in the East parts it is called a *Curre*, and a *Golden polle*. R. Holme.

l. 575. A *Dace* or a Blawling, or a Gresling, or a Zienfische, or Weyfish; by all which the Germans call it, which in Latin is named *Leucorinus*. And the French *Vengeron*, which is English'd to me a *Dace*, or *Dace-fish*. R. Holme.

l. 577. *Refett*. "I thought it clear that *refett* was roe, and I do not yet give it up. But see P.P., *Refeccyon*, where the editor gives '*refet of fische K., refet or fische H., reuet P.*,' from other manuscripts, and cites in a note Roquefort from Fr. *reffait* (*refait*) as meaning a fish, the *rouget*, &c., &c. The authority of Roquefort is not much, and he gives no citation. If, however, in K. H. and P. these forms are used instead of the spelling *refeccyon*, and defined *refectio, refectura*, it rather embarrasses the matter. Halliwell cites no authority for *rivet, roe*." G. P. Marsh. See note to l. 840 here, p. 108.

l. 580. *Gobbin*, or *Gobbet*, or *Gubbins*: Meat cut in large peeces, as large as au Egg. R. Holme.

l. 584. A *Thornbacke*, soe called from the Sharp Crooked Pricks set on Studs, all down the middle of the Back. R. Holme.

l. 584. *Hound Fysch*. A Sow-Hound-Fish. . . So it is called from its resemblance of a *Dog*, and its fatness like to a *Swine*: though most term it a *Dog-Fish*. It hath a small Head, great Eyes; wide Mouth, rough, sharp and thick skinned. R. Holme.

l. 584, l. 830. *Thorlepolle*. Aldrovandi, describing the *Balæna vera Rondel[etii]* says: *Hec belua Anglis, (vt dixi) Hore vocatur, & alio nomine Horlepoole & VVirlepoole etiam, ni fallor, earum nimirum omnium significacione, quòd impetuo suo & flatu vorticosas in mari tanquam palude procellas excitet. Oleum ex ea colligi aiunt.* p. 677. See Holland's *Plinie* on the Whales and Whirlepooles called *Balæuæ*, which take up in length as much as foure acres or arpens of land, v. 1, p. 235, &c.

*Thornback, Raja*, which Charles Chester merily and not unfitly calleth Neptune's beard, was extolled by Antiphanes in Athenæus history for a dainty fish; indeed it is of a pleasant taste, but of a stronger smell than Skate, over-moist to nourish much, but not so much as to hinder lust, which it mightily encreaseth. Muffett, p. 172.

l. 596. *Verjuice* is the juice of Crabs or sour Apples. R. Holme.

l. 622. *Jole of Sturgion or Salmon* is the two quarters of them, the head parts being at them. R. Holme.

l. 630. *Lamprey pie*. In the Hengrave Household Accounts is this entry "for presenting a *lamprey pye* vj d." "Item. the xiiij day of January [1503] to a servant of the Pryour of Lanthony in reward for brynging of two bakyn laumpreys to the Quene v s. Nicolas's Elizabeth of York, p. 89, and Glossary."

Under 'How several sorts of Fish are named, according to their Age or Growth,' p. 324-5, R. Holme gives

An *Eel*, first a Fauser, then a Grigg, or Snigg, then a Scaffling, then a little Eel; when it is large, then an *Eel*, and when very large, a *Conger*.

A *Pike*, first a Hurling pick, then a Pickerel, then a *Pike*, then a *Luce* or *Lucie*.

A Smelt or *Sparling*, first a Sprat, then a small Sparling, then a *Sparling*.

A Codd, first a Whiting, then a Codling, then a Codd.

A *Lamprey*, first a Lampron Grigg, then a Lampret, then a Lamprell, then a *Lamprey*.

A *Lampron*, first a Barle, than a Barling, then a Lamprell, and then a *Lamprey* or *Lampron*.

A *Crevice*, first a Spron Frey, then a Shrimp, then a Sprawn, and when it is large, then called a *Crevice*.

The curious Burlesques, pp. 81-2, 85-6, vol. 1 of *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, contain a great many names of fish.

l. 631. *Pasty* is paste rould broad, and the Meat being laid in Order on it, it is turned over, and made up on three sides, with garnishes about. R. Holme.

l. 634, note. *Galingale*. Harman (ed. Strother, 1727) notices three varieties, *Cyperus rotundus*, round Galingal; *Galanga major*, Galingal; *Galanga minor*, lesser Galingal.

*Gallinga*, Lat. *Galanga*, says Bp Percy, is the root of a grassy-leaved plant brought from the East Indies, of an aromatic smell and hot biting bitterish Taste, anciently used among other Spices, but now almost laid aside. Lewis, *Mat. Med.* p. 286. See Mr Way's note 4 in Pr. Parv. p. 185.

'*Galendyne* is a sauce for any kind of roast Fowl, made of Grated Bread, beaten Cinnamon and Ginger, Sugar, Claret-wine, and Vinegar, made as thick as Grewell.' Randle Holme, Bk. III., chap. III., p. 82, col. 2. See also Recipes in Markham's Houswife, the second p. 70, and the first p. 77.

l. 657. A sewer, *appositor ciborum*. *Appono*, to sette vpon the table. Withals.

l. 686. See Randle Holme's 'relation of the Feast made by George Nevill, Arch-Bishop of York, at the time of his Consecration, or Installation, 7. Edw. IV. 1467-8,' and his other Bills of Fare, p. 77-81, Book III. Chap. III.

l. 686. *Mustard* is a kind of sharp hiting sauce, made of a small seed bruised and mixed with Vinegar. R. Holme.

l. 686. *Dynere*. Compare the King's dinner in *The Squyer of Lowe Degree*.  
The Squyer

He toke a white yeard in his hande,  
Before the kyng than gane he stande,  
And sone he sat hym on his knee,  
And serued the kyng ryght royally  
With deynty meates that were dere,  
With Partryche, Peccoche, and Plouere,  
With byrdes in bread ybake,  
The Tele, the Ducke, and the Drake,  
The Cooke, the Corlewe, and the Crane,  
With Fesauntes fayre, theyr ware no wane,  
Both Storkes and Snytes ther were also,  
And veyson freshe of Bucke and Do,  
And other deyntés many one,  
For to set afore the kyng anone.

l. 312-27, *E. Popular Poetry*, v. 2, p. 36.

Several of the names of the dishes in Russell are used burlesquely in the

Feest of the Turnament of Tottenham, *E. Pop. P.*, v. 3, pp. 94-6, "saduls sewys, mashefatts in mortrewys, mylstones in mawmary, iordans in iussall, chese-crustis in charlett," &c.

l. 688, *Swan*. "Cap. xxvij. The Swanze is veri a fayr birde, with whyte feders / & it hath a blacke skinne & flesshe / the mariner seeth hym gladly / for whan he is mery, the mariner is without sorowe or daunger; & all his strengthe is in his wynges / and he is coleryke of complexion / & whan they will engender, than they stryke wyth theyr nebbys togeder, and cast theyr neckes ouer eche other as yf thei wolden brace eche other; so come they togeder, but the male doth hurt the female; & as sone as he beknoweth that he hathe hurte her, thæ he departeth frome her compani in all the haste possible / and she pursueth after for to reuenge it / but the anger is sone past, & she wassheth her with her bylle in the water / and clenseth herselfe agayne."—L. Andrewe, *Noble Lyffe*. Pt. II. sign. m. 1.

l. 688, *Feysaund*. "Cap. xlvi. Fascianus is a wyld cocke or a fesant cocke that byde in the forestes, & it is a fayre byrde with goodly feders. but he hath no commbe as other cockes haue / and they be alway alone except whane they wylle be by the henne. and they that will take this bird / and in many places the byrders doth thus, they paynte the figure of this fayre byrde in a cloth, & holdeth it before hym / & whan this birde seeth so fayr a figure of hym selfe / he goeth nother forward nor bacwarde / but he standeth still, staringe vpon his figure / & sodenly commeth another, and casteth a nette ouer his hede, and taketh hym. Thys byrde morneth sore in fowle weder, & hideth hym from the rayne vnder the busshe. Towarde the morninge and towards night, than commeth he out of the busshe, and is oftentimes so taken, & he pntteth his hede in the ground, & he weneth that all his boddy is hyden / and his flesh is very light and good to disiest."—L. Andrewe, *Noble Lyffe*. Pt. II. (m. 4.)

l. 689. *Vensoun bake*, or Venison Pasty. Of the Hart and Hinde, Topsel says, "The flesh is tender, especially if the beast were libbed before his horns grew: yet is not the juice of that flesh very wholesome, and therefore *Galen* adviseth men to abstain as much from Harts flesh as from Asses, for it engendereth melancholy; yet it is better in Summer then in Winter. *Simeon Sethi*, speaking of the hot Countries, forbiddeth to eat them in Summer, because then they eat Serpents, and so are venomous; which falleth not out in colder Nations, and therefore assigneth them rather to be eaten in Wiuter time, because the concoctive powers are more stronger through plenty of inward heat; but withal admonisheth, that no man use to eat much of them, for it will breed Palsies and trembling in mans body, begetting grosse humors, which stop the Milt and Liver: and *Auicen* proveth, that by eating thereof men incur the quartane Ague; wherefore it is good to powder them with salt before the dressing, and then seasoned with Peper and other things, known to every ordinary Cook and woman, they make of them Pasties in most Nations," p. 103, ed. 1658.

l. 694. *Blanchmanger*, a made dish of Cream, Eggs, and Sugar, put into an open puff paste bottom, with a loose cover. *Blamanger*, is a Capon roast

or boile, minced small, planched (sic) Almonds beaten to paste, Cream, Eggs, Grated Bread, Sugar and Spices boiled to a pap. R. Holme.

l. 694. *Po = tage* is strong Broth of Meat, with Herbs and Spices Boiled. *Pottage* is the Broth of Flesh or Fowl, with Herbs and Oatmeal boiled therein. R. Holme.

l. 694, *Vensoun*; and l. 696, *Heironsew*.

But many men byn nowe so lekerous  
That they can not leve by store of howse,  
As brawne, bakyn, or powderd beef;  
Such lyvelod now ys no man leef,  
But venyson, wyldfowle or heronsewes,  
So newfangell be these men of her thewes;  
Moche medlyd wyne all day men drynke;  
j haue wyste wyldfowle sum tyme stynke.

*Piers of Fullham*, ll. 171-8, p. 8, v. 2, of *Early Popular Poetry*,

ed. Hazlitt, 1866.

l. 695, *Bustard*. "Cap. xv. The Bistarda is a birde as great as an egle, of the maner of an egle, and of suche colour, saue in the winges & in the tayle it hath some white feders; he hath a crooked byll, & longe talants. and it is slowe of flight / & whan he is on the grownde, than must he ryse .iij. or iiij. tymes or he can come to any fulle flight. he taketh his mete on the erth; for .v. or .vi. of them togeder be so bold that they festen on a shepe & tere hym a-sonder / & so ete the flesshe of him / & this birde dothe ete also of dede bestes & stinkyn caryon, and it eteth also grasse & grene erbes / & it layth his eggis vpon the grounde, & bredeth them out the while that the corne groweth on the felde."—L. Andrewe, *Noble Lyffe*, l. ij back.

l. 695, *Crane*. "Cap. lix. The Crane is a great byrde / and whan they flye, they be a greate many of them to-gyder in ordre, and a-monge them they chose a kyng the whiche they obey / whan the crane sleepth, than standeth he vpon one fote *wit*h his hede vnder his winges / & ther is one *that* kepeth the wache *wit*h his hede vpryght to-wardes the ayre / & whan they ete, than the kyng kepeth the wache fore them, and than the cranes ete *without* sorowe. Aristotiles sayth *that* aboute Egipt in farre londes come the cranes in the winter / and there the fight *wit*h the pygmeis as before is shewed in the .c. & .xvi. chapter.\*

#### The Operacion.

Rasi. The flesshe of him is grosse, & not good to disiest / & it maketh melancolious blode. ¶ The crane that is kille in somer shalbe hanged vp one

\* Pigmeis be men & women, & but onc cubite longe, dwellinge in the mountaynes of ynde | they be full growen at their third yere, & at their seuen yere they be olde | & they gader them in may a grete company togeder, & arme them in theyr best maner | and than go they to the water syde, & where-so-euer they fynde any cranes nestis they breake all the eggis, & kyll all the yonges *that* they fynde | and this they do because the cranes do them many displeasures, & fight with them oftentimes, & do them great scathe | but these folke couer their houses *wit*h the cranes feders & egshels. fol. h. ij. back.

daye / and in winter season .ij. dayes or it be eten, and than it is the more disiestious."—L. Andrewe, *Noble Lyffe*. Pt. II. (n. iij.)

l. 695, *peacock*. "Paon revestu. A Peacocke flayed, parboyled, larded, and stucke thicke with Cloues; then roasted, with his feet wrapped vp to keepe them from scorching; then couered againe with his owne skinne as soone as he is cold, and so vnderpropped that, as aliuie, hee seemes to stand on his legs: In this equipage a gallant, and daintie seruice."—1611, *Cotgrave*.

l. 695, *Peacock*. "Pauo / the peocke is a very fayre byrde / and it hath a longe necke, and hath on his hede feders lyke a lytell crowne / he hathe a longe tayle the whyche he setteth on hye very rycheli, but whan he loketh on hys lothly fete, he lateth his tayle sinke. Be nyght, whan the Pecoocke can nat see hymselfe, thaz he cryeth ernefully, and thynketh that he hath lost hys beautye / and with his crye he feareth all serpentes / in suche maners that they dare nat abyde in those places whereas they here hym crye / and whan the peocke clymmeth hye, that is a token of rayne. . . also the peocke is envious & wylle nat knowe his youges tyll that they haue the crowne of feders vpon theyr hede, and that they begynne to lyken hym. . . The flesshe of hym will nat lightly rote nor stynke / and it is euyll flesshe to disiest, for it can nat lightly be rosted or soden ynough."—L. Andrewe, *Noble Lyffe* (o. iv.), Cap. xci.

l. 696, *Heironsew*. Ardea is a byrde that fetcheth his mete in y<sup>e</sup> water, & yet he byldeth vpon the hiest trees that he can. This birde defendeth his yonges from y<sup>e</sup> goshawke, castinge his dounge vpon him / & than the fedders of the goshawke rote of y<sup>e</sup> dounge of ardea as far as it touchet[h]. *Nob. Lyffe*, L. ij.

l. 696, *Partrich*. "Cap. xcvi. Perdix is a byrde very wylde, & the cockes fecht oftentymes for the hennes. and these byrdes flye of no heght / and they put theyr hedes in the erthe, & they thinke that they than be well hyden, for whan she seeth nobody she thinketh that nobody seeth here. & she bredeth out other partriches egges / for whan she hath lost her eyes, thaz she steleth other egges & bredeth them / & whan they be hatched that they can go on the grounde / than this damme setteth them out of the nest / but whan they be a-brode, & here the wyse of theyr owne dammes, incontinent they leue theyr damme that brought them up, & go to their owne natural damme / & than she that brought them vp hath lost her labour. The Operacion. The flesshe of a partriche is most holsomest of all wylde fowles, the brest & vppermoste parte of the bodie is the swetest, & hathe the best sanoure / but the hinder parte is nat so swete." L. Andrewe, *Noble Lyffe*, sign. p. i. & back.

l. 698, *Lark*. Alauda: the larke is a lytel birde, & with euery man well beknowen through his songe / in the somer thei begynneth to singe in the dawning of the day, geuynge knowlege to the people of the cominge of the daye; and in fayre weder he reioyseth sore / but whan it is rayne weder, than it singeth selden / he singeth nat sittinge on the grownde nouthur / but whan he assendith vwarde, he syngeth mereli / & in the descending it falleth to the grownde lyke a stone. The Operacion. The larkes flesshe hardeneth the beli, and the brothe of hym that he was soden in, slaketh the beli. L. Andrewe, *Noble Lyffe*, sign. L. iv. back, and L. i.

l. 706, *Snyte* or Snipe. "Cap. lxxxiiij. Nepa is a byrde with a longe byll / & he putteth his byll in the erthe for to seke the worms in the grounde / and they put their bylles in the erthe sometyme so depe that they can nat gete it vp agayne / & than they scrache theyr billes out agayn with theyr fete. This birde resteth betimes at nyght / and they be erly abrode on the morninge / & they haue swete flesshe to be eaten." L. Andrewe, *Noble Lyffe*.

l. 706, *Sparow*. "Passer / The Sparowe is a lytell byrde / and whan the cucko fyndeth the sparowes nest / than he supbeth vp the egges, & layeth newe egges hym self therin agayne / & the sparowe bredeth vp these yonge cuckoes tyl they can flee; than a great many of olde sparowes geder to-geder to thentent that thei sholde holde vp the yonge sparowes that can nat flee / & theyr mete is wormes of the erthe. . . All sparowes flesshe is euyl / and their egges also. The flessch is very hote, and moueth to the operacion of lechery." L. Andrewe, *Noble Lyffe* (o. iv.), Cap. xci.

l. 713. *Comfits* are round, long or square pellets of Sugar made by the Art of a Confectioner. R. Holme.

l. 737, *Eles*. Trevisa in his *Higden* says of Britain 'þe lond ys noble, copious, & ryche of noble welles, & of noble ryvers wip plente of fysch. þar ys gret plente of smal fysch & of eeles, so þat cherles in som place feedeþ sowes wip fysch.' *Morris's Specimens*, p. 334.

Comyth ther not al day owt of hollond and flaundre  
Off fatte eles full many a showte,

And good chepe, who that wayteth the tyddys abowte ?

*Piers of Fullham*, ll. 71-3, *Early Pop. Poetry*, v. 2, p. 4 (and see ll. 7-10).

l. 747, 812. *Minoes*, so called either for their littleness, or (as Dr. Cajus imagined) because their fins be of so lively a red, as if they were died with the true Cinnabre-lake called *Minium*: They are less than Loches, feeding upon nothing, but licking one another . . . they are a most delicate and light meat . . . either fried or sodden. *Muffett*, p. 183.

l. 758. *Towse*. Can this be a form of *dough*? G. P. Marsh.

l. 782. Sotiltees were made of sugar and wax. *Lel. Coll.* VI. p. 31. Pegge.

l. 788-795, *Sanguineus*, *Colericus*, *Fleumaticus*, *Malencolicus*. Men were divided into these four classes, according to their humours. Laurens Andrewe says, in his *Noble Lyffe*, "And the bodij of man is made of many diuers sortes of lymmes / as senewes / vaynes / fatte / flesshe & skynne. And also of the foure moistours / as sanguyne / flematyke / coleryke & melaucoly." (fol. a. iv. back) col. 2. In his Chapter "Howe that man commeth into the house of dethe," he has drawings of these four types of man, on either side of King Death & the skeleton under him. Men die, he says in thre ways. 1. by one of the four elements of which they are made, overcoming the others; 2. by *humidum radicale* or 'naturall moystour' forsaking them; 3. by wounds; "& these thre maners of dethes be contained in the four complexcions of man / as in the sanguyne / colerike / flematike / & melancoly. The sanguyne wareth oftentimes so olde through gode gouernaunce / that he must occupy



spectacles, & liue longe or *hummidum radicale* departe frome him / but than he dyeth. The colerike commeth oftentimes to\* dethe he accidental maner through his hastines, for he is of nature hote & drye. The flematike commeth often to dethe thorough great excesse of mete & drinke, or other great labours doinge / for his nature is colde and moyste, & can not well disiest. And melancoly is heuy / full of care. & heuynes / whereof he engendereth moche euyll blode that causeth great sekenes, which bringeth him vnto dethe. Thus go we al vnto the howse of dethe / the one thrugh ensuyng of his complexion / the other through the ordenances of almyghty god. The thirde through the planetis & signes of the firmament." fol. a. vi.

l. 799, *Beef*. Laurens Andrewe, *Noble Lyffe*, sign. C. i., Pt. i. says, "Of the oxce, ca. xiiij. "The oxce is a companable beste, & amonge his compani he is very meke / & alwaye he seketh his felowe that was wont to go in the plowghe wyth hym / and whan he fyndeth nat his felow, than cryeth he wyth a lowde voyce, makyng gret mone / as it were one *that* wolde make a mourninge complaynt. A bull lyueth .xv. yere, and a oxce .xx. yere. ¶ Isaac sayth that an oxce flesshe is the dryest flesshe amonge all other / & his blode is nat bolsome to be eten, for it wyll nat lightly disieste. & therfore it fedeth sore, & it maketh euyll humoures, & bredeth melancoly / & they melancolicus that eat moche suche metes be like to suffer many diseases, as to gete an harde mylte / the febris quartayn / the dropcy / mangnies, lepry, &c."

l. 799, *Mutton*. Wether mutton was rightly held the best. See "The operacion" below. "¶ Of the Ramme or weddr. Ca. iij. Ysydorus sayth that the ramme or wedder is the lodysman of other shepe / and he is the male or man of the oye, and is stronger than the other shepe / & he is also called a wedder because of a worme that he hath in his hede / & whan that beginneth for to stirre, than wyll he tucke and fecht / and he fereth naturally the thonder, as other shepe dothe. For whan a shepe is with frute, hering the thonder, she casteth her frute, and bryngeth it dede to the worlde. and the wedder in the tyme that he bespryngeth the oye, than is it in the tyme of loue amonge the shepe / and the Ramme or wedder wyl fecht holdly for theyr wyues one with another . . . ."

#### The Operacion.

¶ The flesshe of a yonge wether that is gelded is moch better than any other motton / for it is nat so moyste as other motton, and it is hoter, and whan it disgesteth well it maketh gode blode / but the flesshe of an oled ramme wyll nat lightly disgest, & that is very euyll." L. Andrewe, *Noble Lyffe*, Pt. I. sign. b. i. back.

l. 800, *Chykon*. On the cocke & hen L. Andrewe discourses as follows : "the Cocke is a noble hyrde with a combe on his hed & vnder his iawes / he cróweth in the night heuely & light in the morninge / & is fare herd with the winde. The lyon is afraid of the cocke / & specially of the whyte / the crowyng of the cocke is swete & profitable; he wakeneth the sleper / he conforteth the sorowful / & reioyseth the wakers in tokenyng *that* the night is passed . . . The flesshe of the coscke is grosser than the flesshe of the

\* orig. do.

hezne or capon. Nota / the olde cockes flesshe is tenderer than the yonge. The capons flesshe is mightiest of all fowles & maketh gode blode. Auicenna. The cokereles flesshe *that* neuer crewe is better than *the* olde cockes flesshe: the stones be gode for them that haue to light a disiestyon / the brothe of hym is gode for the payn in *the* mawe *that* commeth of wynde." *Noble Lyffe*, n. i. back. Of the hen, L. Andrewe says: "the hezne is *the* wyfe of the cocke / & ye shall lay odde egges vnder her for to hache / . . . The flesshe of the yonge hezne or she haue layde / is better than of the olde hezne / also the grese of the cheken is moche hoter than of the hezne." *Noble Lyffe*, n. i. back.

l. 802, *Goose*. "The tame gese . . . be heuy in fleinge, gredi at their mete, & diligent to theyr rest / & they crye the houres of y<sup>e</sup> night, & therwith they fere y<sup>e</sup> theues. In the hillis of alpis be gese as great, nere hande, as an ostriche: they be so heuy of body that they cannot flee, & so me take them with the hande . . . The gese flessch is very grose of nature in disiestion." *Noble Lyffe*, L. i. back. Part ii. cap. 10.

l. 803, *Capon*. "Gallinacius / the capon is a gelded cocke / & because *that* he is gelded he waxeth the soner fatte / & though he go with the hennes, he dothe nat defende them / nor he croweth nat." L. Andrewe, *Noble Lyffe*, fol. n. ij.

l. 804, *Eggis*. "the new lyde egges be better than the olde / the heune egges be better than ani other egges, whan thei be fresshe, & specialli whan thei be rere, than they make gode blode / but the egges that be harde rosted be of *the* grose metis.

#### The Operacion.

All maners of egges waken a man to the worke of lecherie, & specialli sparowes egges. Auicenna: The ducke egges & suche like make grose humoures. The best of the egges is the yolke, & that causeth sperma / the white of the egge enclineth to be cole. whan an hezne shall brede, take hede of those egges that be blont on bothe endes, & thei shal be hezne chekens / & those that be longe & sharpe on bothe endes shall be cocke chekens." L. Andrewe. *Noble Lyffe* (o iij. back).

l. 808, *Lamb*. Laurens Andrewe, Pt. i. says. ¶ Of the Lamme. Cap. primo. In the beginnyng we haue the Lamme, because he is the moste mekest beste leuinge, for it offendeth nobody / and all that he hathe on him is gode / y<sup>e</sup> flesshe for to eate, the skynne to make parchement or ledder / the donge for to donge the felde / the clawes & hornes be medicinable / he dredeth the wolfe sore / & he knoweth his damme best be her bleting, though she be amonge many shepe.

#### The Operacion.

The Lamme that souketh his damme hath his flesshe very slymie, & nat lowable / and it will nat be digested, principally of them that haue cold stomakes. lammes of a yere olde be better & lighter to digest / & they make gode blode / and specyally they be gode for theym that be hote & drye of complexyon & dwell in a hote & drye lande / lammes flesshe is very gode for one that is hole & lusti, but for them *that* be seke it is very euyl: though

it lightly digest and descende out of the man / yet it is euyl for other partes of the body, for it maketh slimy humours. sign. b. i.

l. 808, *Cony*. "The coney is a lytel beste dwellynge in an hole of the erthe / & thore as he vseth he encreaseth very moche, and therefore he is profitable for man, for he casteth oftentimes in the yere . . . Ysaac sayth. That conys flesshe hath properli *the* vertue to strenge *the* mawe and to dissolue the hely / and it casseth moche vryne." *The Noble Lyffe*, sign. e. i.

l. 811. *Mead* or *Meath*, a drink made of Ginger, Sugar, Honey and Spring water boiled together. R. Holme.

*Metheglin*, a drink made of all sorts of wholesome Herbs boiled and strained with Honey and Water, and set to work with Bearm, as Ale or Beer. R. *Holme*. Dan. *miod*.

l. 811. *Braggot*. This drinke is of a most hot nature, as being compos'd of Spices, and if it once scale the sponce, and enter within the circumclusion of the *Perrieranion*, it doth much accelerate nature, by whose forcible attraction and operation, the drinker (by way of distribution) is easily enabled to afford blowes to his brother. In Taylor. *Drink & Welcome*, 1637, A 3, back.

l. 812. Mussels (*Mityli, Chamæ*) were never in credit, but amongst the poorer sort, till lately the lilly-white Mussel was found out about Romers-wall, as we sail betwixt Flushing and Bergen-up-Zon, where indeed in the heat of Sommer they are commonly and much eaten without any offence to the head, liver, or stomach: yea my self (whom once twenty Mussels had almost poisoned at Cambridg, and who have seen sharp, filthy, and cruel diseases follow the eating of English Mussels) did fill my self with those Mussels of the Low Country, being never a whit distempered with my bold adventure. *Muffett*, p. 159.

l. 824, *Samon*.

Also sumtyme where samons vsen for to haunte,  
Lampreys, luces, or pykkes plesaunte,  
wenyth the fyscher suche fysche to fynde.

*Piers of Fullham*, ll. 11-13.

l. 828. *Torrentyne*. The passage before that quoted from Aldrovandi, de Piscibus, p. 585, in the note, is, "Truttia, siue ut Platina scribit Truta, siue Trotta Italicum nomen est, à Gallis, quibus Troutte vel potius Truette, vel ab Anglis quibus à Trute, vel Trovvt appellant, acceptum. Rhæti qui Italica lingua corrupta vtuntur, Criues vocant, teste Gesnero." The special fish from the Tarentine gulf is the "Tarentella, Piscis genus. Tract. MS. de Pisc. cap. 26 ex Cod. reg. 6838. C.: *Magnus thunnus, is scilicet qui a nostris Ton vocatur . . . dicitur Italis Tarentella, a Tarentino, unde advehitur, sinu.*" Ducange, ed. 1846.

l. 838. *Hake*. *Merlucius* (or *Gadus*) *vulgaris* Y. ii. 258, 'the Seapike. . . It is a coarsc fish, not admitted to the tables of the wealthy; but large quantities are annually preserved both by salting and drying, part of which is exported to Spain.' 'Fish, samon, *hake*, herynge' are some of the commodities of Irelande mentioned in the *Libelle* (A.D. 1436), p. 186.

- l. 840, *reffett*. In the following extract *refete* has the *Promptorium* meaning :  
 eteth of the [full grown] fysche, and be not so lykerous,  
 Let the yong leve that woll be so plenteous ;  
 ffor though the bottomles helyes be not ffyllyd with such *refete*,  
 Yet the saver of sauze may make yt good mete.  
*Piers of Fullham*, ll. 80-3, *E. Pop. P.*, v. 2, p. 5.

- l. 842. *breme*.  
 . . y schall none pondez with pykes store,  
*Breme*, perche, ne with tenche none the more.—*Ibid.* ll. 51-2.

- l. 843, *flowndurs*.  
 But now men on deyntees so hem delyte,  
 To fede hem vpon the fysches lyte,  
 As *flowndres*, perches, and such pykyng ware ;  
 Thes can no nian gladly now-a-day spare  
 To suffyr them wex vnto resonable age.—*Ibid.* ll. 74-8.

- l. 867. *Hose*. For eight pair of *hosen* of cloth of divers colours, at xiiij s. iiij d. the pair; and for four pair "of sokks of fustian" at iij d. the pair (p. 118) . . for making and lyning of vj pair of *hosen* of puke lyned with cloth of the goodes of the saide Richard, for lynyng of every pair iij s. iiij d. xx s. *Wardrobe Accountis of Edw. IV.* (ed. Nicolas) p. 120.

- l. 879. Combing the bead was specially enjoined by the doctors. See A. Borde, Vaughan, &c., below.

- l. 915. *Fustian*. March, 1503, 'for v yerdes *fustyan* for a cote at vij d. the yerd ij s. xj d.' Nicolas's Elizabeth of York, p. 105. See A. Borde, below. 'Coleyne threde, *fustiane*, and canvase' are among the 'commodites . . fro Pruse ibroughte into Flaundes,' according to the *Libelle*, p. 171,

But tha Flemmyngis amonge these thinges dere  
 In comen lowen beste bacon and bere :  
 Thus arn thy hogges, and drynkwe wele staunt ;  
 Fare wele Flemynge, hay, horys, hay, avaunt. (See n. p. 131, below.)

- A. Borde, in his *Introduction*, makes one of the Januayes (Genoese) say,

I makc good treacle, and also *fustian*,  
 With such thynges I crauft with many a pore man.

- l. 941-5. See the extracts from Andrew Borde, W. Vaughan, &c., below.

- l. 945. The Motte bredethe amonge clothes tyll that they have byten it a sonder / & it is a maniable worm, and yet it hydeth him in y<sup>e</sup> clothe that it can scantly be sene / & it bredethe gladly in clothes that haue ben *in* an euyll ayre, or in a rayn or myst, and so layde vp without hanging in the sonne or other swete ayre after.

#### The Operacyon.

The erbes that be bitter & well smellinge is good to be layde amonge suche clothes / as the bayc leuis, cypres wode. *The Noble Lyffe* (i. 3.) Pt. i. Cap. c.xlij. sign. i. 3.

- l. 969. *Catte*. The mouse hounter or catte is an onclene beste, & a

poyson enemy to all myse / and whan she hath gotten [one], she playeth therwith / but yet she eteth it / & y<sup>e</sup> catte hath lonze here on her mouthe / and whan her heres be gone, than hathe she no boldnes / and she is gladli in a warme place / and she licketh her forefete & wassheth therwith her face. Laurens Andrewe, *The Noble Lyffe* (g. iv.), Part I. cap. c.i.

l. 970, *dogge*. Here is the first part of Laurens Andrewe's Chapter.

Of the dogge. ca. xxiiiij.

The dogge is an onclenly beste / *that* eteth so moche that he vomyteth it out & eteth it vp agayne / it is lightly angry, and byteth gladly *straunge* dogges / he barketh moche / he kn[oweth] his name well / he is hered [all over his b]ody, he loueth his mast[er], and is eselye] lerned to many games / & bc night he kepeth the house. There be many houndes *that* for the loue of theyr maister they will romne in their owne dethe / & whan the dogge is seke / he seketh grasse or other erbes / & that he eteth, and heleth himselfe so / and there be many maner of dogges or houndes to hawke & hunt, as grayhoundes / braches / spanyellis, or suche other, to hunt hert and hynde / & other bestes of chace & venery, &c. and suche be named *gentyll* houndes. The bitche hath mylke .v. or vij. dayes or she litter her whelpes / and that milke is thicker than any other mylke excepte swynes mylke or hares mylke. fol. c. iv.

l. 970, *Catte*. L. Andrewe says

"Of the Catte. ca. xxv.

The catte is a beste *that* seeth sharpe, and she byteth sore / and scratcheth right perylously / & is principall enemye to rattis & myce / & her colour is of nature graye / and the cause *that* they be other wyse colowred, that *commethe* through chaunge of mete, as it is well marked by the house catte, for they be selden colored lyke the wylde catte. & their flesshe is bothe nesse & softe." *Noble Lyffe*, Part II. c. iv.

l. 983. *Bathe*. 'Bathing is harmful to them [who are splenic] chiefly after meat, and copulation (following) on surfeit. . . Let him also bathe himself in sweet water. Without, he is to be leechd and smeared with oil of roses, and with onlayings (or poultices made of) wine and grapes, and often must an onlay be wrought of butter, and of new wax, and of hyssop and of oil; mingle with goose grease or lard of swine, and with frankincense and mint; and when he bathes let him smear himself with oil; mingle (it) with saffron.' *Leechdoms*, v. 2, p. 245.

l. 987. *Scabiosa*, so named of old tyme, because it is giuen in drinke inwardly, or ointmentes outwardly, to heale scabbes, sores, corrupcion in the stomacke, yea, and is most frend among all other herbes in the tyme of the Pestilence, to drinke the water with Mithridatum a mornynge. . . the flowers is like a Blewe or white thrummed hatte, the stalk rough, the vpper leaues ragged, and the leaues next the grose rootes be plainer. Under whom often tymes, Frogges will shadowe them selues, from the heate of the daie: hoppyng and playng vnder these leaues, whiche to them is a pleasaunt Tente or pauillion, saith Aristophanes, whiche maie a plade

(= made a play), wherein Frogges made pastime. *Bullein's Bulwarke*, 1562, or, *The booke of Simples*, fol. xvj. b.

l. 995. *Bilgres*. Can this be *bugloss*? I find this, as here, in juxtaposition with *scabiose*, in *Bullein's Bulwarke of Defence*, Book of Simples, fol. xvj. b. G. P. Marsh.

l. 1004. For Selden's Chapter on Precedence, see his *Titles of Honour*, ch. xi. Rouge Dragon (Mr G. Adams) tells me that the order of precedence has varied from time to time, and that the one now in force differs in many points from Russell's.

l. 1040. *Nurrieris*. I find no such name in Selden's chap. ix., Of Women. Does the word mean 'foster-mothers or fathers,' from the Latin "Nutricarii, Matricularii, quibus enutriendi ac educandi infantes projectos cura incumbat: *Nourissiers*. Vita S. Goaris cap. 10: *Hæcque consuetudo erat, ut quando aliquis homo de ipsis infantibus projectis misericordia vellet curam habere, ab illis, quos Nutricarios vocant, matriculariis S. Petri compararet, et illi Episcopo ipsum infantem præsentare deberent, et postea Episcopi auctoritas eundem hominem de illo Nutricario confirmabat. Id clarius explicatur a Wandelberto in Vita ejusdem Sancti*, cap. 20." Ducange, ed. 1845.

The following list of Names of Fish, from Yarrell, may be found convenient for reference.

*Names of Fish from Yarrell's History of British Fish, 1841, 2nd ed.*

English Names.	Latin Names.	Yar., vol., page
Basse	<i>Perca labrax</i>	i 8
Bleak	<i>Luciscus</i> , or <i>Cyprinus alburnus</i>	i 419
Bream or Carp-Bream	<i>Abramis</i> , or <i>Cyprinus brama</i>	i 382
„ the common Sea-	<i>Pagellus centrodontus</i>	i 123
Brill, or Pearl, Kite,	<i>Rhombus vulgaris</i> , or	
BRETT, Bonnet-Fleuk	<i>Pleuronectes rhombus</i>	ii 231
Butt, Flook, or Flounder	<i>Pleuronectes flesus</i> , or	ii 303
	<i>Platessa flesus</i>	
Common Cod, or Keeling	<i>Morrhua vulgaris</i> , or	ii 221
	<i>Gadus morrhua</i> (Jenyns)	
Green Cod	<i>Merlangus virens</i> (Cuvier)	ii 256
	<i>Gadus virens</i> (Linnæus)	
Conger	<i>Conger vulgaris</i> , or <i>Muraena conger</i>	ii 402
Dace, Dare, or Dait	<i>Leuciscus vulgaris</i> , or <i>Cyprinus leuciscus</i>	i 404
Dog Fish (the common),	<i>Spinax acanthias</i> , or	ii 524
The Picked Dog-Fish, or	<i>Squalus acanthias</i>	
Bone Dog (Sussex), Hoe		
(Orkney)		
Small Spotted Dog Fish	<i>Scyllium canicula</i> , or	ii 487
or Morgay (Scotl.), Robin	<i>Squalus canicula</i>	
Huss (Sussex Coast)		
Large Spotted Dog Fish, or	<i>Scyllium stellaris</i>	ii 493
Bounce (Scotl. & Devon)		

English Names.	Latin Names.	Yar., vol., page
Black-mouthed Dog-Fish, or Eyed Dog-Fish (Cornwall)	<i>Scyllium melanostomum</i>	ii 495
The Smooth Hound or Shate-toothed Shark, Ray-mouthed Dog (Cornwall)	<i>Squalus mustelus</i> , or <i>Mustelus lævis</i>	ii 512
Dory, or Dorée	<i>Zeus faber</i>	i 183
Sharp-nosed Eel	<i>Anguilla acutirostris</i> , or <i>vulgaris</i>	ii 381
Broad-nosed Eel	<i>Anguilla latirostris</i>	ii 396
Flounder, or Flook (Merret). Mayock, Fluke (Edinb.), Butt.	<i>Platessa fesus</i>	ii 303
Grayling	<i>Thymallus vulgaris</i> , or <i>Salmo thymallus</i>	ii 136
Gudgeon	<i>Gobio fluviatilis</i> , or <i>Cyprinus gobio</i>	i 371
Red Gurnard	<i>Trigla cuculus</i> , or <i>lineata</i>	i 38-63
Haddock	<i>Morrhua æglefinus</i> , or <i>Gadus æglefinus</i>	ii 233
Hake	<i>Merlucius vulgaris</i> , or <i>Gadus merlucius</i>	ii 253
Herring	<i>Clupea harengus</i>	ii 183
Holibut	<i>Hippoglossus vulgaris</i> , or <i>Pleuronectes hippoglossus</i>	ii 321
Hornfish, GARFISH, Sea-pike, Long Nose, &c.	<i>Belone vulgaris</i> , or <i>Esox belone</i>	i 442
Keeling. See Common Cod		ii 221
Lampern, or River Lamprey *	<i>Petromyzon fluviatilis</i>	ii 604
Lamprey	<i>Petromyzon marinus</i>	ii 598
Ling	<i>Lota molva</i> (Cuvier), or <i>Gadus molva</i> (Linnæus)	ii 264
Luce, or PIKE	<i>Esox lucius</i>	i 434
Lump-fish		ii 365
Mackarel	<i>Scomber scombrus</i> , or <i>vulgaris</i>	i 137
Merling, or Whiting	<i>Merlangus vulgaris</i> (Cuvier), or <i>Gadus merlangus</i> (Linnæus)	ii 244
Minnow	<i>Leuciscus</i> , or <i>Cyprinus phoxinus</i>	i 423
Mullet, grey, or Common	<i>Mugil capito</i> , or <i>cephalus</i>	i 234
Muræna	<i>Muræna Helena</i>	ii 406
Perch	<i>Perca fluviatilis</i>	i 1
Pike	<i>Esox lucius</i>	i 434
Plaice	<i>Platessa vulgaris</i>	ii 297
Roach	<i>Cyprinus rutilus</i>	i 399
Salmon	<i>Salmo Salar</i>	ii 1

\* The Lamperns have been taken in the Thames at Teddington this autumn (1866) in extraordinary quantities.

English Names.	Latin Names.	Yar., vol., page
Smelt. <i>Spirling</i> and <i>Sparling</i> in Scotland	<i>Salmo Sperlanus</i> , or <i>Osmerus Sperlanus</i>	ii 75 & 129
Sturgeon, the Common,	<i>Acipenser Sturio</i>	ii 475
„ the Broad-nosed	<i>Acipenser latirostris</i>	ii 479
Swordfish	<i>Xiphias gladius</i>	i 164
Tench	<i>Tinca vulgaris</i> , or <i>Cyprinus tinca</i>	i 375
Thornback	<i>Raiu clavata</i>	ii 583
Trout, Common	<i>Salmo fario</i>	ii 85
Turbot, or Rawn Fleuk and Bannock Fluck (Scotl.)	<i>Rhombus maximus</i> , or <i>Pleuronectes maximus</i>	ii 324
Vendace or Vendis (? Venprides, l. 821, Russell)	<i>Coregonus Willughbii</i> , or <i>Coregonus Marænula</i> (Jenyns)	ii 146
Whiting, or Merling	<i>Merlangus vulgaris</i> (Cuvier) <i>Gadus merlangus</i> (Linnæus)	ii 244



Extracts about Fish from "The noble lyfe & natures  
of man, Of bestes / serpyntys / fowles & fisshes  
þ̄ be moste knowen."

A VERY rare black-letter book, without date, and hitherto undescribed, except perhaps incorrectly by Ames (vol. 1, p. 412, and vol. 3, p. 1531), has been lent to me by Mr Algernon Swinburne. Its title is given above: "The noble lyfe and natures of man" is in large red letters, and the rest in smaller black ones, all surrounded by woodcuts of the wonderful animals, mermaids, serpents, birds, quadrupeds with men's and women's heads, a stork with its neck tied in a knot, and other beasts "þ̄ be most knowen." The illustrations to each chapter are wonderfully quaint. The author of it says in his Prologus "In the name of ower sauour criste Iesu, maker & redemour of al mankynd / I Lawrens Andrewe of the towne of Calis haue translated for Johannes does-borrowe, booke prenter in the cite of Andwarpe, this present volume deuyded in thre partes, which were neuer before in no maternall langage prentyd tyl now /" As it is doubtful whether another copy of the book is known, I extract from the Third Part of this incomplete one such notices of the fish mentioned by Russell or Wynkyn de Worde, as it contains, with a few others for curiosity's sake:—

here after followeth of the natures of the fisshes of the See whiche be right profitable to be vnderstande / Wherof I wyll wryte be the helpe and grace of almighty god, to whose laude & prayse this mater ensueth.

CAP. PRIMO.

**A** Bremon\* is a fruteful fisshes that hathe moche sede / but it is nat through mouynge of the he / but only of the owne proper nature / and than she rubbeth her belly upon the grounde or sande / and is sharpe in handelinge / & salt of sauour / and this fisshes saueth her yonges in her bely whan it is tempestius weder / & when the weder is ouerpast, than she vomyteth them out agayne.

*Abremon*;  
? not *Bream* (see  
Cap. xiii; p. 115  
here)

\* *ἀβραμῖς*, a fish found in the sea and the Nile, perhaps the *bream*, Opp. Hal. i. 244. Liddell & Scott.

## Cap. ij.

*Eel* (Russell, l. 719).

Is of no sex;

is best roasted.

**A** Nguilla / the Ele is lyke a serpent of fascyon, & may leue eight yere, & without water vi. dayes when the wind is in the northe / in the winter they wyll haue moche water, & that clere / amonge them is nouthr male nor female / for they become fisshes of *the* slyme of other fisshes / they must be flaync / they suffer a longe dethe / they be best rosted, but it is longe or they be ynouge / the droppinge of it is gode for paines in the eares.

## Cap. iij.

*Herring* (Russell, l. 722).

Is delicious when fresh,  
(Russell, l. 748)  
or salted.

Dies when it feels the air.

**A** Lec, the heringe, is a Fisse of the see / & very many be taken betweene bretayn & germaia / & also in denmarke aboute a place named schonen / And he is best from the begynnyng of August to december / and when he is fresshe taken / he is a very delicious to be eten. And also whan he hath ben salted he is a specyall fode vnto man / He can nat leue *with*out water, for as sone as he feleth the ayre he is dede / & they be taken in gret hepis togeder / & specially where they se light, there wyll they be, than so they be taken with nettis / which commeth be the diuync Prouydens of almighty God.

## Cap. v.

*Whale?* (Russell, l. 682).

Shipmen cast anchor on him,

and make a fire on him.

He swims away, and drowns them.

**A** Spidochelon / as Physiologus saith, it is a monstrous thinge in the see, it is a gret whale fissh, & hath an ouer-growen rough skizne / & he is moste parte *with* his bake on hye aboute the water in such maner that some shypmen *that* see him, wene that it is a lytell ylande / & whan they come be it, they cast their ankers upon him / & go out of theyr shippes & make a fyre upon hym to dresse theyr metys / and as sone as he feleth the hete of the fyre / *thax*ne he swymmeth fro the place, & drowne them, & draweth the shippe to the grounde / And his proper nature is, whan he hath yonges, *that* he openeth his mouthe wyde open / & out of it fleeth a swete ayre / *to the* which the fisshes resorte, and *thax* he eteth them.

*Goldenpoll?*

**A** Aurata is a fysshe in the see *that* hathe a hede shynyng lyke golde.

## Cap. xi.

*Ahuua.*

When the Ahuua is in danger,

he pnts his head in his belly, and

**A** Huua is a monster of the see very glorisshe, as Albertus saith / what it eteth it tourneth to greas in his body / it hathe no mawe but a bely / & that he filleth so full that he speweth it out agayne / & that can he do so lyghtly / for he hath no necke / whan he is in peryl of dethe be other fisshes / than he onfacyoneth himselfe as rounde as a bowle, *with*drawnyng his hede into his bely / whax he hathe then honger / He

dothe ete a parte of himsele rather than *the* other fishes sholde ete him hole and all. eats a bit of himself.

## Cap. xiii.

**B**Orbotha be fishes very slepery, somewhat lyke an ele / Borbotha.  
 hauinge wyde mouthes & great hedes / it is a swete mete /  
 and whan it is xij. yere olde, than it waxeth bigge of body.  
 Nota / Botte that is a flouder of the fresshe water / & they  
 swimme on the flatte of their body, & they haue finnes rounde  
 about theyr body & *with* a sothern wynde they waxe fatte /  
 & they haue rede spottis. Brenna is a breme, & it is a fishe  
 of the riuier / & whan he seeth the pyke that wyll take hym /  
 than he sinketh to the botom of *the* water & maketh it so  
 trobelous that the pyke can nat se hym. Butt, or Flounder (Russell, l. 735, and note 2). Bream (Russell, l. 745, 578).

## Cap. xiiii.

**B**alena is a great beste in the see, and bloweth moche water  
 from him, as if it were a clowde / the shippes be in great  
 daunger of him somtyme / & they be sene moste towardes  
 winter / for in the somer they be hidden in swete brod places  
 of the water where it casteth her yonges, & suffereth so grete  
 payne *that than* he feteth aboute the water as one desiringe  
 helpe / his mouth is in the face, & therefore he casteth the more  
 water / she bringeth her yonges forthe lyke other bestis ou  
 erthe, & it slepeth / in *tempestius* weder she hydeth her  
 yonges in her mouthe / and *whan* it is past she voydeth them  
 out agayne / & they growe x. yere. Balena. (The woodcut is a big Merman. See note, p. 123, here. ?Whale. Russell, l. 582.) Are seen most in winter; breed in summer. In rough weather Balena puts her young in her month.

## Cap. xvi.

**C**Aucer the creuyce is a Fische of *the* see that is closed in a  
 harde shelle, hauyng many fete and clawes / and euer it  
 crepeth backward / & the he hathe two pyznes on his bely, &  
*the* she hathe none / whan he wyll engender, he climmeth on  
 her bake, and she turneth her syde towardes him, & so they  
 fulfyll their workes. In maye they chaunge their cotes, & in  
 winter they hyde them fwe monethes duringe / whan the  
 crenes bath drowken milke it may leue longe *without* water.  
 when he is olde, he hathe ij. stones in his hed with rede  
 spottes that haue great vertue / for if they be layde in  
 drynke / they withdryue the payne frome the herte. the  
 creuyce eteth the Oysters, & geteth them be policye /  
 for whan the oyster gapeth, he throweth lytell stones in him,  
 and so geteth his fishe out, for it bydeth than open. Crevice (Sea and Fresh Water Crayfish). (Russell, l. 602, l. 618.) How they engender, and hibernate. How the Crayfish manages to eat Oysters.

## The Operacion.

¶ The Asshes of hym is gode to make white tethe / & to kepe the notes out of the clothes / it *withdryueth* byles, &

Fresh-Water  
Crayfish is hard  
to digest.

heleth mangynes. The creuyce of the fresshe water geueth gret fode, but it is an heuy mete to disieste.

Cap. xviiij.

Caucius.

Capitaius.

Carp.

Is difficult to net.

**C**AUCIUS is a fische that will nat be taken *with* no hokes / but eteth of *the* bayte & goth his way quyte. CAPITAIUS is a lytel fische *with* a great hede / a wyde rounde mouthe / & it hydeth him vnder the stones. Nota. Carpera is a carpe, & it is a fysshe that hathe great scales / and the female hathe a great rowghe, & she can bringe forthe no yonges tyll she haue receuyed mylke of her make / & that she receyueth at the mouth / and it is yll for to take / for whan it perceyueth that it shalbe taken *with* the net, than it thrusteth the hede into the muddle of the water / and than the nette slyppeth ouer him whiche waye soeuer it come; & some holde them fast be the grounde, grasse / or erbis, & so saue themselves.

Cap. xix.

Whale.

Likea Harmony.

Gets harpooned,

rubs the harpoon  
into himself, and  
slays himself.

**C**ETUS is the greatest whale fische of all / his mouthe is so wyde that he bloweth vp the water as yf it were a clowde / wher*with* he drowneth many shippes / but whan the maryners spye where he is / than thei accompany them a gret many of shippes togeder about him with diuers instrumentis of musike, & they play with grete armonye / & the fische is very gladde of this armonye / & commeth fletyng a-boue the watere to here the melody, & than they haue amonge them an instrument of yron, *the* whiche they fester in-to the harde skizne, & the weght of it synketh downwarde in to *the* fat & grese / & sodenly *with* that al *the* instrumentes of musike be styll, and *the* shippes departe frome thens, & anone he sinketh to the grownde / & he feleth *that* the salt watere smarteth in *the* wounde, than he turneth his bely vpwaerd and rubbeth his wounde agaynst *the* ground, & the more he rubbeth, the depere it entreth / & he rubbeth so longe *that* he sleeth himself / and whan he is dede, than commeth he vp agayne and sheweth him selfe dede / as he dyd before quicke / and than the shippes gader them togeder agayne, and take, & so lede hym to londe, & do theyr profyte with hym.

Cap. xxij.

Conche, or  
Muscle.

**C**ONCHE be abydyng in *the* harde shellis: as *the* mone growth or waneth, so be the conches or museles fulle or nat full, but smale / & there be many sortes of conches or muselys / but *the* best be they that haue the perles in.

Cap. xxiiij.

Sea-smalls.

**C**OOCHELE / is a snayle dwellinge in the water & also on the lozde / they go out of theyr howses / & they thraste out

.ij. longe hornes wherwith they fele wether they go / for they se nat where they crepe.

## Cap. xxiiij.

**T**He Conger is a se fische facioned like an ele / but they be *Conger.*  
 moche greter in quantyte / & whan it bloweth sore, than waxe they fatte. ¶ Polippus is also a stronge fische *that* *Polippus.*  
 onwarse he wyl pull a man out of a shyp. yet *the* conger is so stronge that he wyll tere polippum asonder with his teth, & in winter *the* conger layth in *the* depe cauernes or holes of the water. & he is nat taken but in somer. ¶ Eseulapius sayth. *Corets.*  
 Coretz is a fische that hydeth hym in the depe of *the* water whan it rayneth / for yf he receiued any rayne, he sholde waxe blynde, and dye of it. ¶ Iorath sayth. The fishes that he named se craues / whazne they haue yonges / they make suehe *Sea-crevice.*  
 noise *that* through theyr noyse they be founde and taken.

## Cap. xxvij.

**D**elphinus is a mozster of the see, & it hath no voyce, but *Dolphin or Mermaid.*  
 it singheth lyke a man / and towarde a tempest it playeth vpon the water. Some say whan they be taken that they wepe. The delphin hath none eares for to here / nor no nose for to smelle / yet it smelleth very well & sharpe. And it slepeth vpon the water very hartely, that thei be hard ronke a farre of / and thei leue C.xl. yere. & they here gladly playnge on instrumentes, as lutes / harpes / tabours / and pypes. They loue their yonges very well, and they fede them longe with the mylke of their pappes / & they haue many yonges, & amonge them all be .ij. olde ones, that yf it fortunod one of *the* yonges to dye, than these olde ones wyll burye them depe in the gorwnd [*sic*] of the see / because othere fisses sholde nat ete thys dede delphyn; so well they loue theyr yonges. There was ones a kinge *that* had taken a delphin / whyche he caused to be bounde with chaynes fast at a hauen where as the shippes come in at / & there was alway the pyteonst wepynge / and lamentyng, that the kinge coude nat for pyte / but let hym go agayne.

## Cap. xxxi.

**E**Cheola is a muskle / in whose fysshe is a precions stone / *Echeola, a Muscle.*  
 & be night they flete to the water syde / and there they receyue the heuenly dewe, where throughe there groweth in them a costly margaret or orient perle / & they flete a great many togeder / & he *that* knoweth *the* water best / gothe before & ledeth the other / & whan he is taken, all the other scater a brode, and geteth them away.

## Cap. xxxvi.

Echinus.

**E**chynus is a lytell fysshe of half a fote longe / & hath sharpe pryckles vnder his bely in stede of fete.

## Cap. xxxvii.

Esox.

**E**sox is a very grete fisse in that water danowe be the londe of hungarye / he is of suche bygnes that a carte with .iiij. horses can nat cary hym awaye / and he hath nat many bones, but his hede is full / and he hath swete fisse lyke a porke, and whan this fysshe is taken, thazne geue hym mylke to drynke, and ye may carye hym many a myle, and kepe hym longe quicke.

## xxxviii.

Phocas.

Kills his wife and gets another.

**F**Ocas is a see bulle, & is very stronge & dangerous / and he feghteth euer with his wyf tyll she be dede / and whan he hath kylled her, than he casteth her out of his place, & seketh another, and leueth with her very well tyl he dye / or tyll his wyfe ouercome him and kyll hym / he bydeth alway in one place / he and his yonges leue be suche as they can gete. ¶ Halata is a beste that dothe on-naturall dedys / for whaz she feleth her yonges quycke, or stere in her body / thaz she draweth them out & loketh vpon them / yf she se they be to yonge, thaz she putteth them in agayne, & lateth them grow tyll they be bygger.

## Cap. xv.

Sword-Fish.

Gastarios.

Glaucus.

**G**Ladius is a fisse so named because he is mouthed after the fascyon of a sworde poynt / and therfore often tymes he perseth the shyppes thorough, & so causeth them to be drowned. Aristotiles. Gastarios is a fisse lyke the scorpion / and is but lytell greter than a spyder / & it styngeth many fisses with her poyson so that they can nat endure nowhere / and he styngeth the dolphin on the hede that it entreth in-to the brayne. ¶ Isidorus. Glaucus is a whyte ffish that is but selden sene except in darke rayne weder / and is nat in season but in the howndes dayes.

## Cap. xli.

Gudgeon.

Gravus.

**G**Obio is a smale longe ffish with a rounde body / full of scales and litell blacke spottys / and some saye they leue of drounde caryon / & the ffishers say contrarye, that they leue in clere watere in sandye graueil / and it is a holsom mete. ¶ Grauus is a fisse that hath an iye abone on hys hede, and therwith he loketh vp, and saueth hym from them that wyll eat hym.

liii.

**L**ucius is a pike / a fische of *the riuer with* a wyde mouthe Pike :  
 & sharpe teth : whan *the* perche spieth him / he turneth  
 his tayle towardes him / & than *the* pike dare nat byte him  
 becausc of his finnes, or he can nat swalowe him because he is  
 so sharpe / he eteth venimous bestes, as todes, frogges, & eats venomous  
beasts ;  
 suche like ; yet it is sayde *that* he is very holsom for seke  
 peple. He eteth fisses almost as moche as himselfe / whan  
 they be to bigge, than he byteth them in ij. peeces, & swaloweth  
 the one halfe first, & than the other / he is engendered *with* is begotten by a  
West Wind.  
 a westerne wynde.

Cap. lvii.

**M**us marinus, the see mouse, gothe out of the water, & there Sea-Mouse.  
 she laith her egges in a hole of the erthe, & couereth the  
 eges, & goth her way & bydeth frome them x x x. dayes, and  
 than commeth agayne and oncouereth them, & than there be  
 yonges, and them she ledeth into *the* water, & they be first al  
 blynde. Musculus is a fische *that* layth harde shellis, and of Musculus is the  
cock of Balena.  
 it the great monster balena receyueth her nature, & it is  
 named to be the cocke of halena. Mustela is the see wesyll / Sea-weazle.  
 she casteth her yonges lyke other bestes / & whan she hath  
 cast them, yf she perceiue that they shall be founde, she  
 swaloweth them agayne into her body, and than seketh a place  
 wher as they may be surer without daunger / & than she  
 speweth them out agayne.

Cap. lix.

**M**urena is a longe fische *with* a weke skinne lyke a serpent / Lamprey.  
 & it conceyueth of the serpent vipera / it liueth longest  
 in the tayle, for whan that is cut of, it dyeth incontinent / it  
 must be soden in gode wyne *with* herbes & spices, or ellis it Must be boiled in  
wine.  
 is very daungerous to be eten, for it hath many venymous  
 humours, and it is euyll to disieste.

Cap. lxi.

**M**ulus is a see fysshe *that* is smale of body / & is only a Malus :  
 mete for gentils : & there be many maners of these /  
 but the best be those *that* haue ij. berdes vnder the mouthe / has 2 beards,  
 & whan it is fayre weder, than they waxe fatte / whan he is  
 dede than he is of many colours.

Cap. lxiiij.

**N**ereydes be monsters of *the* see, all rowghe of body / & whan Nereids.  
 any of them dyeth, than the other wepe. of this is  
 spokenz in balena, the .xiiij. chapter.

Orchun. ¶ Orchun is a monster of *the se* / whose lykenes can nat lightly be shewed / & he is mortal enemye to *the balene*, & tereth asonder the bely of the balene / & the balene is so boystous *that* he can nat turne hym to defende him, and *that* costeth him his lyfe / for as sone as he feleth *him* selfe wounded, than he sinketh doune to the botom of the water agayne / & the Orchun throweth at him *with* stones / & thus balena endith his lyfe.

Cap. lxvi.

Pearl-Oyster. O Streñ is an oyster that openeth his shell to receyue *the dewe* & swete ayre. In *the* oyster groweth naturali orient perles that oftentymes laye on the see stronde, & be but lytell regarded, as Isidorus saith.

Cap. lxvij.

Pagrus. P Pagrus is a fische that hath so harde tethe *that* he byteth *the* oyster shelles in peces, & eteth out the fische of them. Sea-Peacock. Nota. Pauus maris is the Pecoocke of the Se, & is lyke the peckoocke of the londe, bothe his backe, necke, & hede / & the nether body is fische. Nota. Percus is of diuers colours, & swift in rownyng in *the* water, & hathe sharpe finnes, & is a holsome mete for seke people. Pecten is a fische that is in sandy grounde, & whan he is meued or stered, he wyneketh.

Cap. lxx.

Pinna. P Pinna is a fische *that* layeth alwaye in the mudde, and hathe alwaye a lodisman, & some name it a lytel hoge, & it hathe a rounde body, & it is in a shell lyke a muscle; it layth in the mone as it were dede, gapyng open / and than the smale fisses come into his shel, wening of him to take their repaste / but whan he feleth *that* his shell is almoste ful / than he closeth his mouthe, & taketh them & eteth them / & parteth them amonge his felowes. The playce is well knowen fische, for he is brode & blake on the one syde, and whyte on the other.

Cap. lxvij.

Polippus. P Polippus hath gret strength in his fete / what he therin cacheth, he holdeth it fast / he springeth somtyme vp to the shippes syde, & suacheth a man *with* him to the grounde of the see, & there eteth him / & *that that* he leueth, he casteth it out of his denne agayn / they be moche in the se about Venis / & he is taken in barellis where hartys hornes be layd in / for he is gladly be those hornes.

Cap. lxxvij.

Rumbus. R Umbus is a great fische stronge & bolde / but he is very slow in swimmyng, therfor can he gete his mete but



soberly *wit* swimmyng / therfor he layth him down in the grounde or mudde, & hideth him there / and all the fisses that he can ouercome / *commynge* forby him, he taketh and eteth them.

## Cap. lxxviiij.

**R**ubus is a fische of the grekes se & of the sees of ytaly / Rubus. they be rounde lyke a ringe, & haue many rede spottes / & is full of sharpe finnes & pinnis / he is slow in swimmynge because he is so brode / he gothe be the grounde, & wayteth there his praye / & suche fisses as he can gete he hurrieth in the sandes, & it is a very swete fische. Ryache be fisses Ryache. that be rounde / somtyme they be in length & brede two cubites / & it hath a long tayle / theron be sharpe pinnes / & it is slowe in swimmynge.

## Cap. lxxix.

**S**almo is a fysshe engendred in the swete water, & he waxeth Salmon. longe & gret / & also he is heuy / & his colour nor sauour is nat gode tyll he haue ben in the salt water & proued it / thus draweth the samon to the water agaynst the streme; he neuer seaseth tyll he haue ben in the se and returned agayn to his olde home, as Phisiologia saith / his fische<sup>1</sup> is rede, & he may nat liue in a swet standinge water / he must be in a fresshe riuier that he may playe up and douze at his plesure. [? fleshe.]

**S**alpa is a fowle fische and lytell set by / for it will neuer be Salpa. Stockfish? ynough for no maner of dressinge tyll it haue ben beten with grete hamers & staues.

## Cap. lxxij.

**S**erra is a fysshe with great tethe, and on his backe he hath Serra. sharpe fynnes lyke the combe of a cocke / and iagged lyke a sawe wherewith this monstrous fische cutteth a ship Cuts through ships with his fins. thorough, & whan he seeth a shippe commynge, than he setteth vp his finnes & thinketh to sayl with the shippe as fast as it / but whan he seeth that he can nat continue / than he latteth his finnes fall agayn & destroieth the shippe with the people, and thax eteth the dede bodyes. Nota. Scilla is Scylla. a monster in the see betwene Italye & Sicill / it is great eunemye vnto man. It is faced & handed lyke a gentywoman / but it hath a wyde mouthe & ferfull tethe / & it is belied like a beste, & tayed lyke a dolphin / it hereth gladly siuginge. It is in the water so stronge that it can nat be ouercome / but on the lond it is but weke.

## Cap. lxxxiiij.

**S**yrene. the mermayde is a dedely beste that bringeth a man Siren. gladly to dethe / frome the nauyll vp she is lyke a womau

Siren is like an eagle below,  
 sings sweet songs to mariners,  
 and tears them to pieces.  
 Sirens, serpents.

with a dredfull face / a long slymye here, a grete body, & is lyke the egle *in* the nether parte / hauinge fete and talentis to tear asonder suche as she geteth / her tayl is scaled like a fische / and she singeth a maner of swete song, and therwith deceyueth many a gode mariner / for whan they here it, they fall on slepe commonly / & than she commeth, and draweth them out of the shippe, and tereth them asonder / they bere their yonges in their armes, & geue them souke of their papis whiche be very grete, hauinge at their brestis / but *the* wyse maryners stoppe their eares whan they se her / for whan she playth on the water, all they be in fear, & than they cast out an empty tonne to let her play with it tyll they be past her / this is specified of them *that* haue sene it. Ther be also in some places of arabye, serpentis named sirenes, that ronne faster than an horse, & haue wynges to flye.

[Cap. lxxxv.]

Solaris.  
 Sole.

Solaris is a fische so named because it is gladly be the londes syde in the sonne / he hathe a great hede, a wyde mouth, & a blake skine, & slipper as an ele / it waxeth gret, & is gode to be eten. Solea is the sole, that is a swete fische and holsom for seke people.

Cap. lxxxvi.

Solopendria.  
 Sea-Scorpion.  
 (orig. Tge)

Solopendria is a fische / whan he hathe swallowed *in* an angle, than he spueth out al his guttes till he be quyt of the hoke / and than he gadereth *in* all his guttes agayne. The Scorpion of the see is so named because whan he is taken in any mannys handes he pricketh him with his stinge of his tayle. Plinius saith that the dede creuyce that layeth on the drye soude be the see syde, becommeth scorpions.

Cap. lxxxix.

Sturgeon.  
 Eats no food,  
 has no mouth,  
 grows fat on east wind.  
 Has no bones in his body.

STurio / the sturghion is a gret fische in the ronninge waters / and he taketh no fode *in* his body, but lyueth of *the* styl and swete ayres therefore he hathe a small bely / with a hede and no mouthe, but vnder his throte he hathe a hole *that* he closeth whan he wyll / he openeth it whan it is fayre weder / & with an east wynde he waxeth fat / and whan that the north winde bloweth, than falleth he to the grounde / it is a fische of ix. fote longe whan he is ful growen / he hath whyte swete flesshe & yelow fatte / & he hathe no bone in all his body but only in his hede.

Cap. xcij.

Tench.  
 Tintinalus

TEcna is a tenche of the fresshe water, and is fedde in the mudde lyke *the* ele / & is moche lyke of colours: it is a swete fische, but it is cuyll to disiest. ¶ Tintinalus is a fayre

mery fische, & is swete of sauour, & well smellinge lyke the tyme, where of it bereth the name. ¶ Torpido is a fische. *Torpedo.* but who-so handeleth hym shalbe lame & defe of lymmes / that he shall fele no thyng / & it hathe a maner of Squitana *that* is spoken of in *the lxxxiii. chapter*<sup>1</sup>, and his nature.

Cap. xcij.

. . . . . ¶ Trncka<sup>2</sup> / the trowte is a fische of the ryuer, & hathe scales, & vpon his body spottys of yelow and blodye colour. & his fische<sup>3</sup> is rede frome *the* monthe of July to the monthe of Nouember / and is moche sweter than *the* freshe samon; and all the other part of the yere his fische<sup>3</sup> is whyte.

*Trout.*  
[<sup>2</sup> for Trutta]

[<sup>3</sup> ? fleshe]

Cap. xciv.

**T**Estudo is a fysshe in a shelle / & is in *the* se of Inde / & his shelle is very great & like a muskle / & he nyght they go out for theyr mete / & whan they haue eten theyr bely full / than they slepe swymming vpon the water. than ther come iij. fischers botes / of *the* wiche .iij. twayn take one of these muskles. Solinus sayth. *that* this muskle hathe his vppermost shell so brode that it may couere a howse / where many folke may hyde them vnder / And it gothe out the water vpon the londe / & there it layth an hondred egges as grete as gose eggis / and couer them with erth / & oftentimes be night it gothe to the eggys & layeth vpon them with her brest, & than become they yonges.

*Testudo.*

[This copy of Admiral Swinburne's *Andrewe* ends with the next column of this page, sign. v. i. back, with an illustration not headed, but which is that to Cap. xcvi.]

<sup>1</sup> *Squatina* is a fische in *the* se, of fiue cubites longe: his tayle is a fote brode, & he hideth him in the slimy mudde of *the* se, & marreth al other fisses that come nigh him: it hath so sharpe a skynne that in som places they shaue wode with it, & bone also / on his skynne is blacke short here. The nature hathe made him so harde that he can nat almoste be persed with nouthen yron nor stele.

Note to *Balena*, p. 115. *bar* [in þe se of Brytain] buþ ofte ytake dolphyns, & se-calves, & *balenes*, (gret fysch, as hyt were of whaales kinde) & dyvers manere schyl-fysch, among þe whoche schyl-fysch buþ moskles þat habbeþ wipynne þam margey perles of al manere colour of huþ, of rody & red, of purple & of bluþ, & specialych & moost of whyte. Trevisa's Higden, in Morris's *Specimens*, p. 334. For 'the cocke of *Balena*' see *Musculus*, p. 119, above; and for its 'mortal ennemye,' *Orchun*, p. 120.

Wilyam Bulleyn on  
Boxyng & Neckeweede.

(From *The Booke of Compoundes*, fol. lxxviii.)

*Sicknes.*

Will boxyng doe any pleasure?

*Health.*

YEa forsothe, verie moche: As example, if you haue  
any sausie loughte, or loitryng lubber within your  
house, that is either to busy of his hand or tongue:  
and can do nothing but plaie one of the partes of the  
.24. orders of knaues. There is no pretier medicen for  
this, nor soner prepared, then boxyng is: .iii. or .iiii.  
tymes well set on, a span long on bothe the chekes.  
And although perhaps this will not alter his lubberly  
condicions, yet I assure you, it wil for a time chaunge  
his knauishe complexion, and helpe him of the grene  
sicknes: and euery man maie practise this, as occasion  
shall serue hym in his familie, to reforme them. *Bul-  
leins Bulwarke of Defence*, 1562.

For saucy louts,

the best cure is  
Boxing.

(From *The booke of Simples*, fol. xxvii. back.)

*Marcellus.*

THERE is an herbe whiche light fellowes merily will  
call Gallowgrasse, Neckeweede, or the Tristrams  
knot, or Saynt Audres lace, or a bastarde brothers  
badge, with a difference on the left side, &c. you know  
my meaning.

The names of  
Hemp.

*Hillarius.*

W<sup>H</sup>at, you speake of Hemepe? mary, you terme it  
with manie pretie names. I neuer heard the like

termes giuen to any simple, as you giue to this ; you  
 cal it neckwede. A, well, I pray you, woulde you  
 know the propertie of this Neckeweede in this kinde ?  
 beinge chaunged into such a lace, this is his vertue. Neckweed (a halter).  
 Syr, if there be any yonkers troubled with idelnesse  
 and loytryng, hauyng neither learnyng, nor willyng  
 handes to labour : or that haue studied Phisicke so  
 longe that he or they can giue his Masters purse a Pur-  
 gacion, or his Chist, shoppe, and Countinghouse, a  
 strong vomit ; yea, if he bee a very cunning practicioner  
 in false accomptes, he may so suddenly and rashely  
 minister, that he may smite his Father, his Maister, or  
 his friende &c. into a sudden incurable consumption,  
 that he or they shall neuer recouer it againe, but be  
 vtterly vndone, and cast either into miserable pouertie,  
 prisonment, bankeroute &c. If this come to passe, then  
 the <sup>1</sup> best rewarde for this practicioner, is this Necke- [1 Fol. xxviii.]  
 weede: if there be any swashbuckler, common theefe,  
 ruffen, or murtherer past grace, <sup>o</sup> y<sup>e</sup> nexte remedie is for swashbucklers past grace,  
 this Lace or Corde. For them which neuer loued concord,  
 peace nor honestie, this wil ende all the mischief ; this  
 is a purger, not of Melancholy, but a finall banisher of  
 all them that be not fit to liue in a common wealth, no and all scamps.  
 more then Foxes amonge sheepe, or Thistles amonge  
 good Corne, hurters of trew people. This Hempe, I  
 say, passeth the new Diat, bothe in force and antiquitee.  
 If yonge wantons, whose parentes haue left them fayre Also for young spendthriffs  
 houses, goods and landes, whiche be visiciously, idle,  
 vnlearnedly, yea or rather beastly brought vp: after the  
 death of their saied parentes, their fruites wil spryng who after their parents' death  
 fourth which they haue learned in their wicked youthe :  
 then bankets and brothels will approche, the Harlots waste their all with harlots  
 will be at hande, with dilightes and intisementes, the  
 Baude will doe hir diligence, robbing not onlie the  
 purses, but also the hartes of suche yongemen, whiche  
 when they be trapped, can neuer skape, one amonge

an hundreth, vntill Hempe breaketh the bande amonge  
 and in gambling these loytring louers. The Dice whiche be bothe smalle  
 and light, in respecte vnto the Colnering, or double  
 Cannon shotte or Bollet, yet with small force and noyse  
 can mine, break downe, and destroy, and caste away  
 their one Maisters houses, faire felde, pleasaunt Woddes,  
 and al their money, yea frendes and al together, this  
 can the Dice do. And moreouer, can make of worship-  
 full borne Gentilmen, miserable beggers, or theefes, yet  
 for the time "a-loft syrs, hoyghe childe and tourne thee,  
 what should youth do els : I-wisse, not liue like slaues  
 or pesantes, but all golden, glorious, may with dame  
 Venus, my hartes delight" say they. "What a sweete  
 heauen is this : Haue at all, kockes woundes, bloud and  
 nayles, caste the house out at the window, and let the  
 Diuell pay the Malte man : a Dogge hath but a day, a  
 good mariage will recouer all together : " or els with a  
 Barnards blowe, lurkyng in some lane, wodde, or hill  
 top; to get that with falshead in an hower, whiche with  
 trueth, labour, & paine, hath bene gathered for per-  
 happes .xx. yeares, to the vtter vndoing of some  
 honest familie. Here thou seest, gentle Marcellus, a  
 miserable Tragedie of a wicked shamelesse life. I nede  
 not bring forth the example of the Prodigall childe.  
 Luke .xvi. Chapter, whiche at length came to grace : It  
 is, I feare me, in vaine to talke of him, whose ende was  
 good ; but a greate number of these flee from grace, and  
 come to endes moste vngracious, finished only life by  
 this Hempe. Although sometime the innocente man  
 dieth that way, through periurie for their one proper  
 gooddes, as Naboth died for his owne Vineyarde,  
 miserable in the eies of the worlde, but precious in the  
 sight of God. This is one seruice whiche Hempe  
 doeth.

The use of Hempe Also this worthy noble herbe Hempe, called *Canna-*  
*bis* in Latten, can not bee wanted in a common wealth,

which makes men  
 beggars, or  
 thieves.

A life of reckless  
 debanchery

and robbery

ends with

Hemp.

no Shippe can sayle without Hempe, y<sup>e</sup> sayle clothes, the  
 shroudes, staies, tacles, yarde lines, warps & Cables can to the Sailor,  
 not be made. No Plowe, or Carte can be without Plowman,  
 ropes <sup>1</sup> halters, trace &c. The Fisher and Foular [Fol. xxviii. b.]  
 muste haue Hempe, to make their nettes. And no Fisher and  
 Archer can wante his bowe string: and the Malt Archer.  
 man for his sakes. With it the belle is rong, to  
 seruice in the Church, with many mo thynges profit-  
 able whiche are commonly knowen of euery man, be  
 made of Hempe.

Andrew Borde on  
Sleep, Rising, and Dress.

[From his Regiment, ?1557.]

<p>[Fol. s. i.]</p> <p>After Dinner, sleep standing</p> <p>against a cupboard.</p> <p>[1 Fol. s. i. b.]</p> <p>Before bedtime be merry.</p> <p>Have a fire in your bedroom,</p> <p>but stand a good way off it.</p> <p>Shut your windows.</p>	<p>Whole men of what age or complexion so euer they be of, shulde take theyr naturall rest and slepe in the nyght : and to eschewe merydyall sleep. But and nede shall compell a man to slepe after his meate : let hym make a pause, and than let hym stande &amp; lene and slepe agaynst a cupborde, or els let hym sytte upryght in a chayre and slepe. Slepynge after a full stomacke doth ingendre dyuers infyrmyties, it doth hurte the splene, it relaxeth the synewes, it doth ingendre the dropses and the gowte, and doth make a man looke euyll colored. <sup>1</sup> Beware of veneryous actes before the fyrste slepe, and specyally beware of suche thynges after dyner or after a full stomacke, for it doth ingendre the crampe and the gowte and other displeasures. To bedwarde be you mery, or haue mery company aboute you, so that to bedwarde no angre, nor heuynes, sorowe, nor pensyfulnes, do trouble or dysquyet you. To bedwarde, and also in the mornynge, vse to haue a fyre in your chambre, to wast and consume the euyll vapowres within the chambre, for the breath of man may putryfye the ayre within the chambre: I do advertyse you not to stande nor to sytte by the fyre, but stande or syt a good way of from the fyre, takynge the flauour of it, for fyre doth aryfie and doth drye vp a mannes blode, and doth make sterke the synewes and ioyntes of man. In the nyght let the wyndowes of</p>
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your howse, specyallye of your chambre, be closed. Whan you \* be in your bedde,<sup>1</sup> lye a lytle whyle on your lefte syde, and slepe on your ryght syde. And whan you do wake of your fyrste slepe, make water yf you feel your bladder charged, & than slepe on the lefte side; and looke as ofte as you do wake, so oft turne your selfe in the bedde from one syde to the other. To slepe grouellynge vpon the stomacke and bely is not good, oneles the stomacke be slowe and tarde of dygestion; but better it is to laye your hande, or your bedfelowes hande, ouer your stomacke, than to lye grouellynge. To slepe on the backe vpryght<sup>2</sup> is vtterly to be abhorred<sup>1</sup>: whan that you do slepe, let not your necke, nother your sholders, nother your hands, nor feete, nor no other place of your bodye, lye bare vndiscouered. Slepe not with an emptye stomacke, nor slepe not after that you haue eaten meate one howre or two after. In your bed lye with your head somewhat hyghe, leaste that the \* meate whiche is in your stomacke, thorowe eructuacions or some other cause, ascende to the oryfe (*sic*) of the stomacke. Let your nyght cap be of scarlet: and this I do aduertyse you, to cause to be made a good thicke quylte of cotton,

[\* Fol. x. ii.]

Lie first on your left side.

To sleep groveling on the belly, is bad;

on the back upright, is worse.

[\* Fol. x. ii. b.]

Wear a scarlet nightcap.

<sup>1-1</sup> Compare what Bulleyn says: —slepe. The night is the best time: the daie is euill: to slepe in the felde is perilous. But vpon, or in the hedde, liyng firste vpon the right side, untill you make water: then vpon the lefte side, is good. But to lye vpon the backe, with a gaping mouth, is dangerous: and many thereby are made starke ded in their slepe: through apoplexia, and obstruction of the sinewes, of the places vitalle, animall, and nutrimentalle. *Bullein's Bulwarke, The booke of the vse of sicke men and medicines*, fol. lxx. See also Sir John Harrington's directions from Ronsovius: "They that are in health, must first sleepe on the right side, because the meate may come to the liuer, which is to the stomack as a fire vnder the pot, and thereby is digested. To them which haue but weake digestion, it is good to sleepe prostrate on their bellies, or to haue their bare hands on their stomackes: and to lye vpright on the backe, is to bee vtterly abhorred." p. 19.

How to lie in bed.

Who should put their hands on their stomachs.

<sup>2</sup> This wenche lay *upright*, and faste slepte. Chaucer. *The Reeves Tale*, l. 4192, ed. Wright.

Have a flock bed  
over your  
featherbed.

On rising, re-  
member God,  
brush your  
breeches, put on

your hose,

stretch,

[\* Fol. x. iii.]

go to stool.

Truss your  
points, somh  
your head,

wash your hands  
and face,

take a stroll,

pray to God.

Of Friction

and combing the  
head.

or els of pure flockes or of cleane wolle, and let the couerynge of it be of whyte fustyan, and laye it on the fetherbed that you do lye on ; and in your bed lye not to hote nor to colde, but in a temporaunce. Olde auneyent Doctors of physicke sayth .viii. howres of slepe in sommer, and ix. in wynter, is suffycent for any man : but I do thynke that slepe oughte to be taken as the complexion of man is. Whan you do ryse in the mornynge, ryse with myrth and remembre God. Let your hosen be brusshed within & without, and flauer the insyde of them agaynst the fyre ; vse lynnenn sockes, or lynnenn hosen nexte your legges : whan you be out of your bedde, stretche forth your \*legges & arnes, & your body ; cough, and spytte, and than go to your stoole to make your egestyon, and exonerate youre selfe at all tymes, that nature wolde expell. For yf you do make any restrycion in kepynge your egestyon or your vryne, or ventosyte, it maye put you to dyspleasure in breadynge dyuers infyrmyties. After you haue euacuated your bodye, & trussed your poyntes,<sup>1</sup> kayme your heade oft, and so do dyuers tymes in the day. And wasshe your handes & wrestes, your face, & eyes, and your teeth, with colde water ; and after y<sup>t</sup> you be apparayled, walke in your gardyn or parke, a thousande pase or two. And than great and noble men doth vse to here masse, & other men that can not do so, but muste, applye theyr busynes, doth serue god *with* some prayers, surrendrynge thankes to hym for hys manyfolde goodnes, with askynge mercye

<sup>1</sup> Fricacion is one of the euacuacions, yea, or clensynges of mankinde, as all the learned affirmeth : that mankinde should rise in the mornynge, and haue his apparell warme, stretchyng foorthe his handes and legges. Preparynge the hodie to the stoole, and then begin with a fine Combe, to kembe the heere vp and down : then with a course warme clothe, to chafe or rubbe the hedde, necke, breast, armeholes, bellie, thighes, &c., and this is good to open the pores. 1562 *Bullein's Bulwarke*, The booke of the vse of sicke men and medicenes, fol. lxxij. See Vaughan below, No. 2, p. 133.

for theyr offences. And before you go to your refecti\*on, moderately exercise your body with some labour, [\* Fol. x. iii. b.] or playeng at the tennys, or castyng a howle, or paysyng weyghtes or plommettes of loede in your handes, or Play at tennis, or wield weights. or some other thyng, to open your poores, & to augment naturall heate. At dyner and supper<sup>1</sup> vse not to drynke At meals, sundry drynkes, and eate not of dyuers meates: but feede of .ii. or .iii. dysshes at the moste. After that eat only of 2 or 3 dishes; you haue dynded and supte, laboure not by and by after, but make a pause, syttyng or standyng vpryght the space of an howre or more with some pastyme: drynke not moch after dyner. At your supper, vse 1st supper-dishes be light. lyght meates of dygestyon, and refrayne from grose meates; go not to bed with a full nor an emptye stomacke. And after your supper make a pause or you go to bed; and go to bed, as I sayde, with myrth.

Furthermore as concernyng your apparell. In wynter, next your shert vse you to weare a petycote of scarlet: your dowb\*let vse at plesure: But I do Wear a scarlet petycote. [\* Fol. x. iv.] aduertyse you to lyne your Iacket vnder this fasshyon Have a jacket or maner. Bye you fyne skynnes of whyte lambe & of white and black lymbekin sewn diamond-wise. blacke lambe. And let your skynner cut both y<sup>e</sup> sortes of the skynnes in smale peces triangle wyse, lyke halfe a quarell of a glasse wyndowe. And than sewe togyther a\* whyte pece and a blacke, lyke a whole [\* MS. a a] quarell of a glasse wyndowe: and so sewe vp togyther

<sup>1</sup> Drunkards, bench-wislars, that will quaffe untill thei are starcke staring madde like Marche Hares: Fleming-like Sinecars; brainlesse like infernall Furies. Drinkyng, braulyng, tossyng of the pitcher, staryng, pissyng\*, and sauynge your reuerence, beastly spuynge vntill midnight. Therefore let men take hede of dronkenes to bedward, for feare of sodain death: although the Flemishe † nacion vse this horrible custome in their vnnaturall watching all the night. *Bullein*, fol. lxxix-lxxx, see also fol. xj.

\* Compare A. Borde of the "base Doche man," in his *Introduction*.

† I am a Flemynge, what for all that

Although I wyll be dronken other whyles as a rat.

A. Borde, *Introduction*.

quarell wyse as moche as wyll lyne your Iacket : this furre, for holsommes, is praysed aboue sables, or any other fur. Your exteryall aparel vse accordyng to your honour. In sommer vse to were a scarlet petycote made of stamell or lynse wolse. In wynter and sommer kepe not your bed to hote, nor bynde it to strayte ; kepe euer your necke warme. In somer kepe your necke and face from the sonne ; vse to wear gloues made of goote skyn, perfumed with Amber degreec.

Keep your neck warm.  
Wear goatskin gloves.

[\* Fol. B. iv. b.] And beware in standyng or lyeng on the \*grounde in the reflection of the sonne, but be mouable. If thou shalt common or talke *with* any man : stande not styll in one place yf it be vpon <sup>o</sup>y bare grounde, or grasse, or stones : but be mouable in suche places. Stande nor syt vpon no stone or stones : Stande nor syt longe barehed vnder a vawte of stone. Also beware that you do not lye in olde *chambres* which be not occupied, specyally suche *chambres* as myse and rattes and snayles resōrteth vnto : lye not in suche *chambres*, the whiche be depreued cleane from the sonne and open ayre ; nor lye in no lowe *Chambre*, excepte it be boarded. Beware that you take no colde on your feete and legges. And of all weather beware that you do not ryde nor go in great and Impytous wyndes. (*A Compendyous Regyment or a Dyetary of helth, made in Mountpylior: Compyled by Andrewe Boorde, of Physicke Doctor.* (Colophon.) Imprinted by me Robert Wyer : Dwellynge at the sygne of seynt Johā Euangelyst, in S. Martyns Parysshe, besyde Charynge Crosse.)

Don't stand long on grass or stones.

Don't sleep in ratty rooms.

Don't take cold in your feet.

William Vaughan's  
Fifteen Directions to preserve Health.

(From his *Naturall & Artificial Directions  
for health*, 1602, p. 57-63.)

Declare unto mee a dayly dyet, whereby I may live in health, and not trouble my selfe in Physicke.

(1) I will : first of all in the morning when you are about to rise vp, stretch your self strongly : for thereby the animall heate is somewhat forced into the outward partes, the memorie is quickned, and the bodie strengthened. 1. Stretch yourself.

(2) Secondly, rub and chafe your body with the palmes of your hands, or with a course linnen cloth ; the breast, back, and belly, gently : but the armes, thighes, and legges roughly, till they seem ruddy and warme. 2. Rub yourself

(3) Euacuate your selfe. 3. Go to stool.

(4) Put on your apparell : which in the summer time must be for the most part silke, or buffe, made of buckes skinne, for it resisteth venime and contagious ayres : in winter your vpper garment must be of cotton or friezeadow. 4. Put on your clothes.

(5) When you have apparelled your selfe handsomely, combe your head softly and easily with an Iuorie combe : for nothing recreateth the memorie more. 5. Comb your head.

(6) Picke and rub your teeth : and because I would not haue you to bestow much cost in making 6. Clean your teeth.

(How to keep the  
teeth sound and  
the breath sweet.

Use Vaughan's  
Water

made after this  
recipe.

It's better than  
1000 Dentrifices.)

7. Wash.

dentrifices for them ; I will aduertise you by foure rules of importance how to keepe your teeth white and vncorruyt (*sic*), and also to haue a sweete breath. First, wash well your mouth when you haue eaten your meat : secondly, sleepe with your mouth somewhat open. Thirdly, spit out in the morning that which is gathered together that night in the throate : then take a linnen cloth, and rub your teeth well within and without, to take away the fumositie of the meat and the yellownesse of the teeth. For it is that which putrieth them and infecteth the breath. But least peradventure your teeth become loose and filthy, I will shew you a water farre better then pouders, which shall fasten them, scoure the mouth, make sound the gums, and cause the flesh to growe againe, if it were fallen away. Take halfe a glasse-full of vineger, and as much of the water of the mastick tree (if it may easily be gotten) of rosemarie, myrrhe, mastick, bole Armoniake, Dragons herbe, roche allome, of each of them an ounce ; of fine cinnamon halfe an ounce, and of fountaine water three glassefulles ; mingle all well together and let it boile with a small fire, adding to it halfe a pound of honie, and taking away the scumme of it ; then put in a little bengwine, and when it hath sodden a quarter of an houre, take it from the fire, and keepe it in a cleane bottle, and wash your teeth therewithall as well before meate as after ; if you hould some of it in your mouth a little while, it doth much good to the head, and sweetneth the breath. I take this water to be better worth then a thousand of their dentrifices.

(7) Wash your face, eyes, eares and hands, with fountaine water. I have knowne diuers students which vsed to bathe their eyes onely in well water twice a day, whereby they preserued their eyesight free from all passions and bloudsheds, and sharpened

their memories maruaylously. You may sometimes bathe your eyes in rosewater, fennell water, or eyebright water, if you please; but I know for certaintie, that you neede them not as long as you vse good fountaine water. Moreouer, least you by old age or some other meanes doe waxe dimme of sight, I will declare vnto you, the best and safest remedie which I knowe, and this it is: Take of the distilled waters of verueine, bettonie, and fennell one ounce and a halfe, then take one ounce of white wine, one drachme of Tntia (if you may easilie come by it) two drachmes of sugarcandy, one drachme of Aloes Epatick, two drachmes of womans milke, and one scruple of Camphire: beat those into powder, which are to be beaten, and infuse them together for foure and twenty houres space, and then straine them, and so vse it when you list.

The best remedie  
for dim sight.

(8) When you haue finished these, say your morning prayers, and desire God to blesse you, to preserue you from all daungers, and to direct you in all your actions. For the feare of God (as it is written) is the beginning of wisdom: and without his protection whatsoever you take in hand, shall fall to ruine. Therefore see that you be mindfull of him, and remember that to that intent you were borne, to weet, to set fourth his glorie and most holy name.

8. Say your  
Prayers.

(9) Goe about your businesse circumspectly, and endeauour to banish all cares and cogitations, which are the onely baits of wickednesse. Defraud no man of his right: for what measure you giue vnto your neighbour, that measure shall you receiue. And finally, imprint this saying deeply in your mind: A man is but a steward of his owne goods; wherof God one day will demaund an account.

9. Set to work.

Be honest.

(10) Eat three meales a day vntill you come to the age of fourtie yeares: as, your breakefast, dinner, and supper; yet, that betweene breakefast and dinner there

10. Eat only three  
meals/a day.

be the space of foure houres, and betwixt dinner and supper seauen houres : the breakfast must be lesse then dinner, and the dinner somewhat lesse then supper.

Eat light food before heavy.

In the beginning of meales, eate such meates as will make the belly soluble, and let grosse meates be the last. Content your selfe with one kind of meate, for diuersities hurt the body, by reason that meates are not all of one qualitie : Some are easily digested, others againe are heauy, and will lie a long time vpon the stomack : also, the eating of sundrie sorts of meat

Drink hinders digestion.

require often pottes of drinke, which hinder concoction ; like as we see often putting of water into the meat-potte to hinder it from seething. Our stomack is our bodies kitchin, which being distempered, how can we liue in temperate order : drinke not aboue foure times, and that moderately, at each meale : least the belly-God hale you at length captiue into his prison house of gurmandise, where you shall be afflicted with as many diseases as you haue deuoured dishes of sundry sorts.

Use silver cups.

The cups whereof you drinke, should be of siluer, or siluer and gilt.

11. Don't work directly after meals, but talk,

wash, and clean your teeth.

(11) Labour not either your mind or body presently after meales : rather sit a while and discourse of some pleasant matters : when you haue ended your confabulations, wash your face and mouth with cold waters then go to your chamber, and make cleane your teeth with your tooth-picker, which should be either of iuorie, silver, or gold. Watch not too long after supper, but depart within two hours to bed. But if necessitie compell you to watch longer then ordinary, then be sure to augment your sleepe the next morning ; that you may recompence nature, which otherwise through your watching would not a little be impaired.

12. Undress by the fire in winter.

(12) Put of your clothes in winter by the fire side : and cause your bed to bee heated with a warming panne :



vnless your pretence bee to harden your members, and to apply your selfe vnto militarie discipline. This outward heating doth wonderfully comfort the inward heat, it helpeth concoction, and consumeth moisture.

(13) Remember before you rest, to chew down two or three drachmes of mastick : for it will preserue your body from bad humours.

13. Bafors bed,  
chew Mastick, and

(14) Pray feruently to God, before you sleepe, to inspire you with his grace, to defend you from all perils and subtelties of wicked fiends, and to prosper you in all your affaires : and then lay aside your cares and businesse, as well publicke as priuate : for that night, in so doing, you shall slepe more quietly. Make water at least once, and cast it out : but in the morning make water in an vrnal : that by looking on it, you may ghesse some what of the state of your body. Sleep first on your right side with your mouth open, and let your night cappe haue a hole in the top, through which the vapour may goe out.

14. Pray to God.

Look at your  
water in a  
Urinal.

Hava a hole in  
your nightcap.

(15) In the morning remember your affayres, and if you be troubled with rheumes, as soone as you haue risen, vse diatrion piperion, or eate white pepper now and then, and you shall be holpen.

15. Against  
rheums, eat  
whita pepper.

FINIS.

## The Dyet for ebery Day.

(FROM

Sir John Harrington's ' Schoole of Salerne,'

2ND PART.

The Preservation of Health, or a Dyet for the Healthfull  
Man, 1624, p. 358.)

. . first I will begin with the dyet for every day.

Stretch your limbs,	In the beginning when you arise from the bed,	extend forth all your members, for by this meanes the
[* Page 36.]	the <i>animal</i> spirits are drawne to the outward members,	
rub your body	the *braine is made subtill, & the body strengthened.	
and head;	Then rub the whole body somewhat with the palmes,	
protect yourself from cold;	the brest, back and belly gently, but the armes and legs	
dress, washing in Summer,	with the hands, either with warm linnen : next, the	
warming yourself in Winter.	head is to be scrubbed from the forepart to the hinder-	
	part very lightly. After you are risen, I will that you	
	defend with all care and diligence your head, necke,	
	and feet, from all cold in the morning ; for there is no	
	doubt, but in the morning and euening the cold doth	
	offend more, then it doth about noone tide, by reason	
	of the weaknes of the Sun-beames. Put on your clothes	
	neat and cleane : in the Summer season, first wash with	
	cleane pure water, before described ; but in the Winter	
	season sit somewhat by the fire, not made with turfe or	
	stinking coale, but with oake or other wood that	
	burneth cleare, for our bodies are somewhat affected	
	with our clothes, and as strength is increased by the	

vse of meat and drinke, and our life defended and preserued ; and so our garments doe conserue the heat of our bodies, and doe driue away colds : so that as diet and apparel may seeme alike, so in either of them a like diligence is to be preferred.

In the Summer-time I chiefly commend garments of Harts-skinnes, and Calues-skins, for the Hart is a creature of long life, and resisteth poyson and Serpents ; therefore I my selfe vse garments of the like sort for the winter season, also neuerthelesse lined with good linnen. Next I doe iudge it not to bee much amisse to vse garments of Silke or Bombace, or of purple : also of Martyn or Wolfe-skinnes, or made of Fox skinnes, I suppose to be good for the winter ; notwithstanding in the time of Pestilence, apparell of Silke and skinnes is condemned, because it doth easily admit and receiue the contagious ayre, and doth retain it long. After the body is well clothed, kembe your head wel with an Iuory comb, from the forehead to the backe-part, drawing the comb some forty times at the least ; then wash all the instruments of the sences, as the eies, the ears, the nostrils, the mouth, the tongue, the teeth, and all the face with cold water ; and the eyes are not only to be washed, but being open plainly, immerg'd : and the gumme and foulnes of the eie-lids that do there stick, to remoue ; somtimes also to besprinkle the water with Rose-water or Fenel-water, also rubb the neck well with \*a linnen napking somewhat course, for these things doe confirme the whole body ; it maketh the mind more cheerefull, and conserueth the sight. In this place it pleaseth me to adioyne some Dentifrices or clensers of teeth, waters not only to make the teeth white, but also to conserue them, with some medicines also to conserue the sight. . . .

In Summer  
[Page 37.]  
wear deer's and  
calves' skins,

in Winter, wolf  
and fox skins.

Comb your head  
40 times,

wash your face,

clean your  
eyelids,

rub your neck  
well.

[\* Page 38.]

# On Rising, Diet, and Going to Bed.

(FROM

Sir John Harrington's 'Schuole of Salerne,'

2ND PART.

The Preservation of Health, or a Tret for the Healthfull  
Man, 1624, p. 358.)

Also to prosecute our former purpose, when you arise in the morning, to auoyd all superfluties, as well by vrine as by the belly, which doe at the least euery day. Auoid also from the nostrils and the lungs all filthy matter, as wel by clensing, as by spittle, and clense the face, head, and whole body; & loue you to be cleane and wel appavelled, for from our cradles let vs abhor vncleannes, which neither nature or reason can endure. When you haue done these things, remember to powre foorth your prayers vnto God with a cleare voice, that the day may be happy and prosperous vnto you, that God may direct your actions to the glory of his name, the profit of your country, & the conseruation of your bodies. Then walke ye gently, and what excrements soeuer do slip down to the inferiour parts, being excited by \*naturall heate, the excretion thereof shall the better succeed.

On rising, empty your bladder and belly, nose and lungs.

Cleanse your whole body.

Say your Prayers.

Walk gently,

go to stool.  
[\* Page 42.]

Work in the forenoon.

As for your businesses, whether they be publike or priuate, let them be done with a certaine honesty; then afterwards let your hunting iourneyes bee performed; apply your selues to studie and serious businesse the

houres of the fore-noone, and so likewise in the after-noone, till twoor three houres before supper : alwaies in your hands vse eyther Corall or yellow Amber, or a Chalcedonium, or a sweet Pommander, or some like precious stone to be worne in a ring vpon the little finger of the left hand : haue in your rings eyther a Smaragd, a Saphire, or a Draconites, which you shall beare for an ornament : for in stones, as also in hearbes, there is great efficacie and vertue, but they are not altogether perceived by vs : hold sometime in your mouth eyther a Hyacinth, or a Crystall, or a Granat, or pure Gold, or Siluer, or else sometimes pure Sugar-candy. For *Aristotle* doth affirme, and so doth *Albertus Magnus*, that a Smaragd worne about the necke, is good against the Falling-sicknes : for surely the vertue of an hearbe is great, but much more the vertue of a precious \*stone, which is very likely that they are endued with occult and hidden vertues.

Always wear a precious stone

in a ring ;

hold a crystal in your mouth ;

for the virtue of precious stones is great. [\* Page 43.]

Feede onely twice a day, when yee are at mans age : neuertheless to those that are subiect to choller, it is lawfull to feede often : beginne alwayes your dinner and supper with the more liquid meates, sometimes with drinkes. In the time betweene dinner and supper, abstain altogether from cups, vnlesse necessitie or custome doe require the same : notwithstanding the same custome being so vitious, must be by little and little changed.

Eat only twice a day.

Don't drink between dinner and supper.

I would not that you should obserue a certaine houre, either for dinners or suppers, as I haue sufficiently told you before, lest that daily custome should be altered into nature : and after this intermission of this custome of nature, hurt may follow ; for custome doth imitate nature, and that which is accustomed, the very same thing is now become naturall.

Don't have one fixed hour for your meals.

Take your meate in the hotte time of Summer in cold places, but in the Winter let there bee a bright

In Winter eat in

not well-aired  
places.

[\* Page 44.]

fire, and take it in hotte places, your parlors or Chambers being first purged and ayred with suffumigations, which I would not haue you to \*enter before the suffumigation bee plainely extinct, lest you draw the fume by reason of the odour.

Fast for a day  
now and then.

And seeing one and the same order of diet doth not promiscuously agree with all men, take your meate in order, as is before said, and sometimes also intermit the vse of meats for a whole day together, because through hunger, the faults of the stomacke which haue beene taken eyther by much drinking or surfetting, or by any other meanes, may be depelled and remoued.

Eat more at  
supper than  
dinner.

By this meanes also your bodies shall be better accustomed to endure and suffer hunger and fasting, eyther in iourneyes or wars. Let your suppers bee more larger then your dinners, vnlesse nightly diseases or some distilations doe afflict you.

After meals, wash  
your face, and  
clean your teeth,

After meat taken, neither labour in body nor mind must be vsed, and wash the face and mouth with cold water, clense the teeth either with Iuory, or a Harts horne, or some picker of pure siluer or gold.

chat and walk  
soberly.

After your banquets, passe an houre or two in pleasant talkes, or walke yee very gently and soberly, neither vse much watchings long in the night, but the space of two howres goe to your bed; but if honest \*businesse doe require you to watch, then sleepe afterwards so much the longer, that your sleepe may well recompence your former watchings. Before that you go to your bed, gently smooth down your head, armes, and shoulders, the back and all the body, with a gentle and soft rubbing, vnlesse you meane to do it in the morning to moone distribution, whose time is best to be done in the morning.

Don't sit up  
late.

[\* Page 45.]

Before bed,  
rub your body  
gently.

Undress by a fire  
in Winter,

In the Winter, sitting by the fire, put off your garments, and dry your feet by the fire, neuerthesse auoyd the heat and the smoke, because it is very hurtfull both to the lungs, and the eyes.

In the Winter time, warme well your garments at the fire, and warm the linings of the same, for it helpeth concoction, and remoueth all humidity and moysture. But my father did not allow of this custome, warning men of strength, and those that are borne for the Common-wealth, not to accustom themselves to such kind of softnesse, which doe weaken our bodies. Also when you put off your garments to go to bed, then put away all your cogitations, & lay them aside, whether they be publike or priuate, for when all your \*members be free from all cares, you shall then sleep the quieter, concoction and the other naturall actions shall best be performed.

and warm your  
garments well

Put off your cares  
with your clothes,

[\* Page 46.]

But in the morning when you rise againe, resume to your selues your former dayes thoughts and cares; for this precept my Father had often in his mouth, therefore I deliuer it vnto you as the more worthy of your obseruation.

and take them  
up again in the  
morning.





## Recipes.

[From *Harleian MS.* 5401, ab. 1480-1500 A.D.]

FRUTURS. (page 194 or fol. 69 b.)

*Recipe* <sup>1</sup> þe cromys of whyte brede, & swete apyls, & ʒokkis of eggis, & bray þam wele, & temper it with wyne, & make it to sethe ; & when it is thyk, do þer-to gode spyces, gynger & galingay & canyll & clows, & *serve* it forthe. (See also *Liber Cure Cocorum*, p. 39-40.)

FRUTURS OF FYGIS. (p. 197 or fol. 98.)

*Recipe* & make hature of floure, ale, peper & saferon, with oper spices ; þan cast þam <sup>2</sup> in to a frying pann with batur, & ole, & bake þam & *serve*. (See another recipe in *Household Ordinances*, p. 450, under the head "Turtelettys of Fruture.")

IUSSELL. (p. 198 or fol. 98 b.)

*Recipe* brede gratyd, & eggis ; & swyng þam to-gydere, & do þerto sawge, & saferon, & salt ; þan take gode brothe, & cast it þer-to, & hole it enforesayd, & do þer-to as to charlete &c. (See also *Liber Cure Cocorum*, p. 11 ; Jussel of Flesh, *Household Ordinances*, p. 462 ; Jussel enforced, p. 463 ; Jussel of Fysshe, p. 469.)

MAWMENY. (p. 201 or fol. 100.)

*Recipe* hrawne of Capons or of hennys, & dry þam wele, & towse þam smalle ; þan take thyk mylk of almonds, & put þe saide brawn þer-to, & styr it wele ouer þe fyre, & seson it with suger, & powder of Canelle, with mase, quibihs, & anneys in confete, & *serve* it forthe. (See also the recipe "For to make momene" in *Liber Cure Cocorum*, p. 26 ; for "Mawmene for xl. Mees" in *Household Ordinances*, p. 455 ; and "Mawmene to Potage," p. 430.)

FRETOURE. (*Harl. MS.* 276.)

**Vyaunde leche.** **Fretoure** Take whete Floure, Ale, ʒest, Safroun, & L.iii. Salt, & bete alle to-gederys as pikke as þou schuldyst make oper bature in fleyssche tyme, & þan take fayre Applys, & kut hem in maner of Fretourys, & wete hem in þe bature vp on downe, & frye hem in fayre Oyle, & caste hem in a dyssche, & caste Sugre þer-on, & serue forth. [The recipe for "Tansye" is No. l.vi.]

<sup>1</sup> The þ is always y in *Harl.* 5401.

<sup>2</sup> that is, the figs.

## Recipes.

[From *Harl. MS.* 279, ab. 1430-40 A.D. *A pretty MS. that ought to be printed.*]

**Potage dyuers .lxiiij.** **Harys in cyueye.** Take Harys, & Fle hem, & make  
(fol. 15 a.) hem clene, an hacke hem in gobettys, & sethe hem in Watere & Salt a lytylle; þan take Pepyr, an Safroun, an Brede, y-grounde y-fere, & temper it wyth Ale. þan take Oynonys & Percely y-mynced smal to-gederys, & sethe hem be hem self, & afterward take & do þer-to a porcyon of vynegre, & dresse in. (See also the recipe for "Harus in Cyue" in *Liber Cure Cocorum*, p. 21, & that for "Conyngus in cyue" p. 20. *Chive* is a kind of small onion.)

**.lxxiii.** **Conyngys in cyueye.** Take Conyngys, an fle hem & seþe  
(fol. 16 a.) hem, & make lyke þou woldyst make a sewe, saue alle to-choppe hem, & caste Safroun & lyer þer-to, & Wyne. (See also "Conyngus in cyue" in *L. C. C.*, p. 20; and "Conynges in Cyue" in *Household Ordinances*, p. 434.)

**xv.** **Doucettes.** Take Creme a gode cupfulle, & put it on a stray-  
(fol. 39 b.) noure, þanne take 3olkys of Eyroun, & put þer-to, & a lytel mylke; þen strayne it þrow a straynoure in-to a bolle; þen take Sugre [1 fol. 40.] y-now, & put þer-to, or ellys hony for defaute<sup>1</sup> of Sugre; þan coloure it *with* Safroun; þan take þin cofyns, & put it in þe ovyne lere, & lat hem ben hardyd; þan take a dyssshe y-fastenyd on þe pelys ende, & pore þin comade in-to þe dyssche, & fro þe dyssche in-to þe cofyns; & whan þey don a-ryse Wel, teke hem out, & serue hem forth.

**xxxviij.** **Doucettes.** Take Porke & hakke it smal, & Eyroun y-mellyd  
(fol. 43 b.) to-gederys, & a lytel Milke, & melle hem to-gederys *with* Hony & Pepir, & bake hem in a cofyn, & serue forth.

**xxxviij.** **Doucettes a-forcyd.** Take Almaunde Milke & 3olkys of Eyroun y-mellid to-gederys, Safroun, Salt, & Hony: dry þin cofyn, & ley þin Maribonys þer-on, & *serue forth.*

The Boke of Hermyngge.



The  
Boke of Keruyngge,

[that is to say,

The boke of Seruyce & Keruyngge and Sewyngge  
& all Maner of Offyce in his kynde  
vnto a Prynce or ony other Estate,  
& all the Feestes in the yere.]

Enprynted by Wynkyn de Worde at London in  
Flete Strete at the sygne of the Sonne. The  
yere of our Lorde God. M.CCCC.xij.  
[and now reprinted,  
1867.]

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## The Boke of Keruyng.

[Fol. A 1.]

¶ Here begynneth the boke of keruyng and  
sewyng / and all the feestes in the yere, for the seruyce  
of a prynce or any other estate, as ye shall fynde eche  
offyce, the seruyce accordyng, in this boke folowyng.

[Fol. A 1 b.]  
*The Boke of Carving  
and Arranging;  
and the Dishes  
for all the Feasts  
in the year.*

### ¶ Termes of a Keruer.

Termes of a Carver:

<b>B</b> Reke that dere	tyere that egge	
lesche <sup>†</sup> y brawne	chyne that samon	Slice brawn.
rere that goose	stryng that lampraye	
lyft that swanne	splatte that pyke	aplat a pike,
sauce that capon	sauce that playce	
spoyle that henne	sauce that tenche	spoil a hen,
frusshe that chekyn	splaye that breme	
vnbrace that malarde	syde that haddocke	vnbrace a mallard,
vnlace that cony	tuske that barbell	
dysmembre that heron	culpon that troute	
dysplaye that crane	fynne that cheuen	fin a chub,
dysfygure that pecocke	transsene that ele	
vnicynt that bytture	traunche that sturgyon	
vnache that curlewe	vndertraunche <sup>†</sup> y purpos	untache a curlew,
alaye that fesande	tayme that crabbe	
wyng that partryche	barbe that lopster	barb a lobater,
wyng that quayle		
mynce that plouer	¶ Here hendeth the	
thye that pegyon	goodly termes.	
border that pasty		border a pasty,
thye that wodcocke	¶ Here begynneth	
thye all maner of small byrdes	Butler and	thigh small birds.
tymbre that fyre	Panter.	

The Butler has 3 knives :

[1 Fol. A ii.]  
1. a squarer,  
2. a chipper,  
3. a smoother.

Trencher-bread must be 4 days old;

the Salt-Planer of ivory;

table cloths kept in a chest, or hung on a perch.

To broach a Pipe, have 2 augers,

funnels, and tubes, and pierce the Pipe 4 inches from the bottom.

Always have ready fruits [2 Orig. seasons]

and hard cheese.

Beware of cow cream.

Hard cheese is aperient, and keeps off poison.

Milk and Junket close the Maw.

[3 Fol. A ii. b.]

**T**Hou shalte be Butler and Panter all the fyrst yere / and ye muste haue thre pantry knyues / one knyfe to square trenchoure loues / an other to be a chyppere / the thyrde shall be sharpe to make smothe trenchoures / than chyppe your soueraynes brede hote, and all other brede let it be a daye olde / housholde brede thre dayes olde / trenchour brede foure dayes olde / than loke your salte be whyte and drye / the planer made of Iuory, two inches brode & thre inches longe / & loke that youre salte seller lydde touche not the salte / than loke your table clothes, towelles, and napkyns, be fayre folden in a cheste or hanged vpon a perche / than loke your table knyues be fayre pullysshed, & your spones clene / than loke ye haue two tarryours, a more & a lesse, & wyne cannelles of boxe made accordynge / a sharpe gymlot & faucettes. And whan ye sette a pype on broche, do thus / set it foure fynger brede aboue y<sup>e</sup> nether chyme vpwardes aslaunte / and than shall y<sup>e</sup> lyes neuer a-ryse. Also loke ye haue in all seasons<sup>2</sup> butter, chese, apples, peres, nottes, plommes, grapes, dates, fygges & raysyns, compost, grene gynger and chardequynce. Serue fastynge butter, plommes, damesons, cheryes, and grapes. after mete, peres, nottes, strawberyes, hurtelberyes, & hard chese. Also brandrels or pepyns with carawey in confetes. After souper, rost apples & peres, with blanche poudre, & harde chese / be ware of cowe creme, & of good strawberyes, hurtelberyes, Iouncat, for these wyll make your souerayne seke but he ete harde chese / harde chese hath these operacyons / it wyll kepe y<sup>e</sup> stomacke open / butter is holsome fyrst & last, for it wyll do awaye all poysons / mylke, creme, & Iouncat, they wyll close the mawe, & so dooth a posset / therefore ete harde chese, & drynke romney modon / beware of grene sallettes & rawe fruytes, for they wyll make your sourayne seke / therefore set no mo.<sup>3</sup> che by suche metes



as wyll set your tethe on edge ; therefore ete an almonde & harde chese / but ete non moche chese without romney modon. Also yf dyuers drynkes, yf theyr fumositytees haue dyspleased your souerayne, let hym ete a rawe apple, and y<sup>e</sup> fumositytees wyll cease : mesure is a mery mene & it be well vsed / abstynence is to be praysed whan god therwith is pleased. Also take good hede of your wynes euery nyght with a candell, bothe rede wyne and swete wyne, & loke they reboyle nor leke not / & wasshe y<sup>e</sup> pype hedes euery nyght with colde water / & loke ye haue a chynchyng yron, addes, and lymen clothes, yf nede be / & yf the[y] reboyle, ye shall knowe by the hyssyng / therefore kepe an empty pype with y<sup>e</sup> lyes of coloured rose, & drawe the reboyled wyne to y<sup>e</sup> lyes, & it shal helpe it. Also yf your swete wyne pale, drawe it in to a romney vessell for lessyng.

For food that sets your teeth on edge, eat an almond and hard cheese.

A raw apple will cure indigestion.

See every night that your wines don't boll over or leak.

You'll know their fermenting by their hissing.

¶ Here foloweth the names of wynes.

*Names of Wines.*

¶ Reed wyne / whyte wyne / clared wyne / osey / capryke / campolet / renysshe wyne / maluesey / bastarde / tyer, romney / muscadell / clarrey / raspys / vernage / vernage wyne cut / pymente and ypcoras.

Campolet, Rhenish, &c.

For to make ypcoras.

*To make Ypcoras.*

¶ Take gynger / peper / graynes / canell / synamon / suger and tornsole / than loke ye haue fyue or syxe bagges for your ypcoras to renne in, & a perche that your renners may ren on / than muste ye haue .vi. peautre basyns to stande vnder your bagges / than loke your spyce be redy / & your gynger well pared or it be beten <sup>1</sup> to poudre / than loke your stalkes of synamon be well coloured ; & swete canell is not so gentyll in operacyon ; synamon is hote and drye / graynes of paradico <sup>2</sup> ben hote and moyste / gynger / graynes / longe peper / and suger, ben hote and moyst / synamon /

Take spices; put 6 bags on a perch.

6 pewter basins under,

ginger and cinnamon. [1 Fol. A iii.]

(Of the qualities of spices.)

[2 sic : o for e]

canell, & rede wyne, ben hote and drye / tornsole is  
 holosome / for reed wyne colourynge. Now knowe ye the  
 Pound each spice separately, put 'em  
 in bladders, and proporcyons of your ypocras / than bete your poudres  
 eche by themselfe, & put them in bladders, & hange  
 hang 'em in your your bagges sure, that no bage touche other / but let  
 bags, eche basyn touche other; let the fyrste basyn be of a  
 add a gallon of galon, and eche of the other of a potell / than put in  
 red wine to 'em, your basyn a galon of reed wyne, put thereto your  
 stir it well, run poudres, and styre them well / than put them in to the  
 it through two fyrste bagge, and let it renne / than put them in to the  
 bags, seconde bagge / than take a pece in your hande, and  
 taste it, assaye yf it be stronge of gynger / and alaye it with  
 synamon / and it be stro[n]ge of synamon / alaye it  
 with suger / and loke ye lette it renne thrughe syxe  
 pass it through 6 renners / & your ypocras shall be the fyner / than  
 runners, and put it in a close vessel.  
 Keep the dregs for put your ypocras in to a close vessell, and kepe  
 cooking. the receyte / for it wyll serue for sewes / than serue  
 your souerayne with wafers and ypocras. Also loke  
 Have your Com- your composte be fayre and clene / and your ale fyue  
 post clean, and dayes olde or men drynke it / than kepe your hous of  
 your ale 5 days offyce clene, & be curtoys of answeere to eche persone,  
 old, and loke ye gyue no persone noo dowled drynke / for it  
 but not dead. wyll breke y<sup>e</sup> scabbe. And whan ye laye the clothe,  
 To lay the Cloth. wype y<sup>e</sup> borde clene with a cloute / than laye a cloth,  
 a couche, it is called, take your felawe that one ende, &  
 Put on a couche, then a second holde you that other ende, than drawe the clothe  
 cloth. straught, the bought on y<sup>e</sup> vtter edge / take the vtter  
 the fold on the parte, & hange it euen / than take the thyrde clothe,  
 outer edge; a and lay y<sup>e</sup> bought on the inner <sup>1</sup>edge / and laye estat  
 third, the fold on with the vpper parte halfe a fote brode / than couer thy  
 the inner edge. cupborde and thyn ewery with the towell of dyaper /  
 [1 Fol. A. iii. b.] than take thy towell about thy necke, and laye that one  
 Cover your cup- board, syde of y<sup>e</sup> towell vpon thy lefte arme / and there-on  
 board, laye your soueraynes napkyn / and laye on thyn arme  
 put a towel round seuen loues of brede, with thre or foure trenchour loues,  
 your neck, one with the ende of y<sup>e</sup> towell in the lefte hande, as the  
 side lying on your  
 left arm;  
 on that, 7 loaves of  
 eating bread and  
 4 trencher loaves.  
 In your left hand  
 a saltcellar,

maner is / than take thy salte seller in thy lefte hande,  
 and take the ende of  $\overset{e}{y}$  towell in your ryght hande to  
 here in spones and knyues / than set your salt on the  
 ryght syde where your souerayne shall sytte, and on  $\overset{e}{y}$   
 lefte syde the salte set your trenchours / than laye your  
 knyues, & set your brede, one lofe by an other / your  
 spones, and your napkyns fayre folden besyde your  
 brede / than couer your brede and trenchoures, spones  
 and knyues / & at euery ende of  $\overset{e}{y}$  table set a salte  
 seller with two treachour<sup>1</sup> loues / and yf ye wyll wrappe  
 your soueraynes brede stately, ye muste square and  
 proporeyon your brede, and se that no lofe be more  
 than an other / and than shall ye make your wrapper  
 man[er]ly / than take a towell of reynes of two yerdes  
 and an halfe, and take the towell by  $\overset{e}{y}$  endes double,  
 and laye it on the table / than take the ende of  $\overset{e}{y}$   
 bought a handfull in your hande, and wrappe it harde,  
 and laye the ende so wrapped bytwene two towelles ;  
 vpon that ende so wrapped, lay your brede, botom to  
 botom, syxe or seuen loues / than set your brede  
 manerly in fourme / and whan your soueraynes table is  
 thus arayed, couer all other bordes with salte, tren-  
 choures, & cuppes. Also so<sup>2</sup> thyn ewery be arayed with  
 basyns & ewers, & water hote & colde / and se' ye haue  
 napkyns, cuppes, & spones / & se your pottes for  
 wyne <sup>3</sup>and ale be made clene, and to  $\overset{e}{y}$  surnape make  
 ye curtesy with a clothe vnder a fayre double napry /  
 than take þe towelles ende nexte you / & the vtter ende  
 of the clothe on the vtter syde of the table, & holde  
 these thre endes atones, & folde them atones, that a  
 plyte passe not a fote brode / than laye it euen there it  
 sholde lye. And after mete wasshe with that that is  
 at  $\overset{e}{y}$  ryghte ende of the table / ye muste guyde it  
 out, and the marshall must conuey it / and loke  
 on eche clothe the ryght syde be outwarde, & drawe  
 it streyght / than must ye reyse the vpper parte

in your right the  
 towel.  
 Set the saltcellar  
 on your lord's  
 right, and  
 trenchers on the  
 left of it.

Lay knives, bread,  
 spoons, napkins,  
 and cover 'em up.

[1 sic : a for n]  
 To wrap your  
 Lord's bread  
 stately.  
 Square the loaves :

take a Reynes  
 towel 2½ yards  
 long by the ends ;  
 put it on the  
 table, piuch up a  
 handfull of one  
 end,

and lay it between  
 2 towels, and on it  
 lay your 6 or 7  
 loaves botom to  
 botom.

Put salt, cupe, &c.,  
 on the other  
 tables.

[2 for ee, see.]  
 See that your  
 Ewery is properly  
 supplied,  
 and your ale-pots  
 kept clean.

[3 Fol. A 4.]  
 To arrange the  
 Surnape.  
 Put a cloth under  
 a double towel,  
 hold 3 ends  
 together,

fold them in a  
 foot-broad pleat,  
 and lay it smooth.

After washing,

the Marshal must  
 carry the surnape  
 out.

of  $\overset{\circ}{y}$  towell, & laye it *with*-out ony gronyng / and at  
 every ende of  $\overset{\circ}{y}$  towell ye must conuey halfe a yerde  
 that  $\overset{\circ}{y}$  sewer may make estate reuerently, and let it  
 be. And whan your souerayne hath wasshen, drawe  $\overset{\circ}{y}$   
 surnape euen / than bere the surnape to the myddes of  
 the borde & take it vp before your souerayne, & bere it  
 in to  $\overset{\circ}{y}$  ewery agayne. And whan your souerayne it<sup>1</sup>  
 set, loke your towell be aboute your necke / than make  
 your souerayne curtesy / than vncouer your brede & set  
 it by the salte & laye your napkyn, knyfe, & spone, afore  
 hym / than knele on your knee tyll the purpayne passe  
 eyght loues / & loke ye set at  $\overset{\circ}{y}$  endes of  $\overset{\circ}{y}$  table foure  
 loues at a messe / and se that every persone haue  
 napkyn and spone / & wayte well to  $\overset{\circ}{y}$  sewer how many  
 dysshes be couered;  $\overset{\circ}{y}$  so many cuppes couer ye / than  
 serue ye forth the table manerly  $\overset{\circ}{y}$  ewery man may  
 speke your curtesy.

Leave out half a  
yard to make  
estate.

When your lord  
has washed,  
remove the  
Surnape.

When he is seated,  
[<sup>1</sup> for is]

salute him, un-  
cover your bread,

kneel on your  
knee till 8 loaves  
are served out (?)

Provide as many  
cups as dishes.

¶ Here endeth of the Butler and Panter, yoman of  
 the seller and ewery. And here foloweth sewyng of  
 flesshe.

*Sewyng of  
Flesshe.*

[Fol. A 4 b.]  
The Sewer or  
arranger of dishes

must ascertain  
what dishes and  
fruits are pre-  
pared daily for  
dinner; and he  
must have people  
ready to carry up  
the dishes.

[<sup>2</sup> for be]

THE sewer muste sewe, & from the borde conuey all  
 maner of potages, metes, & sauces / & ewery daye  
 comon with the coke, and vnderstande & wyte how  
 many dysshes shall be, and speke with the panter and  
 offycers of  $\overset{\circ}{y}$  spycery for fruytes that shall be eten  
 fastyng. Than goo to the borde of sewyng, and se ye  
 haue offycers redy to conuey, & seruauntes for to bere,  
 your dysshes. Also yf marshall, squyers, and ser-  
 uauntes of armes, bo<sup>2</sup> there, than serue forth your souer-  
 ayne withouten blame.

*The Succession  
of Dishes.*

1. Brawn, &c.
2. Pheasant, &c.

¶ Seruyce.

¶ Fyrste sette ye forthe mustarde and brawne,  
 potage, befe, motton stewed. Fesande / swanne /

capon / pygge, venyson bake / custarde / and leche  
 lombarde. Fruyter vaunte, with a subtylte, two pot-  
 ages, blanche manger, and gelly. For standarde,  
 venyson roste, kydde, fawne & cony / bustarde, storke,  
 crane, pecocke with his tayle, heronsewe, bytture, wood-  
 cocke, partryche, plouer, rabettes, grete byrdes, larkes /  
 doucettes, paynpuffe, whyte leche, ambre / gelly, creme  
 of almondes, curlewe, brewe, snytes, quayle, sparowes,  
 martynet, perche in gelly / petyperuys<sup>1</sup>, quynces bake /  
 leche dewgarde, fruyter fayge, blandrelles or pepyns  
 with carawaye in confettes, wafers and ypocras, they be  
 a-greable. Now this feest is done, voyde ye the table.

3. Meat Fritters,  
&c.  
4. For a standard.

a peacock with his  
tail.

5. Doucettes,  
Paynpuff,  
Brew, Snipe,

Petyperuys and  
(1 ? u for n)  
Fayge,

Caraways, &c.

Clear the table.

¶ Here endeth the sewyng of flesshe. And begyn-  
 neth the keruyng of flesshe.

*Keruyng of  
Flesshe.*

**T**He keruer must knowe the keruyng and the fayre  
 handyng of a knyfe, and how ye shall seche al  
 maner of fowle / your knyfe muste be fayre and <sup>2</sup> your  
 handes muste be clene ; & passe not two fyngers & a  
 thombe vpon your knyfe. In <sup>5</sup> myddes of your hande  
 set the halfe sure, vnlassyng <sup>6</sup> y<sup>e</sup> mynsyng wich <sup>3</sup> two  
 fyngers & a thombe ; keruyng of brede, layenge, &  
 voydyng of crommes, with two fyngers and a thombe /  
 loke ye haue <sup>7</sup> y<sup>e</sup> cure / set neuer on fysshe / flesshe /  
 beest / ne fowle, more than two fyngers and a thombe /  
 than take your lofe in your left hande, & holde your  
 knyfe surely ; enbwe not the table clothe / but wye  
 vpon your napkyn / than take your trenchouer lofe in  
 your left hande, and with the edge of your table knyfe  
 take vp your trenchours as nye the poynt as ye may /  
 than laye foure trenchours to your soferayne, one by an  
 other / and laye theron other foure trenchours or elles  
 twayne / than take a lofe in your lyfte hande, & pare  
<sup>8</sup> y<sup>e</sup> lofe rounde aboute / than cut the ouer cruste to  
 your souerayne, and cut the nether cruste, & voyde

[2 Fol. A 5.]  
Your hands must  
be clean :  
only two fingers  
and a thumb  
should be put on  
your knife,  
[3 for with]

or on fish, flesh,

or fowl.

Wipe your knife  
on your napkin.

Lay 4 trenchers  
for your lord,  
with 2 or 4 on  
them ;  
and the upper  
crust of a fine  
loaf.

the parynge, & touche the lofe no more after it is so serued / than clense the table that the sewer may serue youre souerayne. Also ye muste knowe the fumosytees<sup>1</sup> of fysshe, flesshe, and foules, & all maner of sauces accordynge to theyr appetytes / these ben the fumosytes / as resty, fat things, salte, soure, resty, fatte, fryed, senewes, skynnes, hony, feathers, heads, croupes, yonge feders, heddes, pygous<sup>2</sup> bones, all maner of legges of bestees & fowles the vtter syde ; for these lege, &c  
[<sup>1</sup> sic: c for e] Give heed to what is indigestible.  
[<sup>2</sup> sic: u for n]

ben fumosytees ; laye them neuer to your souerayne.

*Keruyng of Flesshe.*

¶ Seruyce.

How to carve Brawn,

Venison.

[<sup>3</sup> Fol. A 5 b.]  
(cut it in 12 bits and slice it into the furnity.)

Pheasant, Stockdoves,

(mynce the wings into the syrup.)

Goose, Teal, &c.,  
(take off the legs and wings.)

Capon,

(mynce the wing with wine or ale.)

Plover, Lapwing.

¶ Take your knyfe in your hande, and cut brawne in  $\overset{\circ}{y}$  dysse as it lyeth, & laye it on your soueraynes trenchour, & se there be mustarde. Venyson with fourmenty is good for your souerayne : touche not the venyson with your hande, but with your knyfe cut it .xii. draugh<sup>3</sup>tes with the edge of your knyfe, and cut it out in to  $\overset{\circ}{y}$  fourmenty / doo in the same wyse with pesen. & bacon, befe chyne and motton / pare the befe, cut the motton / & laye to your souerayne / beware of fumosytees / salte, senewe, fatte, resty & rawe. In syrupe, fesande, partryche, stockdoue, & chekyns / in the left hande take them by the pynyon, & with the foreparte of your knyfe lyfte vp your wynges / than mynce it in to the syrupe / beware of skynne rawe & senowe. Goos, tele, malarde, & swanne, reyse<sup>4</sup> the legges, than the wynges / laye the body in  $\overset{\circ}{y}$  myddes or in a nother plater / the wynges in the myddes & the legges ; after laye the brawne bytwene the legges / & the wynges in the plater. Capon or henne of grece, lyfte the legges, than the wynges, & caste on wyne or ale, than mynce the wynges & giue your souerayne. Fesande, partryche, plouer or lapwynges, reyse  $\overset{\circ}{y}$  wynges, & after the legges.

<sup>4</sup> The top of the *s* is broken off, making the letter look like an *l* rubbed at the top.

woodcocke, bytture, egryt, snyte, curlewe & heronsewe, Bittern, Egret.  
 vnlace them, breke of the pynions, necke & becke /  
 than reyse the legges, & let the fete be on styll, than  
 the wynges. A crane, reyse the wynges fyrst, & beware How to carve a  
 Crane, (mind the  
 trump in his  
 brest.)  
 of the trumpe in his brest. Pecocke, storke, bustarde Shoveler,  
 & shouyllarde, vnlace them as a crane, and let y<sup>e</sup> fete  
 be on styll. Quayle, sparow, larke, martynet, pegyon, Quail, Martins,  
 swalowe, & thrusse, y<sup>e</sup> legges fyrst, than y<sup>e</sup> wynges. Swallow,  
 Fawne, kyde, and lambe, laye the kydney to your Fawn, Kid,  
 souerayne, than lyfe vp the sholder & gyue your souer-  
 ayne a rybbe. Venyson roste, cut it in the dysshe, & Roast Venison,  
 laye it to your souerayne. A cony, lay hym on the Cony,  
 backe, cut away the ventes bytwene the hynder legges,  
 breke the canell bone, than reyse the sydes, than lay (lay him on his  
 belly with his two  
 cut-off sides, on  
 each side of him.)  
 the cony on y<sup>e</sup> wombe, on eche syde the chyne y<sup>e</sup> two  
 sydes departed from the chyne, than laye the bulke,  
 chyne, & sydes, in y<sup>e</sup> dysshe. \* Also ye must mynce [\* Fol. A 6.]  
 Cut 4 strips to  
 each bit of meat,  
 for your lord to  
 pick it up by.  
 Open hot Meat-  
 Pies at the top;  
 cold in the middle.  
 Cut Custards in  
 inch blocks.  
 Doucettes, pare  
 off sides and  
 bottom.  
 foure lesse to one morcell of mete, that your soverayne  
 may take it in the sauce. All bake metes that ben  
 hote, open them a-boue the coffyn; & all that ben colde,  
 open theym in the mydwaye. Custarde, cheke them  
 inche square that your souerayne may ete therof. Dou-  
 cettes, pare away the sydes & the bottom: beware of  
 fumosytes. Fryuter vaunte, fryuter say, be good; better Fritters hot are  
 good,  
 is fryuter pouche; apple fryuters ben good hote / and all  
 colde fruters, touche not. Tansy is good / hote wortes, cold had.  
 Tansy is good.  
 or gruell of befe or of motton is good. Gelly, mortrus, Jelly, Blanche  
 Manger, Charlet,  
 &c., are good, and  
 creme almondes, blaunche manger, Iussell, and charlet, no other potages.  
 cabage, and nombles of a dere, ben good / & all other  
 potage beware of.

¶ Here endeth y<sup>e</sup> keruyng of flesshe. And Sauces for all  
 maner of Fowles.  
 begynneth sauces for all maner of fowles.

**M**Ustarde is good with brawne, befe, chyne, bacon, Mustard for beef:  
 Verjuice for  
 boyled chickens;  
 Cawdrons for  
 swans:  
 & motton. Vergius is good to boyled chekyens  
 and capon / swanne with cawdrons / rybbes of

Garlick, &c., for beef. befe with garlycke, mustarde, peper, vergyus; gynger  
 Ginger for lamb; sauce to lambe, pygge, & fawne / mustarde & suger to  
 Gamelyne for heronsewe, &c.: fesande, partryche, and conye / sauce gamelyne to  
 Salt, Sugar and Water of Tame for heronsewe, egryt, plouer, & crane / to brewe, curlewe,  
 brew, &c. salte, suger, & water of tame / to bustarde, shouyllarde,  
 & bytture, sauce gamelyne: woodcocke, lapwyng, e,  
 White salt for larke, quayle, mertynet, venyson, and snyte, with whyte  
 lapwings, &c. salte / sparowes & throstelles with salte & synamon /  
 Cinnamon and salt for thrushes, &c. thus with all metes, sauce shall haue the operacyons.

¶ Here endeth the sauces for all maner of fowles and metes.

[Fol. A. 6 b.]  
*The Dinner Courses from Easter to Whitsunday.*  
 From Easter to Pentecost, set bread, trenchers and spoons:

6 or 8 trenchers for a great lord,

3 for one of low degree. Then cut bread for eating.

For Easter-day Feast:  
 First Course:  
 A Calf, boiled and blessed;

boiled Eggs and green sauce;

Potage, with beef,

¶ Here begynneth the feestes and seruyce from Eester vnto whytsondaye.

ON Eester daye & so forthe to Pentycost, after y<sup>e</sup> seruyng of the table there shall be set brede, trenchours, and spones, after the estymacyon of them that shall syt there; and thus ye shall serue your souerayne; laye [six or eight <sup>1</sup>] trenchours / & yf he be of a lower degre [or] estate, laye fyue trenchours / & yf he be of lower degre, foure trenchours / & of an other degre, thre trenchours / than cut brede for your souerayne after ye knowe his condyeyons, wheder it be cutte in y<sup>e</sup> myddes or pared, or elles for to be cut in small peces. Also ye must vnderstande how y<sup>e</sup> mete shall be serued before youre souerayne, & namely on Eester daye after the gouernaunce & seruyce of y<sup>e</sup> countree where ye were borne. Fyrste on that daye he shall serue a calfe soden and blessyd / and than soden egges with grene sauce, and set them before the most pryncypall estate / and that lorde by cause of his hyghe estate shall departe them all aboute hym / than serue potage, as wortes, Iowtes, or browes, with befe, motton,

<sup>1</sup> See above, in the Keruyng of Flesshe, p. 157, lines 5 and 4 from the bottom.



or vele / & capons that ben coloured with saffron, and bake metes. And the seconde course, Iussell with mamony, and rosted, endoured / & pegyons with bake metes, as tartes, chewettes, & flawnes, & other, after the dysposycyon of the cokes. And at soupertime dyuers sauces of motton or vele in broche<sup>1</sup>, after the ordynaunce of the stewarde / and than chekyns with bacon, vele, roste pegyons or lambe, & kydde roste with y<sup>e</sup> heed & the portenaunce on lambe & pygges fete, with vinegre & percely theron, & a tansye fryed, & other bake metes / ye shall vnderstande this maner of seruyce<sup>2</sup> dureth to Pentecoste, saue fysshe dayes. Also take hede how ye shall araye these thynges before your souerayne / fyrst ye shall se therè be grene sauces of sorell or of vynes, that is holde a sauce for the fyrst course / and ye shall begyn to reyse the capon.

saffron-stained  
Capons.  
Second Course:  
Mameny, Pigeons.  
Ochwets,  
Flawnes.  
Supper:  
[1 ? brothe]  
Chickens, Veal.  
roast Kid,  
Pigs'-Feet.  
a Tansye fried.  
[2 Fol. 3 i.]  
Green Sauces of  
sorell or vynes,  
for the first course.

¶ Here endeth the feest of Eester tyll Pentecoste. And here begynneth keruyng of all maner of fowles.

*Keruyng of all  
maner of Fowles.*

¶ Sauce that capon.

*How to carve a  
Capon.*

¶ Take vp a capon, & lyfte vp the ryght legge and the ryght wyng, & so araye forth & laye hym in the plater as he sholde flee, & serve your souerayne / & knowe well that capons or chekyns ben arayed after one sauce; the chekyn shall be sauced with grene sauce or vergyus.

Sauce: green  
sauce or verjuice.

¶ Lyfte that swanne.

*Swan.*

¶ Take and dyghte hym as a goose, but let hym haue a largyours brawne, & loke ye haue chawdron.

Chawdron is the  
sauce for him.

¶ Alaye that fesande.

*Pheasant.*

¶ Take a fesande, and reyse his legges & his wynges as it were an henne, & no sauce but onely salte.

No sauce but Salt.

¶ wynges that partryche.

*Partridge.*

¶ Take a partryche, and reyse his legges and his wynges as a henne / & ye mynce hym, sauce hym with

Sauce for  
Partridges.

wyn, poudre of gynger, & salte / that set it vpon a  
chaufyng-dysshe of coles to warme & serue it.

*How to carue a  
Quail.*

¶ wynges that quayle.

Sauce: salt.

¶ Take a quayle, and reyse his legges and his  
wynges as an henne, and no sauce but salte.

*Crane.*

Dysplaye that crane.

Sauce: ginger,  
mustard, vinegar,  
and salt.

¶ Take a crane, and vnfolde his legges, and cut of  
his wynges by the Ioyntes: than take vp hys wynges  
and his legges, and sauce hym with poudres of gynger,  
mustarde, vynegre, and salte.

[Fol. b i. b.]  
*Heron.*

Dysmembre that heron.

Sauce as before.

¶ Take an heron, and reyse his legges and his  
wynges as a crane, and sauce hym with vynegre, mus-  
tarde, poudre of gynger, and salte.

*Bittern.*

Vnicint that bytture.

Salt, the sauce.

¶ Take a bytture, and reyse his legges & his  
wynges as an heron, & no sauce but salte.

*Egret.*

Breke that egryt.

Salt, the sauce.

¶ Take an egryt, and reyse his legges and his  
wynges as an heron, and no sauce but salte.

*Curlew.*

Vntache that curlewe.

Salt, as sauce.

¶ Take a curlewe, and reyse his legges and his  
wynges as an henne, and no sauce but salte.

*Brewe.*

¶ Vntache that brewe.

Salt, as sauce.

¶ Take a brewe, and reyse his legges and his  
wynges in the same maner, and no sauce but onely  
salte, & serue your souerayne.

*Cony (or Rabbit.)*

Vnlace that cony.

Sauce: vinegar  
and ginger.

¶ Take a cony, and laye hym on the backe, & cut  
awaye the ventes / than reyse the wynges and the  
sydes, and laye bulke, chyne, and the sydes togyder;  
sauce, vynegre and poudre of gynger.

Breke that sarcell.

*Sarcel or Teal.*

¶ Take a sarcell or a teele, and reyse his wynges & his legges, and no sauce but salte onely.

Mynce that plouer.

*Plover.*

¶ Take a plouer, and reyse his legges and his wynges as an henne, and no sauce but onely salt.

A snyte.

*Snipe.*

¶ Take a snyte, and reyse his wynges, his legges, and his sholdres, as a plouer; and no sauce but salte.

¶ Thye that woodcocke.

[Fol. B ij.]  
*Woodcock.*

Take a woodcocke, & reyse his legges and his wynges as an henne; this done, dyght the brayne. And here begynneth the feest from Pentecost vnto mydsomer.

**I**N the seconde course for the metes before sayd ye shall take for your sauces, wyne, ale, vynegre, and poudres, after the mete be; & gynger & canell from Pentecost to the feest of saynt Iohn baptyst. The fyrst course shall be befe, motton soden with capons, or rosted / & yf the capons be soden, araye hym in the maner aforesayd. And whan he is rosted, thou must caste on salte, with wyne or with ale / than take the capon by the legges, & caste on the sauce, & breke hym out, & laye hym in a dysshe as he sholde flee. Fyrst ye shall cut the ryght legge and the ryght sholdre, & bytwene the foure membres laye the brawne of the capon, with the croupe in the ende bytwene the legges, as it were possyble for to be loyned agayne togyder / & other bake metes after: And in the seconde course, potage shall be, Iussell, charlet, or mortrus, with yonge geese, vele, porke, pygyons or chekyns rosted, with payne puffe / fruyters, and other bake metes after the ordynaunce of the coke. Also the goose ought to be cut membre to membre, begynnyng at the ryght legge, and so forth vnder the ryght wyng,

Sauces for the  
Second Course.

First Course:  
Beef and Capons.

How to sauce and  
carve a Roast  
Capon:

lay him out as if  
ready to fly.

Second Course:  
Potage, Charlet,  
young Geese,  
Payne Puffe, &c.

How to carve a  
Goose.

Goose must be eaten with green garlic or verjuice.

& not vpon the Ioynte about / & it ought for to be eten with grene garlyke, or with sorell, or tender vynes, or vergyus in somer season, after the pleasure of your souerayne. Also ye shall vnderstande that all maner of fowle that hath hole fete sholde be reysed vnder the wyng, and not about.

*Dinner Courses from the Natiuity\* of St John the Baptist, (June 24.) to Michaelmas.*

¶ Here endeth the feest from Pentecost to mydsomer. And here begynneth from the feest of saynt Iohn the baptist vnto Myghelmasse.

First Course : soups, vegetables, legs of Pork, &c.

Second Course :

roast Mutton,  
glazed Pigeons,  
Fritters, &c.

Serve a Pheasant dry, with salt and ginger :

a Heronsewe with salt and powder (blanche ?)

Treat open-clawed birds like capons.

IN the fyrst course, potage, wortes, gruell, & fourmenty, with venyson, and mortrus and pestelles of porke with grene sauce. Rosted capon, swanne with chawdron. In the seconde course, potage after the ordynance of the cokes, with rosted motton, vele, porke, chekyns or endoured pygyons, heron-sewes, fruyters or other bake metes / & take hede to the fesande : he shall be arayed in the maner of a capon / but it shall be done drye, without ony moysture, and he shall be eten with salte and powder of gynger. And the heronsewe shall be arayed in the same maner without ony moysture, & he shulde be eten with salte and poudre. Also ye shall vnderstande that all maner of fowles hauynge open clawes as a capon, shall be tyred and arayed as a capon and suche other.

*Dinner Courses from Michaelmas to Christmas.*

¶ From the feest of saynt Myghell vnto the feest of Chrystynmasse.

First Course : legs of Pork, &c.

Second Course :

IN the fyrst course, potage, befe, motton, bacon, or pestelles of porke, or with goose, capon, mallarde, swanne, or fesande, as it is before sayd, with tartes, or bake metes, or chynes of porke. In the second course, potage, mortrus, or conyes, or sewe / than roste flesshe, motton, porke, vele, pulletes, chekyns, pygyons, teeles,

\* The feast of St John's Beheading is on Aug. 29.

wegyons, mallardes, partryche, woodcoke, plouer, byt-  
 ture, curlewe, heronsewe / venyson roost, grete byrdes, Widgeon,  
 snytes, feldefayres, thrussches, fruyters, chewettes, befe Fieldfares,  
 with sauce gelopere, roost with sauce pegyll, & other Chewets, Beef,  
 ba'ke metes as is aforesayde. And yf ye kerue afore with sauces  
 your lorde or your lady ony soden flesshe, kerue away Gelopere and  
 the skynne aboute / than kerue resonably of y<sup>e</sup> flesshe Pegyll.  
 to your lorde or lady, and specyally for ladyes, for y<sup>e</sup> [1 Fol. n iii.]  
 wyll soone be angry, for theyr thoughtes ben soone Cut the skin off  
 changed / and some lordes wyll be sone pleased, & some boiled mests.  
 wyll not / as they be of compleccyon. The goos & Carve carefully for  
 swanne may be cut as ye do other fowles y<sup>t</sup> haue hole [2 for they]  
 fete, or elles as your lorde or your lady wyll aske it. Ladies; they soone  
 Also a swanne *with* chawdron, capon, or fesande, ought get angry.  
 for to be arayed as it is aforesayd / but the skynne must Carve Goose and  
 be had awaye / & whan they ben kerued before your Swan like other  
 lorde or your lady / for generally the skynne of all birds.  
 maner cloven foted fowles is vnholosome / & the skynne The skin of cloven-  
 of all maner hole foted fowles ben holosome for to be foted birds is  
 eten. Also wete ye well that all maner hole foted unwholesome;  
 fowles that haue theyr lyuyng vpon the water, theyr of whole-footed  
 skynnes ben holosome & clene, for by y<sup>e</sup> clenens of the birds  
 water / & fysshe, is theyr lyuyng. And yf that they wholesome,  
 ete ony stynkyng thyng, it is made so clene with y<sup>e</sup> because the water  
 water that all the corrupcyon is clene gone awaye frome washes all corrup-  
 it. And the skynne of capon, henne, or chekyn, ben not tion out of 'em.  
 so clene, for the[y] ete foule thynges in the strete / & Chickens' skin is  
 therefore the skynnes ben not so holosome / for it is not not so pure,  
 theyr kynde to entre in to y<sup>e</sup> ryuer to make theyr mete because their  
 voyde of y<sup>e</sup> fylth. Mallarde, goose, or swanne, they nature is not to  
 ete vpon the londe foule mete / but a-non, after theyr enter into the  
 kynde, they go to the ryuer, & theyr they clense them river.  
 of theyr foule stynke. A fesande as it is aforesayd / but River birds  
 y<sup>e</sup> skynne is not holosome / than take y<sup>e</sup> heddes of all cleansse their foul  
 felde byrdes and wood byrdes, as fesande, pecocke, stink in the river.  
 partryche, woodcocke, and curlewe, for they ete in Take off the heads  
 for they eat of all field birds,

worms, toads, and the like. theyr degrees foule thynges, as wormes, todes, and other suche.

*Sewynge of Fyssh.*

¶ Here endeth the feestes and the keruyng of fesshe, And here begynnefh the sewynge of fyssh.

*First Course :*

¶ The fyrst course.

Musculade,

**T**O go to sewynge of fyssh : musculade, menewes in sewe of porpas or of samon, bacon herynge with suger, grene fyssh, pyke, lampraye, salens, porpas rosted, bake gurnade, and lampraye bake.

Salens, &c.,  
baked Gurnet.

*Second Course :*

¶ The seconde course.

Jelly, dates, &c.

¶ Gelly whyte and rede, dates in confetes, congre, samon, dorrey, brytte, turbot, halybut / for standarde, base, troute, molette, cheuene, sele, eles & lamprayes roost, tenche in gelly.

For a standard.

Mullet, Chub,  
Seal, &c.

*Third Course :*

¶ The thyrde course.

Bream, Perch,  
Whelks; and  
pears in sugar  
candy. Figs,  
[1 *Orig.* raysyus]  
dates capped with  
minced ginger, &c.  
All over! Clear  
the table.

¶ Fresshe sturgyon, breme, perche in gelly, a·Ioll of samon, sturgyon, and welkes; apples & peres rosted with suger candy. Fygges of malyke, & raysyns,<sup>1</sup> dates capte with mynced gynger / wafers and yprocas, they ben agreable / this feest is done, voyde ye the table.

[Fol. b iii. h.]  
*Carving and  
Dressing of Fish.*

¶ Here endeth sewynge of fyssh. And here foloweth keruyng of fyssh.

Put tails and  
livers in the pea  
broth and furnimty.  
How to carve  
Seal Turrentyne,

baked Herring,

white Herring,

Green Fish,

Merling, Hake,

Pike,

**T**He keruer of fyssh must se to pessene & fourmen-tye the tayle and y<sup>o</sup> lyuer: ye must loke yf there be a salte purpos, or sele turrentyne, & do after y<sup>o</sup> fourme of veinyson / baken herynge, laye it hole vpon your soueraynes trenchour / whyte herynge in a disshe, open it by y<sup>o</sup> backe, pyke out the bones & the rowe, & se there be mustarde. Of salte fyssh, grene fyssh, salt samon & congre, pare away y<sup>o</sup> skyn / salte fyssh, stocke fyssh, marlynge, makrell, and hake, with butter: take awaye the bones & the skynnes. A pyke, laye y<sup>o</sup>

wombe vpon his trenchour *with* pyke sauce ynoughe.  
 A salte <sup>1</sup>lampraye, gobone it flatte in .vii. or .viii. [1 Fol. B 4.]  
salt Lamprey,  
Plaice,  
 peces, & lay it to your souerayne. A playce, put out  
 the water / than crosse hym with your knyfe, caste on  
 salte & wyne or ale. Gornarde, rochet, breme, cheuene, Gurnard, Bream,  
Roach, Whiting,  
Codling.  
 base, molet, roche, perche, sole, makrell & whytynge,  
 haddocke and codlynge, reyse them by the backe, &  
 pyke out the bones, & clense the refet in <sup>6</sup>y bely.  
 Carpe, breme, sole, & troute, backe & belly togyder. Carp, Tront,  
 Samon, congre, sturgyon, turbot, thorpole, thornebacke, Conger, Thorn-  
back, Halibut,  
 hounde-fysshe, & halybut, cut them in the dysshe as <sup>6</sup>y  
 porpas aboute / tenche in his sauce, cut it / eles &  
 lamprayes roost, pull of the skynne, pyke out <sup>6</sup>y bones,  
 put therto vyneger & poudre. A crabbe, breke hym and Crab.  
 a-sonder in to a dysshe, make <sup>6</sup>y shelle clene, & put in  
 the stuffe agayne, tempre it with vynegre & pouder, How to dress and  
serve up a Crab.  
 than couer it with brede, and sende it to the kytchyn  
 to hete / than set it to your souerayne, and breke  
 the grete clawes, and laye them in a disshe. A  
 creues, dyght hym thus: departe hym a-sonder, &  
 slytee<sup>2</sup> the belly, and take out <sup>6</sup>y fysshe; pare away the  
 reed skynne, and mynce it thynne; put vynegre in the  
 dysshe, and set in on <sup>6</sup>y table *with*out hete. A Iol of a Joll of Sturgeon,  
 sturgyon, cut it in thynne morselles, & lay it rounde  
 aboute the dysshe. Fresshe lampraye bake: open <sup>6</sup>y a fresh Lamprey,  
pasty.  
 pasty / than take whyte brede, and cut it thynne, &  
 lay it in a dysshe, & with a sponne take out galentyne, (sauce, Galentyne  
with red wine  
and powdered  
cinnamon.)  
 & lay it vpon the brede with reed wyne & poudre of  
 synamon / than cut a gobone of the lampraye, & mynce  
 the gobone thynne, and laye it in the galentyne; than  
 set it vpon the fyre to hete. Fresshe herynge with Fresh Herring, &c.  
 salte & wyne / shrympes wel pyked, floundres, gogyons,  
 menewes & musceles, eles and lamprayes: sprottes is Sprats.  
 good in sewe / musculade in wortes / oystres in ceuy,  
 oysters in grauy, menewes in porpas, samon & seele, Musenlade in  
wortes, Oysters.  
 gelly<sup>3</sup> whyte and reede, creme of almondes, dates in [3 Fol. B 4 h.]  
Dates, pears,

Mortrewes of Dogfish. comfetes, peres and quynces in syrupe, with percely rotes ; mortrus of houndes fysshe, ryse standynge.

¶ Here endeth the keruyng of fysshe. And here begynneth sauces for all maner of fysshe.

Mustard for Salmon, &c. : Vinegar for salt Whale, &c. : Galentyne for Lamprey; Verjuice for Roach, &c. ; Cinnamon for Chuh, &c. : Green Sauce for Halibut, &c.

**M**Ustarde is good for salte herynge / salte fysshe, salte congre, samon, sparlynge, salt ele & lynge : vynegre is good with salte porpas, turrentyne salte / sturgyon salte, threpole, & salt wale / lampray with galentyne / vergyus to roche, dace, breme, molet, base, flounders, sole, crabbe, and cheuene, with poudre of synamon ; to thornebacke, herynge, houndefysshe, had-docke, whytyng, & codde, vynegre, poudre of synamon, & gynger ; grene sauce is good with grene fysshe & halybut, cottell, & fresshe turbot / put not your grene sauce awaye, for it is good with mustarde.

¶ Here endeth for all maner of sauces for fyssche accordynge to theyr appetyte.

*The Duties of a Chamberlain.*

¶ The chamberlayne.

He must be cleanly, and comb his hair : see to his Lord's clothes, and brush his hose ; in the morning wa. in his shirt, and prepare his footsheet ;

**T**He caumberlayne muste be dylygent & clenly in his offyce, with his heed kembed, & so to his souerayne that he be not recheles, & se that he haue a clene sherte, breche, petycote, and doublet / than brusshe his hosen within & without, & se his shone & slyppers be made clene / & at morne whan your souerayne wyll aryse, warme his sherte by the fyre / & se ye haue a fote shete made in this maner. Fyrst set a chayre by the fyre with a cuysshon, an other vnder his fete / than sprede a shete ouer the chayre, and se there be redy a kercheffe <sup>1</sup> and a combe / than warme his petycote, his doublet, and his stomachere / & than put on his hosen & his shone or slyppers, than stryke vp his hosen manerly, & tye them vp, than lace

[ Fol. B 5.]  
warm his petycote, &c. ;  
put on his shoes,  
tie up his hose,



his doublet hole by hole, & laye the clothe aboute his  
 necke & kembe his hede / than loke ye haue a basyn, comb his head,  
 & an ewer with warme water, and a towell, and wasshe wash his handa,  
 his handes / than knele vpon your knee, & aske your  
 souerayne what robe he wyll were, & brynge him such put on the robe  
he orders.  
 as your souerayne commaundeth, & put it vpon hym ;  
 than doo his gyrdell aboute hym, & take your leue  
 manerly, & go to the chyrche or chapell to your Make ready his  
Closet in the  
Church or Chapel,  
 soueraynes closet, & laye carpentes & cuysshens, & lay  
 downe his boke of prayers / than drawe the curtynes,  
 and take your leue goodly, & go to youre soueraynes then come home  
to his Bed-  
chamber, take off  
the bed-clothes.  
 chambre, & cast all the clothes of his bedde, & bete the  
 feder bedde & the bolster / but loke ye waste no feders ;  
 than shall the blankettes, & se the shetes be fayre &  
 swete, or elles loke ye haue clene shetes / than niake Make his lord's  
bed again with  
clean sheets,  
 vp his bedde manerly, than lay the hed shetes & the  
 pyllowes / than take vp the towel & the basyn, & laye  
 carpentes aboute the bedde, or wyndowes & cupbordes  
 layde with carpettes and cuysshyns. Also loke there  
 be a good fyre brennyng bryght / & se the hous of  
 hesement be swete & clene, & the preuy borde couered Keep the privy  
clean, and the  
board covered  
with green cloth,  
and provide down  
or cotton for  
wiping.  
 with a grene clothe and a cuysshyn / than se there be  
 blanked, donne, or cotton, for your souerayne / & loke  
 ye haue basyn, & euer with water, & a towell for your  
 souerayne / than take of his gowne, & brynge him a  
 mantell to kepe hym fro colde / than brynge hym to  
 the fyre, & take of his shone & his hosen ; than take a  
 fayre kercher of reynes / & kembe his heed, & put on Comb his head, ;  
put on his night-  
cap,  
 his kercher and his bonet / than sprede downe his  
 bedde, laye the heed shete and the pyllowes / & whan  
 your souerayne is to bedde<sup>1</sup> drawe the curtynes / than  
 se there be mortar or waxe or perchoures be redy / than  
 dryue out dogge or catte, & loke there be basyn and  
 vrynall set nere your souerayne / than take your leue  
 manerly that your souerayne may take his rest meryly. [1 Fol. n 5 b.] ;  
draw the curtains  
round him,  
drive out the  
dogs and cats, set  
the urinal near,  
and then take  
leave.

¶ Here endeth of the chaumberlayne.

*Of the Marshal  
and Vsher.*

¶ Here foloweth of the Marshall and the vssher.

He must know  
the orders of  
precedences of all  
ranks.

THE Marshall and the vssher muste knowe all the estates of the chyrche, and the hyghe estate of a kyng, with the blode royall.

A Cardinal before  
a Prince. *Et.*

- ¶ The estate of a Pope hath no pere.
- ¶ The estate of an Emperour is nexte.
- ¶ The estate of a kyng.
- ¶ The estate of a cardynall.
- ¶ The estate of a kynges sone, a prynce.
- ¶ The estate of an archebysshop.
- ¶ The estate of a duke
- ¶ The estate of a bysshop
- ¶ The estate of a marques
- ¶ The estate of an erle
- ¶ The estate of a vycount
- ¶ The estate of a baron.

The Mayor of  
London ranks  
with the 3 Chief  
Justices.

¶ The estate of an abbot with a myter

¶ The estate of the thre chefe Iuges & the Mayre of London.

The Knight's  
equals.  
[Fol. B 6.]

- ¶ The estate of an abbot without a myter
- ¶ The estate of a knyght bachelor
- ¶ The estate of a pryour, dene, archedeken, or knyght
- ¶ The estate of the mayster of the rolles.
- ¶ The estate of other Iustices & barons of the cheker
- ¶ The estate of the mayre of Calays.
- ¶ The estate of a prouyncyall, a doctour dyvyne,
- ¶ The estate of a prothonat: he is aboue the popes collectour, and a doctour of bothe the lawes.

The ex-Mayor of  
London.

¶ The estate of him that hath ben mayre of London and seruaunt of the lawe.

The Esquire's  
equals.

¶ The estate of a mayster of the chauncery, and other worshypfull prechours of pardon, and clerkes that ben gradewable / & all other ordres of

chastyte, persones & preestes, worshypfull marchauntes & gentylnen, all this may syt at the squyers table.

¶ An archebysshop and a duke may not kepe the hall, but eche estate by them selfe in chaumbre or in paulyon, that neyther se other. Who must dine alone,

¶ Bysshoppes, Marques, Erles, & Vycounztes, all these may syt two at a messe. who 2 together,

¶ A baron, & the mayre of London, & thre chefe Iuges, and the speker of the parlyament, & an abbot with a myter, all these may syt two or thre at a messe who 2 or 3,

¶ And all other estates may syt thre or foure at a messe who 3 or 4.

¶ Also the Marshall muste vnderstande and knowe the blode royall, for some lorde is of blode royall & of small lyuelode. And some knyght is wedded to a lady of royal blode ; she shal kepe the estate that she was before. And a lady of lower degree shal kepe the estate of her lordes blode / & therfore the royall blode shall haue the reuerence, as I haue shewed you here before. The Marshall must know who are of royal blood,

¶ Also a marshall muste take hede of the byrthe, and nexte of the lyne, of the blode royall. for that has the reverence.

¶ Also he must take hede of the kynges offycers, of the Chaunceler, Stewarde, Chamberlayne, Tresourer, and Controller. He must take heed of the King's officers,

¶ Also the marshall must take heed vnto straungers, & put them to worshyp & reuerence ; for and they haue good chere it is your soueraynes honour. do honour to strangers,

¶ Also a Marshall muste take hede yf the kynge sende to your souerayne ony message ; and yf he sende a knyght, receyue hym as a baron ; and yf he sende a squyre, receyue hym as a knyght / and yf he sende you a yoman, receyue hym as a squyer / and yf he sende you a grome, receyue hym as a yoman. and receiue a Messenger from the King as if one degree higher than he is,

for a King's groom  
may sit at a  
Knight's table.

¶ Also it is noo rebuke to a knyght to sette a grome  
of the kyng at his table.

Here ends this  
Book

¶ Here endeth the boke of seruyce, & keruyng,  
and sewyng, and all maner of offyce in his kynde vnto  
a prynce or ony other estate, & all the feestes in the  
yere. Enprynted by wynkyn de worde at London in  
Flete strete at the sygne of the sonne. The yere of our  
lorde god M.CCCCC.xij.

printed by  
Wynkyn de  
Worde.

A.D. 1513.

[Wynkyn de worde's device here.]

## NOTES.

Wynkyn de Worde introduces some dishes, sauces, fish, and one wine, not mentioned by Russell.

The new *Dishes* are—

*Fayge* (p. 157, l. 10). This may be for *Sage*, the herb, or a variety of Fritter, like *Fruyter vaunte* (p. 157, l. 2; p. 159, l. 24), *fruyter say* (p. 159, l. 24), or a dish that I cannot find, or a way of spelling figs.

*Fruyter say*, p. 159, l. 24. If *say* is not for *Sage*, then it may be a fish, contrasted with the *vaunte*, which I suppose to mean 'meat.' *Sey* is a Scotch name for the Calfish, *Merlangus Carbonarius*. Yarrell, ii. 251.

*Charlet* (p. 159, l. 28). The recipe in 'Household Ordinances,' p. 463, is, 'Take swete cowe mylk and put into a panne, and cast in therto 3olkes of eyren and the white also, and sothen porke brayed, and sage; and let hit boyle tyl hit crudde, and colour it with saffron, and dresse hit up, and serve hit forth.' Another recipe for *Charlet* Enforced follows, and there are others for *Charlet* and *Charlet* icoloured, in *Liber Cure*, p. 11.

*Joutes*, p. 160, last line. These are broths of beef or fish boiled with chopped hoiled herbs and bread, *H. Ord.* p. 461. Others are made 'with swete almond mylke,' *ib.* See 'Joutus de Almonde,' p. 15, *Liber Cure*. For 'Joutes' p. 47; 'for oþer ioutes,' p. 48.

*Browes*, p. 160, last line. This is doubtless the Brus of Household Ordinances, p. 427, and the *bruys* of *Liber Cure*, p. 19, l. 3, brewis, or broth. Brus was made of chopped pig's-inwards, leeks, onions, bread, blood, vinegar. For 'Brewewes in Somere' see *H. Ord.* p. 453.

*Chewettes*, p. 161, l. 4, were small pies of chopped-up livers of pigs, hens, and capons, fried in grease, mixed with hard eggs and ginger, and then fried or baked. *Household Ordinances*, p. 442, and *Liber Cure*, p. 41. The Chewets for fish days were similar pies of chopped turbot, haddock, and cod, ground dates, raisins, prunes, powder and salt, fried in oil, and boiled in sugar and wine. *L. Cure*, p. 41. Markham's Recipe for 'A Chewet Pye' is at p. 80-1 of his *English Houswife*. *Chewit*, or small Pie; minced or otherwise. R. Holme. See also two recipes in MS. Harl. 279, fol. 38.

*Flaunes* (p. 161, l. 4) were Cheesecakes, made of ground cheese beaten up with eggs and sugar, coloured with saffron, and baked in 'cofyns' or crusts. 'A Flaune of Almayne' or 'Crustade' was a more elaborate preparation of dried or fresh raisins and pears or apples pounded, with cream, eggs, bread, spices, and butter, strained and baked in 'a faire coffyn or two.' *H. Ord.* p. 452.

Of new *Sauces*, Wynkyn de Worde names *Gelopere & Peggyll* (p. 165, l. 4). *Gelopere* I cannot find, and can only suggest that its *p* may be for *f*, and that "cloves of gelofer," the clove-gillyflower, may have been the basis of it. These cloves were stuck in ox tongues, see "Lange de beof," *Liber Cure*, p.

26. Muffett also recommends Gilly-flour Vinegar as the best sauce for sturgeon in summer, p. 172; and Vinegar of Clove-Gilliflowers is mentioned by Culpepper, p. 97, Physical Directory, 1649.

*Pegylle* I take to be the *Pykulle* of Liber Cure Cocorum, p. 31, made thus;  
 ‘Take droppynge of capone rostyde wele  
 With wyne and mustarde, as have þou cele [bliss],  
 With onyons smalle schrad, and sothun in grece,  
 Meng alle in fere, and forthe hit messe.’

The new *Wine* is *Campolet*, p. 153. Henderson does not mention it; Halliwell has ‘*Completes*. A kind of wine, mentioned in a curious list in MS. Rawl. C. 86.’ [See the list in the Notes to Russell, above, p. 86.] I suppose it to be the wine from ‘*Campole*. The name of a certaine white grape, which hath very white kernels.’ Cotgrave.

Of new *Fish W.* de Worde names the *Salens* (p. 166, l. 8), *Cottell* and *Tench* (p. 167). Torrentyne he makes *sele turrentyne* (p. 166, l. 8 from bottom) seemingly, but has *turrentyne salte* as a fish salted, at p. 168, l. 7.

*Cottell*, p. 168, l. 14, the cuttlefish. Of these, *Sepiæ vel Lolligines calamariæ*; Muffett says, they are called also ‘sleewes’ for their shape, and ‘scribes’ for their ineky humour wherewith they are replenished, and are commended by Galen for great nourishers; their skins be as smooth as any womans, but their flesh is brawny as any ploughmans; therefore I fear me Galen rather commended them upon hear-say then upon any just cause or true experience.

For the *Salens* I can only suggest thunny. Aldrovandi, *de Piscibus*, treating of the synonyms of the Salmon, p. 482, says, “Græcam salmonis nomenclaturam non inuenio, neque est quod id miretur curiosus lector, cum in Oceano tantum fluminibusque in eum se exonerantibus reperitur, ad quæ veteres Græci nunquam penetrarunt. Qui voluerit, *Salangem* appellare poterit. Σαλάχι enim boni, id est, delicati piscis nomen legitur apud Hesyehium, nec præterea qui sit, explicatur: aut a migrandi natura *κατανάδρομος*, vel *δρόμας* fluuiatilis dicitur, nam Aristoteles in mari dromades vocat Thunnos aliosque gregales, qui aliunde in Pontum exeurrunt, et vix vno loco conquiescunt; aut nomen fingatur a saltu, & *άλμων* dicitur. Non placet tamen, salmonis nomen a saltu deduci, aut etiam a sale, licet salendi natura ei optimè quadret *saleque* aut *muria* inueturaria etiam soleat. Non enim latine sed a Germanis Belgisue Rheni accolis, aut Gallis Aquitanicis accepta vox est.” See also p. 318. ‘Scardula, et Incobia ex Pigiis, et Plota, *Salena*.’ Gesner, *de Piscibus*, p. 273. Can *salens* be the Greek ‘*σωλην*, a shell-fish, perhaps like the razor-fish. Epich. p. 22.’—Liddell and Scott?—I presume not. ‘*Solen*. The flesh is sweet; they may be eaten fried or boiled.’ 1661, R. Lovell, *Hist. of Animals*, p. 240. ‘*Solen*: A genus of bivalve mollusks, having a long slender shell; razor-fish.’ Webster’s Dict.

*Sele turrentyne*, p. 166, l. 8 from bottom. Seemingly a variety of seal, or of eel or sole if *sele* is a misprint. But I cannot suggest any fish for it.

*Rochets*, p. 167, l. 5. *Rubelliones*. *Rochets* (or rather Rougets, because they are so red) differ from Gurnards and Curs, in that they are redder by a great deal, and also lesser; they are of the like flesh and goodness, yet better fried with onions, butter, and vinegar, then sodden. Muffett, p. 166.

The  
Boke of Curtasye.

FROM THE SLOANE MS. 1986 IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM,  
AB. 1430—40 A.D.

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## The boke of Curtasye.

HERE begynneth þe fyrst boke of curtasye.

[Fol. 12.]

**Q**wo so wylle of curtasy lere,  
In this boke he may hit here !  
Yf thow be gentylmon, zomon, or knaue,

In this boke you  
may learn  
Cortesy.  
Every one needs  
it.

4 The nedis nurture for to haue.

When thou comes to a lordis zate,  
The porter þou shalle fynde ther-ate ;  
Take hym thow shalt þy wepyn tho,

On reaching a  
Lord's gate, give  
the Porter your  
weapon, and ask  
leave to go in.

8 And aske hym leue in to go

¶ To speke *with* lorde, lady, squyer, or grome.  
Ther-to the nedys to take the tome <sup>1</sup> ;

For yf he be of loghe degre,

12 Than hym falles to come to the ;

¶ Yf he be gentylmon of kyñ,  
The porter wille lede the to hym.

When thow come tho halle dor to,

If the master is of  
low degre, he  
will come to you ;  
if of high, the  
Porter will take  
you to him.

16 Do of thy hode, thy gloues also ;

¶ Yf þo halle be at the furst mete,  
This lessoun loke thow nozt for-zete :  
þe stuard, countroller, and tresurere,

At the Hall-door,  
take off your hood  
and gloves.  
If the first meal is  
beginning,

20 Sittand at de deshe, þou haylse in fere.

¶ *Within* þe halle sett on ayther side,  
Sitten other gentylmen as falles þat tyde ;  
Enclyne þe fayre to hom also,

greet the Steward,  
&c., at the dals,

24 First to the ryzht honde þou shalle go,

how to the Gentle-  
men on each side  
of the hall,

both right

<sup>1</sup> Toom or rymthe. *Spacium, tempus, oportunitas.* P. Parv.

- and left ;
- notice the yeomen,  
then stand before  
the screen
- till the Marshal  
or Usher leads  
you to the table.
- Be sedate and  
courteous if you  
are set with the  
gentlemen.
- Cut your loaf in  
two, the top from  
the bottom ;  
cut the top crust  
in 4,
- and the bottom  
in 3.
- Put your trencher  
before you,
- and don't eat or  
drink till your  
Mass is brought  
from the kitchen,  
lest you be  
thought starved  
or a glutton.  
Have your nails  
clean.
- Don't bite your  
bread,
- but break it,
- Don't quarrel at  
table,
- or make grimaces.
- ¶ Sitthen to þo left honde þy neghe þou cast ;  
To hom þou boghe *withouten* wrast <sup>1</sup> ;  
Take hede to 3omon on þy ryght honde,  
28 And sithen byfore the screne þou stonde  
¶ In myddys þe halle opon þe flore,  
Whille marshalle or vssher come fro þe dore,  
And bydde the sitte, or to borde the lede.  
32 Be stabulle of chere for menske <sup>2</sup>, y rede ;  
¶ Yf he þe sette at gentilmornes borde,  
Loke þou be hynde <sup>3</sup> and lytulle of worde.  
Pare þy brede and kerue in two,  
36 Tho ouer crust þo nether fro ;  
¶ In fowre þou kutt þo ouer dole,  
Sett hom to-gedur as hit where hole ;  
Sithen kutt þo nether crust in thre,  
40 And *turne* hit down, lerne þis at me.  
¶ And lay thy trenchour þe be-fore,  
And sitt vp-ryght for any sore.  
Spare brede or wyne, drynke or ale,  
44 To thy messe of kochyn be sett in sale ;  
¶ Lest men sayne þou art hongur beteñ,  
Or ellis a gloten þat alle men wyteñ,  
Loke þy naylys ben clene in blythe,  
48 Lest þy felaghe lothe ther-wyth.  
¶ Byt not on thy brede and lay hit doun,—  
That is no curteyse to vse in towñ ;—  
But breke as myche as þou wyll ete,  
52 The remelant to pore þou shalle lete.  
¶ In peese þou ete, and euer eschewe  
To flyte <sup>4</sup> at borde ; þat may þe rewe.  
Yf þou make mawes <sup>5</sup> on any wyse,  
56 A velany þou kacches or euer þou rise.

<sup>1</sup> AS. *wraesten*, to writhe, twist.

<sup>2</sup> grace, civility ; from AS. *menneise*, human ; ep. our double sense of *humanity*. H. Coleridge.

<sup>3</sup> courteous.

<sup>4</sup> AS. *flytan*, dispute, quarrel.

<sup>5</sup> Mowe, or skorne. *Vangia*, vel *valgia*, *cachinna*. Promptorium.

- ¶ Let neuer þy cheke be Made to grete  
 With morselle of brede þat þou schalle ete ;  
 An apys mow men sayne he makes,  
 60 þat brede and flesshe in hys cheke bakes.
- ¶ Yf any mañ speke þat tyme to the,  
 And þou schalle onsware, hit wille not be  
 But waloande, and a-byde þou most ;  
 64 þat is a schame for alle the host.
- ¶ On bothe halfe þy mouthe, yf þat þou ete,  
 Mouy a skorne shalle þou gete.  
 þou shalle not lauzhe ne speke no þynge  
 68 Whille þi mouthe be fulle of mete or drynke ;
- ¶ Ne suppe not *with* grete sowndynge  
 Noper potage ne oper þynge.  
 Let not þi sponne stond in þy dysche,  
 72 Wheþer þou be *serued with* fleshe or fische ;
- ¶ Ne lay hit not on thy dishe syde,  
 But clense hit honestly *with-ouen* pride.  
 Loke no browynge on þy fyngur þore  
 76 Defoule þe clothe þe be-fore.
- ¶ In þi dysche yf þou wete þy brede,  
 Loke þer-of þat nozt be lede  
 To cast agayne þy dysche in-to ;  
 80 þou art vn-hynde yf þou do so.
- ¶ Drye þy mouthe ay wele *and* fynde  
 When þou schalle drynke oper ale or wyne.  
 Ne calle þou nozt a dysche a-zayne,  
 84 þat ys take fro þe horde in playne ;
- ¶ 3if þou sp[i]tt ouer the horde, or elles opoñ,  
 þou schalle be holden an vncurtayse mon ;  
 Yf þy nowñ dogge þou scrape or clawe,  
 88 þat is holden a vyse emong men knawe.
- ¶ Yf þy nose þou clense, as may be-falle,  
 Loke þy honde þou clense, as wythe-alle,  
 Priuely *with* skyrt do hit away,  
 92 Oper ellis thurghe thi tepet þat is so gay.

[Fol. 13.]  
 Don't cram your  
 cheeks out with  
 food like an ape,

for if any one  
 should speak to  
 you, you can't  
 answer, but must  
 wait.

Don't eat on both  
 sides of your  
 mouth.

Don't laugh with  
 your mouth full,

or snp up your  
 potage noisily.

Don't leave your  
 spoon in the dish  
 or on its side,

but clean your  
 spoon.  
 Let no dirt off  
 your fingers soil  
 [p. 27, bot.]  
 the cloth.  
 Don't put into the  
 dish bread that  
 you have once  
 bitten.

Dry your mouth  
 before you drink.

Don't call for a  
 dish once  
 removed,

or spit on the  
 table:  
 that's rude.

Don't scratch  
 your dog.

If you blow your  
 nose,  
 clean your hand ;  
 wipe it with your  
 skirt or put it  
 through your  
 tippet.

- Don't pick your teeth at meals,  
or drink with food in your mouth,  
as you may get choked,  
or killed, by its stopping your wind.  
Tell no tale to harm or shame your companions.
- Don't stroke the cat or dog.
- Don't dirty the table cloth with your knife.  
Don't blow on your food,  
or put your knife in your mouth,  
or wipe your teeth [Fol. 14.] or eyes with the table cloth.  
If you sit by a good man,  
don't put your knee under his thigh.  
Don't hand your cup to any one with your back towards him.
- Don't lean on your elbow,
- ¶ Clense not thi tethe at mete sittande,  
With knyfe ne stre, styk ne wande.  
While þou holdes mete in mouthe, be war  
96 To drynke, þat is an-honest<sup>1</sup> char,  
¶ And also fysike for-bedes hit,  
And sais þou may be choket at þat byt ;  
Yf hit go þy wrang throte into,  
100 And stoppe þy wynde, þou art fordo.  
¶ Ne telle þou neuer at borde no tale  
To harme or shame þy felawe in sale ;  
For if he then withholde his methe<sup>2</sup> ;  
104 Eftsons he wylle forecast þi dethe.  
¶ Where-sere þou sitt at mete in borde,  
Avoide þe cat at on bare worde,  
For yf þou stroke cat oþer dogge,  
108 þou art lyke an ape teyzed with a clogge.  
¶ Also eschewe, with-uten stryfe,  
To foule þe borde clothe with þi knyfe ;  
Ne blow not on þy drynke ne mete,  
112. Neþer for colde, neþer for hete ;  
¶ With mete ne bere þy knyfe to mowthe,  
Wheþer þou be sett be strong or couthe ;  
Ne with þo borde clothe þi tethe þou wype,  
116 Ne þy nyen þat rennen rede, as may betyde.  
¶ Yf þou sitt by a ryzht goóð mañ,  
þis lessoñ loke þou þenke apoñ :  
Vndur his theghe þy kne not pit,  
120 þou ar fulle lewed yf þou dose hit.  
¶ Ne bacwarde sittande gyf nozt þy cupe,  
Noþer to drynke, noþer to suppe ;  
Bidde þi frende take cuppe and drynke,  
124 þat is holden an honest thyng.  
¶ Lene not on elbowe at þy mete,  
Noþer for colde ne for hete ;

<sup>1</sup> an privative, dishonest.<sup>2</sup> AS. *mod*, mood, passion, violence.

- Dip not þi thombe þy drynke into,  
 128 þou art vncourtayse yf þou hit do ;  
 ¶ In salt saler yf þat þou pit  
 Oper fissue or flesshe þat men may wyt,  
 þat is a vyce, as men me telles,  
 132 And gret wonder hit most be elles.  
 ¶ After mete when þou shalt wasshe,  
 Spitt not in basyn, ne water þou dasshe ;  
 Ne spit not lorely, for no kyn mede,  
 136 Be-fore no mon of god for drede.  
 ¶ Who so euer despise þis lessoun ryzt,  
 At borde to sitt he hase no myzt.  
 Here endys now oure fyrst talkyng,  
 140 Crist graunt vs alle his dere blessing !  
 ¶ Here endithe þe [first] boke of courtasye.

or dip your thumb  
 into your drink,  
 or your food into  
 the salt cellar :

That is a vice.

Don't spit in the  
 basin you wash in

or loosely (?)  
 before a man of  
 God.

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THE SECOND BOOK.

- Y**F that þou be a zong enfaunt,  
 And thenke þo scoles for to haunt,  
 This lessoun schalle þy maistur þe merke,  
 you shall learn :
- 144 Cros Crist þe spedde in alle þi werke ;  
 Sytthen þy *pater noster* he wille þe teche,  
 As cristes owne postles con preche ;  
 Aftur þy *Aue maria* and þi crede,  
 148 þat schalle þe saue at dome of drede ;  
 ¶ Then aftur to blesse þe with þe trinité,  
 In *nomine patris* teche he wille þe ;  
 þen with marke, mathew, luke, and Ion,  
 152 With þe *per crucis* and the hegh name ;  
 ¶ To schryue þe in general þou schalle lere  
 þy Confiteor and misereatur in fere.

If you go to  
 school

you shall learn :

1. Cross of Christ,  
 2. Pater Noster,

3. Hail Mary and  
 the Creed,

4. In the name of  
 the Trinity,

5. of the Apostles,

6. the Confession.

- Seek the kingdom  
of God, and  
worship Him.  
At church, take  
holy water ;  
pray for all Chris-  
tian companions ;  
kneel to God on  
both kness,  
to man only on  
oe.  
At the Altar,  
serve the priest  
with both hands.  
Spsak gently to  
your father and  
[Fol. 15.]  
mother, and  
honour them.  
Do to others as  
you would they  
should do to you.  
Don't be foolishly  
meek.  
The eesd of the  
righteous shall  
never heg nr  
be shamed.  
Be ready to  
forgive,  
and fond of peacs.  
If you cannot  
give an asker  
goods,
- To seche þe kyngdam of god, my chyldē,  
156 þerto y rede þou be not wylde.  
¶ Ther-fore worschip god, bothe olde *and* zong,  
To be in body and soule yliche stronge.  
When þou comes to þo chirche dore,  
160 Take þe haly water stondand on flore ;  
¶ Rede or synge or byd *prayeris*  
To crist, for alle þy crysten ferys ;  
Be curtayse to god, and knele doun  
164 On bothe knees *with* grete deuocioun.  
¶ To mon þou shalle knele opon þe toñ,  
þe toþer to þy self þou halde aloñ.  
When þou ministers at þe heghe autere,  
168 *With* bothe hondes þou serue þo prest in fere,  
þe ton to stabulle þe toþer  
Lest þou fayle, my dere broþer.  
¶ Anoper curtayse y wylle þe teche,  
172 Thy fadur And modur, *with* mylde speche,  
In worschip and serue *with* alle þy myzt,  
þat þou dwelle þe lengur in erthely lyzt.  
¶ To anoper man do no more amys  
176 Then þou woldys be dcñ of hym *and* hys ;  
So crist þou pleses, *and* getes þe loue  
Of meñ *and* god þat syttis aboue.  
¶ Be not to meke, but *in* mene þe holde,  
180 For ellis a fole þou wylle be tolde.  
He þat to ryztwysnes wylle enclyne,  
As holy wryzt says vs wele and fyne,  
His sede schalle neuer go seche hor brede,  
184 Ne suffur of mon no shames dede.  
¶ To for-gyf þou shalle þe hast ;  
To veniaunce loke þou come on last ;  
Draw þe to pese *with* alle þy strengþe ;  
188 Fro stryf and bate draw þe on lengþe.  
¶ Yf mon aske þe good for goddys sake,  
And þe wont thyngē wher-of to take,

- Gyf hym boner wordys on fayre manere,  
 192 *With* glad semblaunt <sup>1</sup> *and* pure good cher.
- ¶ Also of *seruice* þou shalle be fre  
 To euery mon in hys degré.  
 þou schalle neuer lose for to be kynde ;
- 196 That on forzetis, anoþer hase in mynde.  
 ¶ Yf Any man haue part *with* þe in gyft,  
*With* hym þou make an euen skyft ;  
 Let hit not henge in honde for glose,
- 200 þou art vncurtayse yf þou hyt dose.  
 ¶ To sayntis yf þou þy gate hase hyzt,  
 Thou schalle fulfille hit *with* alle þy myzt,  
 Lest god þe stryk *with* grete veniaunce,
- 204 And pyt þe in-to sore penaunce.  
 ¶ Leue not alle men that speke þe fayre,  
 Wheþer þat hit ben comyns, burges, or mayre ;  
 In swete wordis þe nedder was closet,
- 208 Disseyuauant euer and mysloset ;  
 þer-fore þou art of adams blode,  
*With* wordis be ware, but þou be wode :  
 A schort worde is comynly sothe
- 212 þat fyrst slydes fro monnes tothe.  
 ¶ Loke lyzer neuer þat þou be-come,  
 Kepe þys worde for alle and somme.  
 Lawze not to of[t] for no solace,
- 216 For no kyn myrthe þat any man mase ;  
 Who lawes alle þat men may se,  
 A schrew or a fole hym semes to be.
- ¶ Thre enmys in þys worlde þer are  
 220 þat coueyteñ alle men to for-fare,—  
 The deuel, þe flesshe, þe worlde also,  
 That wyrkyn mankynde ful mykyl wo :  
 Yf þou may strye þes þre enmys,
- 224 þou may be secur of heueñ blys.  
 ¶ Also, my chylde, a-gaynes þy lorde  
 Loke þou stryfe *with* no kyn worde,
- give him good words.  
 [1 MS. semblant]
- Be willing to help every one.
- Give your partner his fair share.
- Go on the pilgrimages (?) you vow to saunts,  
 lest God take vengeance on you.
- Don't believe all who speak fair :
- the Serpent spoke fair words (to Eve).
- Be cautious with your words, except when angry.
- Don't lie, but keep your word.
- Don't laugh too often,
- or you'll be called a shrew or a fool.
- Man's 3 enemies are :
- the Devil, the Flesh, and the World.
- Destroy these, and be sute of heaven.
- Don't strive with your lord,

- or bet or play  
with him.
- 228 Ne waiour non *with* hym þou lay,  
Ne at þe dyces *with* hym to play.  
¶ Hym that þou knawes of gretter state,  
Be not hys felaw in rest ne bate.
- [Fol. 16.]  
In a strange place  
don't be too inquisitive or fussy.
- 232 3if þou be stad in strange contré,  
Enserche no fyr þen falles to the,  
Ne take no more to do on honde  
þen þou may hafe menske of alle in londe.
- If a man falls,  
don't laugh, but  
help him up :
- 236 ¶ 3if þou se any mon fal by strete,  
Laweghe not þer-at in drye ne wete,  
But helpe hym vp *with* alle þy myzt,  
As seynt Ambrose þe teches ryzt ;  
þou that stondys so sure on sete,
- your own head  
may fall to your  
feet.
- 240 Ware lest þy hede falle to þy fete.  
¶ My chylde, yf þou stonde at þo masse,  
At vndur stondis bothe more and lasse,  
Yf þo prest rede not at þy wylle,
- At the Mass, if  
the priest doesn't  
please you,
- 244 Repræue hym nozt, but holde þe styлле.  
¶ To any wyzt þy counselle yf þou schewe,  
Be war þat he be not a schrewe,  
Lest he disclaundyr þe *with* tong
- don't blame him.  
Don't tell your  
secrets to a shrew.
- 248 Amonge alle men, bothe olde and zong.  
¶ Bekenyng, fynguryng, non þou vse,  
And pryué rownyng loke þou refuse.  
Yf þou mete knyzt, zomon, or knaue,
- Don't beckon,  
point, or whisper.
- 252 Haylys hym a-non, "syre, god zou saue."  
Yf he speke fyrst opon þe pore,  
Onsware hym gladly *with*-outen more.
- When you meet  
a man, greet him,
- or answer him  
cheerily if he  
greet's you :
- 256 ¶ Go not forthe as a dombe freke,  
Syn god hase laft the tonge to speke ;  
Lest men sey be sibbe or couthe,<sup>1</sup>  
"3ond is a mon *with*-outen mouthe."
- don't be dumb,
- 260 ¶ Speke neuer vnonestly of woman kynde,  
Ne let hit neuer renne in þy mynde ;
- lest men say you  
have no mouth.
- Never speak im-  
properly of  
women,

<sup>1</sup> to relation or friend.



- þe boke hym calles a chorle of chere,  
That vylany spekes be wemen sere :  
For alle we ben of wymmen borñ,
- 264 And oure fadurs vs be-forne ;  
þerfore hit is a vnhonest thyng  
To speke of hem in any hethyng.<sup>1</sup>
- ¶ Also a wyfe be, falle of ryzt  
268 To worschyp hyr husbonde bothe day *and* nyzt,  
To his byddyng be obediente,  
And hym to *serue with*-outen offence.
- ¶ Yf two brether be at debate,  
272 Loke noþer þou forþer in hor hate,  
But helpe to staunche hom of malice ;  
þen þou art frende to bothe I-wys.
- ¶ 3if þou go *with* a-noþer at þo gate,  
276 And 3e be bothe of on astate,  
Be curtasye and let hym haue þe way,  
That is no vylanye, as men me say ;  
And he be comen of gret kynraden,
- 280 Go no be-fore þawgh þou be beden ;  
And yf þat he þy maystur be,  
Go not be-fore, for curtasé,  
Noþer in fylde, wode, noþer launde,
- 284 Ne euen hym *with*, but he *commaunde*.  
¶ Yf þou schalle on *pilgrimage* go,  
Be not þe thryd felaw for wele ne wo ;  
Thre oxen in plowgh may *neuer* wel drawe,
- 288 Noþer be craft, ryzt, ne lawe.  
¶ 3if þou be *profert* to drynk of cup,  
Drynke not al of, ne no way sup ;  
Drynk menskely and gyf agayne,
- 292 þat is a curtasye, to speke in playne.  
¶ In bedde yf þou falle herberet to be,  
*With* felawe, maystur, or her *degré*,

for we and our  
fathers were all  
born of women.

A wife should  
honour and obey  
her husband,

and serve him.

Try to reconcile  
brothers if they  
quarrel.

At a gate,  
let your equal  
precede you ;

go behind your  
superior

and your master

unless he bide  
you go beside  
him.

On a pilgrimage  
don't be thirde  
man :

3 oxen can't draw  
a plowgh.  
[Fol. 17.]

Don't drink all  
that's in a cup  
offered you ; take  
a little.

If you sleep  
with any man,  
ask what part of

<sup>1</sup> contempt, scorn, O.N. *hæþung*. H. Coleridge.

- the bed he likes,  
and lie far from  
him.
- 296 þou schalt enquere be curtasye  
In what *par*[t] of þe bedde he wylle lye ;  
Be honest and lye þou fer hym fro,  
þou art not wyse but þou do so.
- If you jouroey  
with any man,  
find out his name,  
who he is, where  
he is going.
- 300 ¶ *With* woso men, bope fer and negh,  
The falle to go, loke þou be slegh  
To aske his nome, and qweche he be,  
Whidur he wille : kepe welle þes thre.
- With friars on a  
pilgrimage, do as  
they do.
- 304 ¶ *With* freres on pilgrimage yf þat þou go,  
þat þei wille 3yme,<sup>1</sup> wilne þou also ;  
Als on nyzt þou take þy rest,  
And byde þe day as tru mannes gest.
- Don't put up at a  
red (haired and  
faced) man or  
woman's house.
- 308 ¶ In no kyn house þat rede mon is,  
Ne womon of þo same colour y-wys,  
Take neuer þy Innes for no kyn nede,  
For þose be folke þat ar to drede.
- Answer opponents  
meekly,  
but don't tell lies.
- 312 ¶ Yf any thurgh sturnes þe oppose,  
Onswere hym mekely *and* make hym glose :  
But glosand wordys þat falsed is,  
Forsake, and alle that is omys.
- Before your lord  
at table,
- 316 ¶ Also yf þou haue a lorde,  
And stondes by-fore hym at þe borde,  
While þat þou speke, kepe welle þy honde,  
Thy fete also in pece let stonde,
- keep your hands,  
feet, and  
fingers still.
- 320 ¶ His curtasé nede he most breke,—  
Stirraunt fyngurs toos *when* he shalle speke.  
Be stabulle of chere and sumwhat lyzt,  
Ne ouer alle wayue þou not thy syzt ;
- Don't stare about,  
or at the wall,
- 324 ¶ Gase not on walles *with* þy neghe<sup>2</sup>,  
Fyr ne negh, logh ne heghe ;  
Let not þe post be-cum þy staf,  
Lest þou be callet a dotet daf ;
- or lean against the  
post.
- 328 ¶ *With* thombe ne fyngur, as 3ong gyrlle ;  
Ne delf þou neuer nose thyrle
- Don't pick your  
nose,

<sup>1</sup> AS. *gyman*, attend, regard, observe, keep.<sup>2</sup> thine eye

- ¶ Rob not þy arme ne noȝt hit claw,  
 Ne bogh not down þy hede to law ;  
 Whil any man spekes *with* grete besenes,  
 332 Herken his wordis *with-outen* distresse.  
 ¶ By strete or way yf þou schalle go,  
 Fro þes two þynges þou kepe þe fro,  
 Noper to harme chylde ne best,  
 336 *With* castyng, turnyng west ne est ;  
 Ne chaunge þou not in face coloure,  
 For lyghtnes of worde in halle ne boure ;  
 Yf þy vysage chaunge for noȝt,  
 340 Men say ‘ þe trespas þou hase wroȝht.’  
 ¶ By-fore þy lorde, ne mawes þou make  
 ȝif þou wylle curtasie *with* þe take.  
*With* hondes vnwasshen take neuer þy mete ;  
 344 Fro alle þes vices loke þou þe kepe.  
 ¶ Loke þou sytt—*and* make no stryf—  
 Where þo est<sup>1</sup> *commanndys*, or ellis þo wyf.  
 Eschewe þe heȝest place *with* wyn,<sup>2</sup>  
 348 But þou be beden to sitt *þer-in*.  
 Of curtasie here endis þe secunde fyt,  
 To heuen crist mot oure saules flyt !

scratch your arm,  
 or stoop your  
 head.

Listen when  
 you're spoken to.

Never harm child  
 or beast with evil  
 eye (?)

Don't blush when  
 you're chaffed,

or you'll be  
 accused of  
 mischief.

Don't make faces.

Wash before  
 eating.

Sit where the host  
 [Fol. 18.]  
 tells you ; avoid  
 the highest place  
 unless you're told  
 to take it.

## THE THIRD BOOK.

- ¶ De officarijs in curijs *dominorum*.  
 Of the Officers in  
 Lords' Courts.  
 352 **N**ow speke we wylle of officers  
 Of court, and als of hor mestiers.  
 Foure men *þer* beñ þat ȝerdis schalle  
 bere,  
 Porter, marshalle, stuarde, vsshere ;  
 The porter schalle haue þe lengest wande,  
 356 The marshalle a schorter schalle haue *in* hande ; 2. Marshal,

Four bear rods ;  
 three wands :

1. Porter, the  
 longest,

<sup>1</sup> Read *ost*

<sup>2</sup> AS. *win*, contention, labour, war ; *win, wyn*, joy, pleasure.

3. Usher, the  
shortest,  
4. Steward, a staff,  
a finger thick, half  
a yard long.

The vssher of chambur smallest schalle haue,  
The stuarde in honde schalle haue a stafe,  
A fyngur gret, two wharters long,

360 To reule þe meñ of court ymong.

*Of the Porter.*

¶ De Ianitore.<sup>1</sup>

He keepe the Gate  
and Stocks,  
takes charge of  
misdoers

¶ The porter falle to kepe þo zate,  
þe stokkes with hym erly *and* late ;  
3if any mañ hase in court mys-gayne,

364 To porter warde he schalle be tane,  
þer to a-byde þe lordes wylle,

till judged,  
also of clothes,

What he wille deme by ryztwys skylle.  
For wesselle clothes, þat nozt be solde,

368 þe po[r]ter hase þat warde in holde.

and warns  
strangers.

Of strangers also þat comen to court,  
þo porter schalle warne ser at a worde.

He is found in  
meat and drink.

372 Lyueray he hase of mete and drynke,  
And settis with hym who so hym thynke.

On his lord's  
removing,

When so euer þo lorde remewe schalle  
To castelle til oþer as hit may falle,

he hires horses at  
4d. a piece,

376 Foure pens a pece with-in þo schyre ;

the statute price.

Be statut he schalle take þat on þe day.  
þat is þe kyng's crye in faye.

*Of the Marshal  
of the Hall.*

¶ De Marescallo aule.<sup>2</sup>

¶ Now of marschalle of halle wylle I spelle,<sup>3</sup>

380 And what falle to hys offyce now wylle y telle ;

<sup>1</sup> See the duties of Prince Edward's Porters, A.D. 1474, in *Household Ordinances*, p. \*30, and of Henry VIII.'s Porters, *ibid.* p. 239.

<sup>2</sup> Though Edward IV. had Marshals (*Household Ordinances*, p. 84, &c.), one of whom made the Surnape when the King was in the Hall (p. 32), or Estate in the Surnape (p. 38), yet there is no separate heading or allowance for them in the *Liber Niger*. Two yeomen Ushers are mentioned in p. 38, but the two yeomen Ewars, their two Grooms and Page, p. 84, perform (nearly) the duties given above to the Usher and his Grooms.

<sup>3</sup> MS. spekle.

- In absence of stuarde he shalle arest  
 Who so euer is rebelle in court or fest ;  
 3omou-vsshere, and grome also,
- 384 Vndur hym ar þes two :  
 þo grome for fuelle þat schalle brenne  
 In halle, chambur, to kechyn, as I þe kenne,  
 He shalle delyuer hit ilke a dele,
- 388 In halle make fyre at yche a mele ;  
 Borde, trestuls, and formes also,  
 þe cupborde in his warde schalle go,  
 þe dosurs cortines to henge in halle,
- 392 þes offices nede do he schalle ;  
 Bryng in fyre on alhalawgh day,  
 To condulmas euen, I dar welle say.
- ¶ *Per quantum tempus armigeri habebunt liberatam et  
 ignis ardebit in aula.*
- So longe squiers lyuerés shalle hafe,<sup>1</sup>
- 396 Of grome of halle, or ellis his knafe ;  
 But fyre shalle brenne in halle at mete,  
 To *Cena domini* þat men hase ete ;  
 þer browzt schalle be a holyn kene,
- 400 þat sett schalle be in erber grene,  
 And þat schalle be to alhalawgh day,  
 And of be skyfted, as y þe say.  
 In halle marshalle alle men schalle sett
- 404 After here degré, *wit/i-outen* lett.<sup>2</sup>

He shall arrest  
 rebels, when the  
 steward is away.  
 Yeoman-Usher  
 and Groom are  
 under him.

The Groom gets  
 fuel for the fire,

and makes one in  
 Hall for every  
 meal ;  
 looks after tables,  
 trastles, forms,  
 the cup-board,  
 and hangings of  
 the Hall.

Fires last from  
 Allsaints' Day to  
 Candlemas Eve,  
 (Nov. 1 to Feb. 2.)

*How long Squires  
 shall have allow-  
 ances, and Fire  
 shall burn in the  
 Hall,*

and thus long,  
 Squires receive  
 their daily candle ?  
 (see l. 839.)

[Fol. 19.]

The Marshal  
 shall seat men in  
 the Hall.

<sup>1</sup> Edward IV.'s Esquiers for the Body, IIII, had 'for wynter lyverey from All Hallowentide (Nov. 1) tyll Estyr, one percher wax, one candell wax, ij candells Paris, one tallwood and *dimid-ium*, and wages in the countyng-house.' *H. Ord.* p. 36. So the Bannerettes, IIII, or Bachelor Knights (p. 32), who are kervers and cupberers, take 'for wynter season, from Allhallowentyde till Estyr, one tortays, one percher, ii candelles wax, ii candelles Paris, ii talwood, ii faggotts,' and rushes, litter, all the year; which the Esquiers have too. The Percy household allowance of Wax was ccciiij score vij lb. dimid. of Wax for th' expensys of my House for oone hole Yere. Viz. Sysez, *Pryketts*, Quarions, and *Torches* after ix d. the lb. by estimacion; p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> The *Liber Niger* of Edw. IV. assigns this duty to one of the Gentylnen Usshers. *H. Ord.* p. 37.

*Of the Butler,  
Panter, and Cooks  
serving him.  
They are the  
Marshal's  
servants.  
He shall score up  
all messes served,  
and order bread  
and ale for men,*

*but wine for  
gentlemen.*

*Each mess shall  
be reckoned at 6d.*

*and be scored up  
to prevent the  
cook's cheating.*

*If bread runs  
short, the Marshal  
orders more, 'a  
reward.'*

*Of the Butler's  
duties.*

*He shall put a  
pot and loaf to  
each mess.*

*He is the panter's  
mate.*

*The Marshal shall  
see to men's  
lodging.  
The Lord's  
Chamber and  
Wardrobe are  
under the Usher  
of the Chamber.*

*Of the Usher and  
Grooms of the  
Chamber.*

1. Usher,

¶ De pincernario, panetario, et cocis sibi seruiantibus.

¶ The botelar, pantrer, and cokes also,  
To hym ar seruautis *with-ouen* mo ;  
þer-fore on his 3erde skore shall he <sup>2</sup>

408 Alle messys in halle þat seruet be,  
Commaunde to sett bothe brede *and* ale  
To alle men þat seruet ben *in sale* ;

¶ To gentilmen *with wyne* I-bake,  
412 Ellis fayles þo seruice, y vnder-take ;  
Iche messe at vj<sup>d</sup> breue shall he  
At the countyng house *with oþer* mené ;

Yf þo koke wolde say þat were more,  
416 þat is þo cause þat he hase hit in skore.  
þe panter <sup>1</sup> also yf he wolde stryfe,  
For rewarde þat sett schalle be be-lyue.

Wheñ brede faylys at borde aboute,  
420 The marshalle gares sett *with-ouen* doute  
More brede, þat calde is a rewarde,  
So shall hit be preuet be-fore stuarde.

¶ De officio pincernarij.<sup>2</sup>

¶ Botler shall sett for yche a messe  
424 A pot, a lofe, *with-ouen* distresse ;  
Botler, pantrer, felawes ar ay,  
Reken hom to-gedur fulle wel y may.  
The marshalle shall herber alle men in fere,  
428 That ben of court of any mestere ;  
Saue þe lordys chambur, þo wadrop to,  
þo vssher of chambur schalle tent þo two.

¶ De hostiario et suis seruiantibus.<sup>3</sup>

¶ Speke I wylle A lytulle qwyle  
432 Of vssher of chambur, *with-ouen* gyle.

<sup>1</sup> See the Office of Panetry, *H. Ord.* p. 70.

<sup>2</sup> See the Office of Butler of Englund, *H. Ord.* p. 73.

<sup>3</sup> See Gentylnen Usshers of Chaumbre, *IIII, H. Ord.* p. 37.

'This name ussher is a worde of Frenshe,' p. 38.

þer is gentylnen, ʒomon-vssher also,  
Two gromes at þo lest, A page þer-to.

2. Yeoman-usher,  
3. Two grooms  
and a Page.

¶ De Officio garcionum.<sup>1</sup>

- ¶ Gromes palettis shyn fyle *and* make literes,<sup>2</sup>  
436 ix fote on lengthe *with-out* diswere ;  
vij fote y-wys hit shall be brode,  
Wele watered, I-wrythen, be craft y-trode,  
Wyses drawn out at fete *and* syde,  
440 Wele wrethyn and turnyd a-;ayne þat tyde ;  
On legh vnsonken hit shall be made,  
To þo gurdylstode hegh on lengthe *and* brade.  
For lordys two beddys schalle be made,  
444 Bothe vtter and inner, so god me glade,  
þat hengeþ shall be *with* hole sylour,<sup>3</sup>  
*With* crochettis<sup>4</sup> and loupys sett on lyour ;<sup>5</sup>  
¶ þo valance on fylour<sup>6</sup> shall henge *with* wyn,  
448 iij curteyns streȝt drawn *with-inne*,  
þat reche schalle euen to grounde a-boute,  
Noþer more, noþer lesse, *with-outen* doute ;  
He strykes hom vp *with* forket wande,  
452 And lappes vp fast a-boute þe lyft hande ;

*The Duties of the  
Grooms of the  
Chamber.*

They shall make  
palets of lttre 9  
ft. long, 7 broad,

watered, twisted,  
trodden, with  
wisps at foot  
and side,  
twisted and  
turned back ; from  
the floor-level to  
the waist.

For lords, 2 beds,  
outer and inner,

hung with  
hangings,  
hooks and eyes  
set on the binding ;  
the valance hang-  
ing on a rod (?) ;  
four curtains  
reaching to the  
ground ;

these he takes up  
with a forked rod.

<sup>1</sup> Compare *H. Ord.* p. 39. 'Yeomen of Chambre, IIII, to make beddes, to bere or hold torches, to sette bourdes, to apparayle all chaumbres, and suche other seruyce as the chaumberlayn, or usshers of chambre command or assigne.' *Liber Niger* Edw. IV. See also *H. Ord.* p. 40, Office of Warderobe of Beddes, p. 41, Gromes of Chambyr, X ; and the elaborate directions for making Henry VII.'s bed, *H. Ord.* p. 121-2.

<sup>2</sup> *Hoc stramentum*, lyttre, (the straw with which the bed was formerly made) p. 260, col. 2, *Wright's Vocabularies*.

<sup>3</sup> Sylure, of valle, or a nother thyng (sylure of a walle), *Celatura*, *Celamen*, *Catholicon*, in *P. Parv.* Fr. *Ciel*, Heauen, pl. *Ciels*, a canopie for, and, the Testerne and Valances of a Bed. *Cotgrave*. A tester over the beadde, *canopus*. *Withals*.

<sup>4</sup> *Crochet*, a small hooke.

<sup>5</sup> Lyowre, to bynde wythe precyows clothys. *Ligatorium*. *P. Parv.*

<sup>6</sup> Fylowre, of barbouris crafte, *Acuteacula*, *filarium*. *P. Parv.* See note 3, p. 160.

- [Fol. 20.]
- The counterpane  
is laid at the foot,  
cushions on the  
sides,  
tapestry on the  
floor  
and sides of the  
room.
- The Groom gets  
fuel, and screens.
- The Groom keeps  
the table, trestles,  
and forms for  
dinner;
- and water in a  
heater.  
He puts 3 wax-  
lights  
over the chimney,  
all in different  
syces.
- The Usher of the  
Chamber* walks  
about and sees  
that all is served  
right,
- orders the table  
to be set and  
removed,
- þo knop vp turnes, and closes on ryzt,  
¶ As bolde by nek þat henges fulle lyzt.  
þo counturpynt he lays on beddys fete,  
456 Qwysshenes on sydes shyn lye fulle mete.  
Tapetis<sup>1</sup> of spayne on flore by syde,  
þat sprad shyn be for pompe and pryde ;  
þo chambur sydes ryzt to þo dore,  
460 He henges *with* tapetis þat ben fulle store ;  
And fuel to chymné hym falle to gete,  
And screnes in clof to y-saue þo hete.  
Fro þo lorde at mete when he is sett,  
464 Borde, trestuls, and fourmes, *with-outen* let ;  
¶ Alle thes þynges kepe schalle he,  
And water in chafer for laydyes fre ;  
iij perchers of wax þen schalle he fet,  
468 A-boue þo chymné þat be sett,  
In syce<sup>2</sup> ichoñ from oper schalle be  
þe lengthe of oper þat men may se,  
To brenne, to voide, þat dronkyn is,  
472 Oper ellis I wote he dose Amys.  
þo vssher alle-way shalle sitt at dore  
At mete, and walke schalle on þe flore,  
To se þat alle be seruet on ryzt,  
476 þat is his office be day *and* nyzt ;  
And byd set borde when tyme schalle be,  
And take hom vp when tyme ses he.

<sup>1</sup> Tapet, a clothe, *tappis*. Palsgrave, 1530. *Tapis*, Tapistrie, hangings, &c., of Arras. Cotgrave, 1611. *Tapis*, carpet, a green square-plot. Miege, 1684. The hangynges of a house or chambre, in plurali, *aulæa* . . . *Circundo cubiculum aulæis*, to hange the chambre. The carpettes, *tapetes*. Withals.

<sup>2</sup> And he (a Grome of Chambyr) setteth nyghtly, after the seasons of the yere, torchys, tortays, candylles of wax, mortars; and he setteth up the *sises* in the King's chambre, *H. Ord.* p. 41, 'these torches, five, seven, or nine; and as many *sises* sett upp as there bee torches,' *ib.* p. 114; and dayly iiii other of these gromes, called wayters, to make fyres, to sett up tressyls and bourdes, with yomen of chambre, and to help dresse the beddes of sylke and arras. *H. Ord.* p. 41.



- ¶ The wardrop<sup>1</sup> he herbers and eke of chambur  
 480 Ladyes *with* bedys of coralle and lambur,  
 þo vsshere schalle bydde þo wardroper  
 Make redy for alle nyzt be-fore þe fere ;  
 þen bryngis he forthe nyzt gown also,  
 484 And spredys a tapet and qwysshens two,  
 He layes hom þen opon a fourme,  
 And foteshete *þer-on and* hit returne.  
 ¶ þo lorde schalle skyft hys gowñ at nyzt,  
 488 Syttand on foteshete tyl he be dyzt.  
 þen vssher gose to þo botré,  
 “Haue in for alle nyzt, syr,” says he ;  
 Fyrst to þe chaundeler he schalle go,  
 492 To take a tortes lyzt hym fro ;  
 ¶ Bothe wyne and ale he tase indede,  
 þo botler says, *with-uten* drede,  
 No mete for mon schalle sayed<sup>2</sup> be,  
 496 Bot for kyng or prynce or duke so fre ;  
 For heierys of paraunce also y-wys,  
 Mete shall be sayed, now thenkys on this.  
 þen to pantré he hyzes be-lyue,  
 500 ¶ “Syr, haue in *with-uten* stryffe ;”  
 Manchet and chet<sup>3</sup> bred he schalle take,  
 þo pantere assayes þat hit be bake ;  
 A mortar of wax zet wille he bryng, :  
 504 Fro chambur, syr, *with-out* lesyng ;  
 þat alle nyzt brennes in bassyn clere,  
 To saue þo chambur on nyzt for fyre.  
 ¶ þen 3omon of chambur shynne voyde *with* ryme,  
 508 The torches han holden wele þat tyme ;  
 Tho chambur dore stekes þo vssher thenne,  
*With* preket and tortes þat coune brenne ;

takes charge of  
 the Wardrobe and  
 Bedchamber,  
 bids the *Ward-  
 roper* get all  
 ready before the  
 fire,

nightgown,  
 carpet, 2 cushions,  
 a form with a

footsheet over it ;  
 on which the lord  
 changes his gown.

The Usher orders  
 what's wanted  
 from the Buttery :

a link from the  
 Chandler, ~

and ale and wine.

(No meat shall be  
 assayed except  
 for King, Prince,  
 Duke or Heirs-  
 apparent.)

From the Pantry  
 the Usher takes  
 fine and coarse  
 bread,

and a wax-light

that burns all  
 night in a basin.

(The Yeoman-  
 Usher removes  
 the torches.)

The Usher puts  
 lights on the Bed-  
 room door,

<sup>1</sup> Wardroppe, or closet—*garderobe*. Palsgrave.

<sup>2</sup> See the duties of Edward IV.'s Sewar, *H. Ord.* p. 36.

<sup>3</sup> Manchet was the fine bread; chet, the course. Fr. *pain rouffet*, Cheat, or boulded bread; household bread made of Wheat and Rie mingled. Cotgrave.

- brings bread and  
wins,
- [Fol. 21.]  
(the lord washing  
first,)
- offers the drink  
knseling; puta  
his lord to bed,
- and then goes  
home himself.  
The Yeoman-  
Usher sleeps at  
the Lord's door.
- 512 Fro cupborde he brynges bothe brede *and* wyne,  
And fyrst assayes hit wele a[nd] fyne.  
But fyrst þe lorde shalle vasshe I-wys,  
Fro þo fyr hous when he comen is ;  
þen kneles þe vssher *and* gyfes hym drynke,  
516 Brynges hym in bed where he shalle wynke ;  
In strong styd on palet he lay,  
At home tase lefe *and* gose his way ;  
3omon vssher be-fore þe dore,  
520 In vtur chambur lies on þe flore.

*Of the Steward.*

¶ De seneschallo.<sup>1</sup>

- Few are true,  
but many fals.  
He, the clerke,  
cook and surveyor  
524 Stuarde, coke, and surueyour,  
consult over their  
Assenten in counselle, *with*-outen skorne,  
Lord's dinner.  
How þo lorde schalle fare at mete þo morne.  
Yf any deyntethe in countré be,  
Any dainty that  
can be had, the  
Steward buya. 528 þo stuarde schewes hit to þo lorde so fre,  
And gares by hyt for any cost,  
Hit were grete syn and hit were lost.  
Byfore þe cours þo stuarde comes þen,  
Before dishes are  
put on, the  
Steward enters  
first, then the  
Server. 532 þe seruer hit next of alle kyn men  
Mays way and stondes by syde,  
Tyl alle be *serued* at þat tyde.  
At countyng stuarde schalle ben,  
The Steward shall  
post into books all  
accounts written  
on tableta, 536 Tylle alle be breuet of wax so grene,  
Wrytten in-to bokes, *with*-out let,  
þat be-fore in tabuls hase ben sett,  
Tyl countes also þer-on ben cast,  
and add them up. 540 And somet vp holy at þo last.

<sup>1</sup> See the 'Styward of Housholde,' *H. Ord.* p. 55-6 : 'He is head officer.'

<sup>2</sup> MS. *and*

¶ De contrarotulatore.<sup>1</sup>

- ¶ The Countrollour shalle wryte to hym,  
 Taunt resceu, no more I myn ;  
 And taunt dispendu þat same day,  
 544 Vncountabulle he is, as y 3ou say.

*Of the Controller.*

He puts down the

residue and consumption of every day.

¶ De superuisore.<sup>2</sup>

- ¶ Surueour and stuarde also,  
 Thes thre folke and no mo,  
 For noȝt resayuen bot euer sene  
 548 þat noȝyng fayle *and* alle be whene ;  
 þat þo clerke of kechyn schulde not mys,  
 þer-fore þo countrollour, as hafe I blys,  
 Wrytes vp þo somme as euery day,  
 552 And helpes to count, as I 3ou say.

*Of the Surveyor.*

He, the steward, and controller, receive nothing, but see that all goes straight.

The Controller checks daily the Clerk of the Kitchen's account.

¶ De Clerico coquine.<sup>3</sup>

- ¶ The clerke of þe cochyn shalle alle þyng breue,  
 Of men of court, bothe lothe and leue,  
 Of achatis *and* dispenses þen wrytes he,  
 556 And wages for gromes and 3emen fre ;  
 At dressour also he shalle stonde,  
 And fett forthe mete dresset *with* honde ;  
 þe spicery and store *with* hym shalle dwelle,  
 560 And mony thynges als, as I noȝt telle,  
 For clethyng of officers alle *in* fere,  
 Sauē þe lorde hym self and ladys dere.

*Of the Clerk of the Kitchen.*

He shall keep account of all

purchases, and payments, and wages,  
 shall preside at the Dresser,

and keep the spices, stores, &amp;c.,

and the clothes of the officers.

¶ De cancellario.<sup>4</sup>

- ¶ The chaunceler answeres for hor clothyng,  
 564 For 3omen, faukeners, *and* hor horsyng,

*Of the Chancellor.*

He looks after the servante' clothes, and horses,

<sup>1</sup> See the "Countroller of this household royall," *H. Ord.* p. 58-9.<sup>2</sup> See the duties and allowances of A Surveyour for the Kyng, in *Household Ordinances*, p. 37.<sup>3</sup> See the 'cheyf clerke of kyehyn,' t. Edw. IV., *H. Ord.* p. 70; and Henry VIII.'s Clerke of the Kitchen, A.D. 1539, *ib.* p. 235.<sup>4</sup> The duties of the Chaunceller of Englonde are not stated in Edw. IV.'s *Liber Niger*, *H. Ord.* p. 29; but one of the two Clerkys of Grene-Clothe was accustomed to 'delyver the clothinge of housholde,' p. 61.

[Fol. 22.]  
seals patents,  
and grants of  
land, &c., for life,  
or during the  
lord's pleasure.

He oversees the  
land too, and is a  
great man.

*Of the Treasurer.*

He takes from the  
Receiver what is  
collected from  
bailiff and grieve,  
courts and  
forfeits.

He gives the  
Kitchen clerk  
money to buy  
provisions with,  
and the clerk  
gives some to the  
baker and butler.

The Treasurer  
pays all wages.

He, the Receiver,  
Chancellor,  
Grieves, &c.,

account once a  
year to the  
Auditor,

from whom they  
can appeal to a  
Baron of the Ex-  
chequer.

- For his wardrop and wages also ;  
And asseles patentis mony *and* mo ;  
Yf þo lorde gyf o3t to *terme* of lyf,  
568 The chaunceler hit seles *with-uten* stryf ;  
*Tan come nos plerra* men seyne, þat\* is *quando*  
*nobis placet*,  
þat is, whille vs lykes hym no3t omys ;  
Ouer-se hys londes þat alle be ryzt :  
572 On of þo grete he is of myzt.

¶ De thesaurizario.<sup>1</sup>

- ¶ Now speke y wylle of tresurerē,  
Husbonde and houswyf he is in fere ;  
Of þe resayuer he shalle resayue,  
576 Alle þat is gedurt of baylé and grayue,<sup>2</sup>  
Of þe lordes courtes and forfeitis als,  
Wheþer þay ben ryzt or þay ben fals.  
To þo clerke of cochen he payes moné  
580 For vetayle to bye opon þo countré :  
The clerke to kater and pulter is,  
To baker and butler bothe y-wys  
Gyffys seluer to bye in alle thyng  
584 þat longes to here office, *with-uten* lesyng.  
þe tresurer schalle gyfe alkyn wage,  
To squyer, zomon, grome, or page.  
þo resayuer and þo tresurer,  
588 þo clerke of cochyn and chaunceler,  
Grayuis, and baylys, and parker,  
Schone come to acountes euery zere  
By-fore þo *auditour* of þo lorde onone,  
592 þat schulde be trew as any stone ;  
Yf he dose hom no ryzt lele,  
To A baron of chekker þay mun hit pele.

<sup>1</sup> See the 'Thesaurere of Housholde' in Edw. IV.'s Liber Niger, *H. Ord.* p. 56-8: 'the grete charge of polycy and husbandry of all this household growyth and stondyth moste part by hys sad and dyligent pourveyaunce and conduytes.'

<sup>2</sup> AS. *gerefa*, reeve, steward, bailiff.

\* MS. þer

## ¶ De receptore firmarum.

*Of the Receiver of Rents.*

- ¶ Of þe resayuer speke wyllē I,  
 596 þat fermys<sup>1</sup> resayuys wytturly  
 Of grayuys, and hom aquetons makes,  
 Sex pons þer-fore to feys he takes,  
 And pays feys to parkers als I-wys,  
 600 þer-of at acountes he loued<sup>2</sup> is,  
 And ouer-seys castels, maners a-boute,  
 þat nozt falle with-in ne with-oute.  
 Now let we þes officers be,  
 604 And telle we wyllē of smaller mené.

He gives receipts,  
 and gets a fee of  
 6d.  
 He pays fees to  
 park-keepers, and  
 looks after castles  
 and manor-  
 houses.

¶ De Auenario.<sup>3</sup>*Of the Auenar.*

- ¶ þe Aueyner schalle ordeyn prouande<sup>4</sup> good won,  
 For þo lordys horsis euerychon ;  
 þay schyn haue two cast<sup>5</sup> of hay,  
 608 A pek of prouande on a day ;  
 Euery horse schalle so mucche haue,  
 At racke and manger þat standes with staue.  
 A maystur of horsys a squyer<sup>6</sup> þer is,  
 612 Aueyner and ferour vndur hym I-wys ;  
 þose zomen þat olde sadels schyn haue,  
 þat schyn be last for knyzt and knaue,  
 For yche a hors þat ferroure<sup>7</sup> schalle scho,  
 616 An halpeny on day he takes hym to ;

He shall give the  
 horses in the  
 stable  
 two armsful of  
 hay and a peck of  
 oats, daily.

A Squire is  
 Master of the  
 Horse ; under  
 him are Auenar  
 and Farrier,

(the Farrier has  
 a halfpenny a day  
 for every horse he  
 shoes.)

<sup>1</sup> Rents, in kind or money; AS. *feorme*, food, goods.

<sup>2</sup> Or loned.

<sup>3</sup> The Auenar of Edw. IV. is mentioned in *H. Ord.* p. 69. See the Charge of Henry VIII.'s Stable, A.D. 1526, *ib.* p. 206-7.

<sup>4</sup> Prouender or menglid corne—fovr-raige . . . *prouende*. Palsgrave.

<sup>5</sup> See 'two cast of brede,' l. 631. 'One caste of brede' for the Steward's yeoman, *H. Ord.* p. 56, &c.

<sup>6</sup> Mayster of the horses—*escvier de escvirie*. Palsg.

<sup>7</sup> See Rogers's *Agriculture and Prices in England*, v. 1, p. 280-1. The latest prices he gives for shoeing are in 1400; "Alton Barnes, Shoeing 5 horses, a year, 6s. 8d. Takley, Shoeing 2 cart horses [a year] 1s. 8d." A.D. 1466, 'fore shoyinge ij.d.' *Manners and Household Expenses* (ed. Dawson Turner), 1841, p. 380. (Sir Jn. Howard, Knt., 1462-9.) The Percy allowance in 1512 was "ij s.

and grooms and  
pages hired

at 2d. a day,  
or 3 farthings,  
[Fol. 25.]

and footmen who  
run by ladies'  
bridles.

Vndur ben gromes and pages mony one,  
þat ben at wage euerychone ;  
Som at two pons on a day,  
620 And som at iij ob., I 3ou say ;  
Mony of hem fote-men þer ben,  
þat rennen by þe brydels of ladys shene.

*Of the Baker.*

¶ De pistore.<sup>1</sup>

Out of a London  
bushel he shall  
bake 20 loaves,  
fine and coarse.

¶ Of þo baker now speke y wylle,  
624 And wat longes his office vntylle ;  
Of a lunden buschelle he shalle bake  
xx louys, I vndur-take ;  
Manchet and chet to make brom<sup>2</sup> bred hard,  
628 For chaundeler and grehoundes *and* huntēs  
reward.

*Of the Huntsman  
and his Hounds.*

He gets a half-  
penny a day for  
every hound.

The Feuterer 2  
lots of bread if he  
has 2 leash of  
Greyhounds, and  
a bone for each,

besides perquisites  
of skins, &c.

¶ De venatore *et* suis canibus.

¶ A halpeny þo hunte takes on þe day  
For euery hounde, þo sothe to say :  
þo vewter, two cast of brede he tase,  
632 Two lesshe of grehoundes yf þat he hase ;  
To yche a bone, þat is to telle,  
If I to 3ou þe sothe shalle spelle ;  
By-syde hys vantage þat may be-falle,  
636 Of skynnes and oper thynges *with*-alle,  
þat hunteres con telle better þan I,  
þer-fore I leue hit wytt[ur]ly.

viiiij d. every Hors Shoyng for the hole Yere by estimacion, Viz. a Hors to be shodd oons in iij moneths without they jorney.' p. 24. A horse's daily allowance was 'a Peck of Oats, or 4d. in Breade after iiij Loiffes, 4d. for Provaunder, from 29th Septr. 8 Hen. VIII. to 3rd May following,' p. 266.

<sup>1</sup> See Edw. IV.'s Office of Bakehouse, *H. Ord.* p. 68-70. 'The sergeaunt of thys office to make continually of every busshell, halfe chiete halfe rounde, besydes the flowre for the Kinges mouthe, xxvii loves, every one weying, after one daye olde, xxiii ounces of troye weyghtes.' p. 69.

<sup>2</sup> *Read* broun, brown.

¶ De aquario.<sup>1</sup>

- ¶ And speke I wyll of oþer mystere  
 640 þat falles to court, as 3e mun here ;  
 An euwere in halle þere nedys to be,  
 And chandlew schalle haue and alle napere ;  
 He schalle gef water to gentilmen,  
 644 And als in alle 3omen.
- ¶ Qui debent manus lauare et in quorum domibus.  
 ¶ In kynges court and dukes also,  
 þer 3omen schynne wasshe and no mo ;—  
 In duke Ionys house a 3oman þer was,  
 648 For his rewarde prayde suche a grace ;  
 þe duke gete graunt þer-of in londe,  
 Of þe kyng his fader, I vndudurstonde.—(so)  
 Wosoouer gefes water in lordys chaunber,  
 652 In presens of lorde or leuedé dere,  
 He schalle knele downe opoñ his kne,  
 Ellys he for3etes his curtasé ;  
 þis euwer schalle hele his lordes borde,  
 656 With dowbulle napere at on bare worde :  
 The seluage to þo lordes syde with-inne,  
 And douñ schalle heng þat oþer may wynne ;  
 þo ouer nape schalle dowbulle be layde,  
 660 To þo vttur syde þe seluage brade ;  
 þo ouer seluage he schalle repleye,<sup>2</sup>  
 As towelle hit were fayrest in hye ;  
 Browers<sup>3</sup> he schalle cast þer-opon,  
 664 þat þe lorde schulle clense his fyngers [on],  
 þe leuedy and whoseuer syttes with-inne,  
 Alle browers schynne haue bothe more and myñ.

*Of the Ewerer or  
Water-bringer.*

He has all the  
candles and cloths,  
and gives water to  
every one.

*Who may wash  
his hands, and  
where.*

The bringer of  
Water

shall kneel down.

The Ewerer shall  
cover the lord's  
table with a  
double cloth, the  
lower with the  
selvage to the  
lord's side ; the  
upper cloth shall  
be laid double,

the upper selvage  
turned back as if  
for a towel.

He shall put on  
cleaners for  
every one.

<sup>1</sup> In Edward the Fourth's Court, 'Knyghts of Household, XII, bachelers sufficient, and most valient men of that ordre of every cowntrey' had 'to serve the King of his bason.' *H. Ord.* p. 33.

<sup>2</sup> *Replier*, 'To redouble, to bow, fould, or plait into many doublings. Cotgrave.

<sup>3</sup> Napkins? O. Fr. *brueroi* is *bruyère*, heath.

*Of the Panter.*

He carries 3  
loaves out aquare  
for trenchers,

and the covered  
Saltcellar,  
[Fol. 24.]

2 Carving-knives,  
and sets the 3rd,  
and a spoon to his  
lord.

*Of the Lord's  
Knives, (Bread,  
and Washing.)*  
The hafts of 2 are  
laid outwards,  
that of the 3rd  
inwards, and the  
steel spoon by it.  
More trencher  
loaves are set, and  
wine served to the  
Duchesa.

2 Trencher-loaves,  
and salt, to the  
lord's son; and 1  
loaf and saltcellar  
set at the end of  
the table.

Then 3 loaves of  
white bread are  
brought, and 1  
coarse loaf is put  
in the Alma-dish.

To assay bread,  
the Panter kneels,  
the Carver cuts  
him a slice,

and he eats it,

The Ewerer  
strains water into  
his basins,  
on the upper ones  
of which is a towel

¶ De panetario.

- ¶ þenne comes þe pantere with loues thre,  
668 þat square are coruyn of trenchour fre,  
To sett *with-inne and* oon *with-oute*,  
And saller y-coueryd and sett in route ;  
With þo ouemast lofe hit shalle be sett,  
672 *With-oute* forthe square, *with-uten* lett ;  
Two keruyng knyfes *with-oute* one,  
þe thrydde to þo lorde, and als a spone.

¶ De Cultellis domini.

- ¶ Of þo two þo haftes schynne outwarde be,  
676 Of þe thrydd þe hafte inwarde lays he,  
þe spony stele þer by schalle be layde ;  
Moo loues of trenchirres at a brayde  
He settes, *and* seruys euyr in fere  
680 To duches his wyne þat is so dere.  
Two loues of trenchors *and* salt þo,  
He settes be-fore his son also ;  
A lofe of trenchours and salt on last,  
684 At bordes ende he settes in hast.  
þen brede he brynges, in towelle wrythyñ,  
Thre lofys of þo wyte schalle be geuyñ ;  
A chet lofe to þo elmys dyshe,  
688 Weþer he seruyd be *with* flesshe or fysche ;  
At aþer ende he castes a cope,  
Layde down̄ on borde, þe endys plyed vp.  
That he assayes knelande on kne,  
692 þo keruer hym parys a schyuer so fre ;  
And touches þo louys yn quere a-boute,  
þo pantere hit etys *with-oute* dowte ;  
þo euwere thurgh towelle syles <sup>1</sup> elene  
696 His water into þo bassynges shene ;  
þo ouer bassyn þer-on schalle close,  
A towelle þer-on, as I suppose,

<sup>1</sup> ? Du. *zigen* (door een zifte ofte *Stramijn*), to runne (through a Sift or a Strainer). een *Suyle* a Pale or a Water-pale. Hexham.



- þat folden schalle be *with* fulle grete lore,  
 700 Two quarters on lenketh~~e~~ and sumdele more ;  
 A qwyte cuppe of tre þer-by schalle be,  
 þer-*with* þo water assay schalle he ;  
 Quelmes <sup>1</sup> hit agayn by-fore alle men ;  
 704 þo keruer þe bassynges tase vp þenne ;  
 Annaunciande squier, or ellis a knyzt,  
 þo towelle down̄ tase by fulle good ryzt ;  
 þo cuppe he tase in honde also,  
 708 þo keruer powres wat[er] þe cuppe into ;  
 The knyzt to þo keruer haldes anon,  
 He says hit ar he more schalle doñ ;  
 þo cuppe þen voyde is in þo flette,<sup>2</sup>  
 712 þe euwer hit takes *with-outen* lette.  
 The towelle two knyztis schyn halde *in fere*,  
 Be-fore þe lordes sleues, þat ben so dere ;  
 The ouer bassyn þay halde neuer þe queder,  
 716 Quylle þo keruer powre water in-to þe nedur.  
 For a pype þer is insyde so clene,  
 þat water deuoydes, of seluer schene ;  
 þen settes he þe nethyr, I vnd[u]rstonde,  
 720 In þe ouer, and voydes *with* bothe is honde ;  
 And brynges to þe euwer þer he come fro ;  
 To þo lordys bordes azayn con go ;  
 And layes iiij trenchours þo lorde be-fore,  
 724 þe fyft aboue by good lore ;  
 By hym self thre schalle he dresse,  
 To cut opon þe lordes messe ;  
 Smale towelle a-boute his necke shall bene,  
 728 To clens his knyfyf þat ben so kene.
- ¶ De Elemosinario.<sup>3</sup>
- ¶ The aumenere by þis hathe sayde *grace*,  
 And þo almes dysshe hase sett in place ;

folded dodgily.

Then the water  
is assayed in a  
cup of white wood.The Carver takes  
up the basins ; a  
knight takes down  
the towel, and  
wipes the cup, into  
which the Carver  
pours water ; theknight hands it to  
him ; he assays it,  
and empties the  
cup.Two knights hold  
the towel before  
the lord's sleeves,  
and hold the  
upper basia while  
the Carver pours  
water into the  
lower ;then he puts the  
lower into the  
upper, and empties  
both,  
takes them to the  
Ewers, returns to  
the lord's table,  
lays 4 trenchers  
for him, with 1  
above.  
The Carver takes  
3 to cut the  
lord's messes on,  
[Fol. 25.]  
and has a cloth  
round his neck to  
wipe his knives  
on.*Of the Almoner.*He says grace,  
sets down the  
Alms-dish, and

<sup>1</sup> covers. 'Ovyr quelmyd or ouer hyllyde. *Obvolutus.*' P. Parv.

<sup>2</sup> A.S. *flett*, room, hall.

<sup>3</sup> See The Almonry of Henry VIII. A.D. 1526, *H. Ord.* p. 154, and p. 144 ; A.D. 1539, *H. Ord.* p. 239.

the Carver puts  
the first loaf in it.

The other loaves  
he pares round,

cuts one in two,  
and gives the  
upper half in  
halves to him.  
The Almoner has  
a staff in his  
hand.

He keeps the  
broken food and  
wine left, for poor  
men at the gate,

and is sworn to  
give it all to them.

He distributeth  
silver as he rides.

*Of the Sewer (or  
setter-on of  
Dishes).*

The Cook assays  
the meat before  
it's dished.

The Sewer puts  
the cover on it,

and the cover  
must never be  
raised

for fear of  
treason.  
(A Dodge: If the  
silver dish hurne  
you,

put hite of bread  
under it.)

The Sewer assays  
all the food:

- þer-in þe keruer a lofe schalle sette,  
732 To serue god fyrst *with-ouen* lette ;  
þese oper lofes he parys a-boute,  
Lays hit myd dysshe *with-ouen* doute.  
þe smalle lofe he cuttis euen in twynne,  
736 þo ouer dole in two lays to hym.  
The aumenere a rod schalle haue in honde,  
As office for almes, y vndurstonde.  
Alle þe broken met he kepys y wate,  
740 To dele to pore men at þe zate,  
And drynke þat leues *serued* in halle ;  
Of ryche *and* pore bothe grete *and* smalle.  
He is sworne to ouer-se þe *seruis* wele,  
744 And dele hit to þe pore euery dele ;  
Seluer he deles rydand by way ;  
And his almys dysshe, as I zou say,  
To þe porest man þat he can fynde,  
748 Oper ellys I wot he is vnkynde.

¶ De ferculario.

- ¶ This wyle þo squyer to kechyn shalle go,  
And brynges a bof for assay þo ;  
þo Coke assayes þe mete vngryzt,  
752 þo sewer he takes and kouers on ryzt ;  
Wo so euer he takes þat mete to bere,  
Schalle not so hardy þo couertoure rere,  
For colde ne hote, I warne zou alle,  
756 For suspecyon of tresoun as may befaller.  
Yf þo syluer dysshe wyll algate brenne,  
A sotelté I wyll þe kenne,  
Take þe bredde coruyn *and* lay by-twene,  
760 And kepe þe welle hit be not sene ;  
¶ I teche hit for no curtayse,  
But for þyn ese.  
When þe sewer comys vnto þe borde,  
764 Alle þe mete he sayes at on bare worde,

- þe potage fyrst *with* brede y-coruyn,  
 Couerys hom agayn lest þey ben storuyn ;  
*With* fyssh or flessch yf [they] be *serued*,
- 768 A morselle *per*-of shalle he be keruyd ;  
 And touche þe messe ouer alle aboute,  
 þo sewer hit *etis with-ouen* doute.  
*With* baken mete yf he *seruyd* be þo,
- 772 þo lydes vp-rered or he fyr go,  
 þe past or pye he sayes *with-inne*,  
 Dippes bredde in graué no more ne mynne ;  
 3if þe baken mete be colde, as may byfalle,
- 776 A gobet of þo self he sayes *with-alle*.  
 But þou þat berys mete in hande,  
 Yf þo sewer stonde, loke þou stande ;  
 Yf he knele, knele þou so longe for ozt,
- 780 ¶ Tylle mete be sayde þat þou hase broght.  
 As oft at hegh borde yf brede be nede,  
 The butler two louys takys indede ;  
 þat on settes down, þat oper agayn
- 784 He barys to cupborde in towelle playn.  
 As oft as þe keruer fettys drynke,  
 þe butler assayes hit how good hym thynke ;  
 In þe lordys cupp þat leuys vndrynken,
- 788 Into þe almesdisshe hit schalle be sonken.  
 The keruer anon *with-ouen* thouzt,  
 Vnkouers þe cup þat he hase brouzt ;  
 Into þe couertoure wyn he powres owt,
- 792 Or in-to a spare pece, *with-ouen* doute ;  
 Assayes, an gefes þo lorde to drynke,  
 Or settes hit doun as hym goode thynke.  
 þo keruer<sup>1</sup> schalle kerue þo lordes mete,
- potage with a  
 piece of bread ;
- fish or flesh, he  
 eats a piece ;
- baked meats hot,  
 he lifts up the  
 crust,
- and dipa bread in  
 the gravy ;  
 baked meats cold,  
 he eats a bit.
- The meat-bearer  
 stands or kneels  
 as the Sewer does.
- [Fol. 26.]
- When bread is  
 wanted, the  
 Butler puts one  
 loaf on the table,  
 the other on the  
 cupboard.
- The Butler assays  
 all the wine.
- What is left in  
 the lord's cup  
 goes to the Alms-  
 dish.
- The Carver fille  
 the empty cup,
- assays it, and  
 gives it the lord  
 or puts it down.  
 He carves the  
 lord's meat,

<sup>1</sup> Edward IV. had 'Bannerettes, IIII, or Bachelor Knights, to be kervers and cupperers in his Courte.' 'The kerver at the boarde, after the King is passed it, may chese for hymself one dyshe or two, that plentie is among. . . Theis kervers and cupperers . . them nedeth to be well spede in taking of degree in *the schole of urbaneitie.*' *H. Ord.* p. 32-3.

- 796 Of what kyn pece þat he wyll eȝe ;  
 And on hys trenchour he hit layes,  
 On þys maner *with-out* displayes ;  
 In almesdysshe he layes yche dele,  
 800 þat he is *with serued* at þo mele ;  
 But he sende hit to ony strongere,  
 A pese þat is hym leue and dere,  
 And send hys potage also,  
 804 þat schalle not to þe almes go.  
 Of keruer more, yf I shulde telle,  
 Anoper fytt þenne most I spelle,  
 Ther-fore I let hit here ouer 'passe,  
 808 To make oure talkyng *summedelasse*.  
 When þe lorde hase eten, þo sewer schalle bryng  
 þo surnape on his schulder bryng,  
 A narew towelle, a brode be-syde,  
 812 And of hys hondes he lettes hit slyde ;  
 þe vssher ledes þat on hed ryȝt,  
 þo aumener þo oper away schalle dyȝt.  
 When þe vssher comys to þe borde ende,  
 816 þo narrow towelle he strecches vnkende ;  
 Be-fore þo lorde and þe lady so dere,  
 Dowbelle he playes þo towelle þere ;  
 Whenne þay haue wasshen and *grace* is sayde,  
 820 Away he takes at a brayde ;  
 Awoydes þo borde in-to þo flore,  
 Tase away þo trestis þat ben so store.

*Of the Chandler.*

¶ De candelario.<sup>1</sup>

¶ Now speke I wyll a lytulle whyle  
 824 Of þo chandeler, *with-ouȝen* gyle,

<sup>1</sup> See the 'Office of Chaundlerye,' *H. Ord.* p. 82-3. Paris candles, torches, morters, tortayes, sizes, and smalle lightes, are mentioned there.

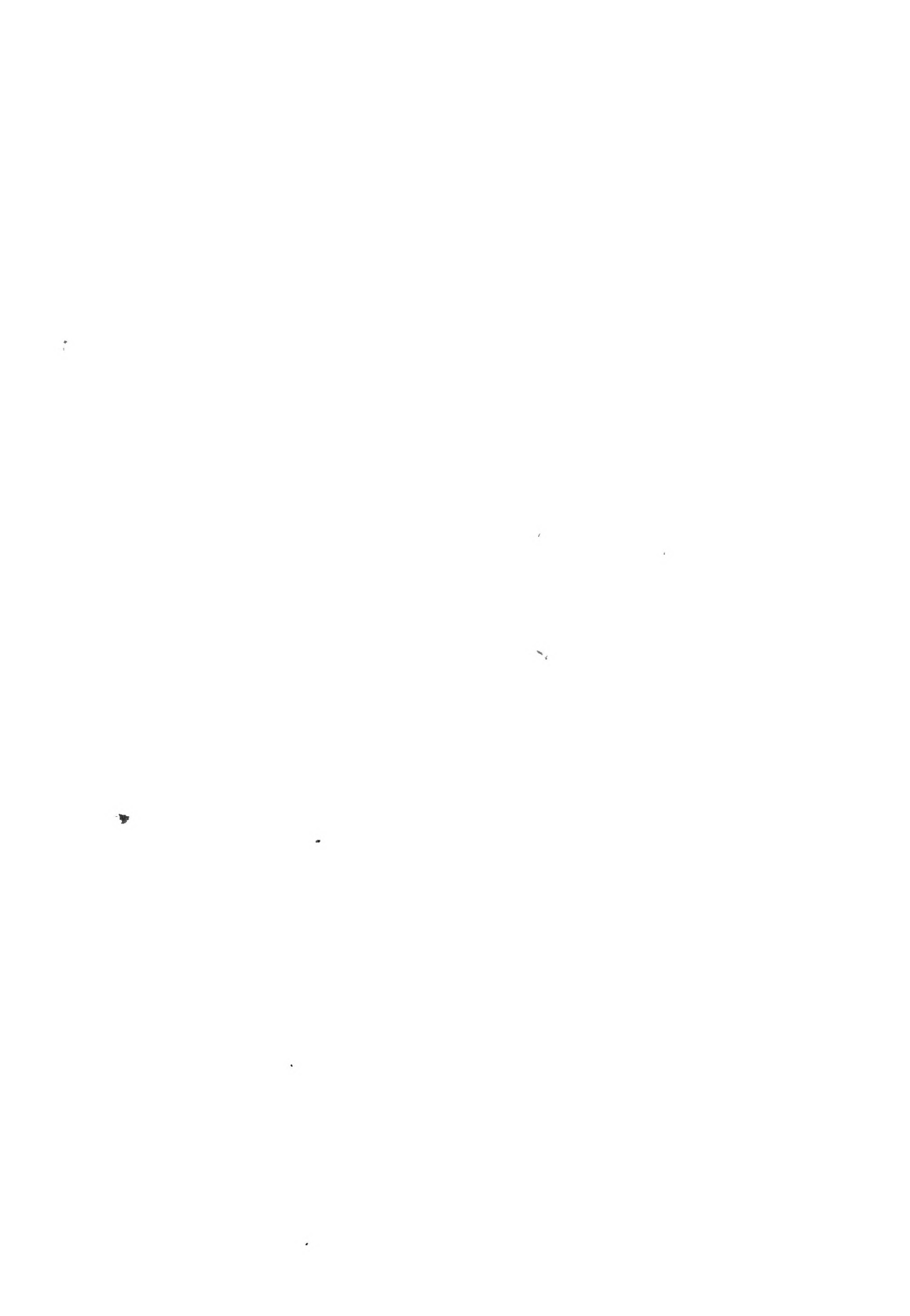
- þat torches<sup>1</sup> and tortes<sup>2</sup> and preketes<sup>3</sup> con make, He can make all  
Perchours,<sup>4</sup> smale condel, I vnder-take; kinds of candles,  
little and big,
- Of wax þese candels alle þat brennen,  
828 And mortar of wax þat I wele kenne; and mortars of  
þo snof of hom dose a-way wax.  
With close sesours, as I 3ow say; He snuffs them  
with short  
þe sesours ben schort and rownde y-close, ecissors.
- 832 With plate of irne vp-on bose.  
In chambur no lyzt þer shall be brent, In bed-chambers  
wax lights only  
Bot of wax þer-to, yf 3e take tent; eball be burnt;
- 836 Of parys, þer-in þat alle men kenne; [Fol. 27.]  
In halle at soper schalle caldels (so) brenne in hall, Candles of  
Paris,  
Of parys, þer-in þat alle men kenne; each mess having  
one from Nov. 1  
Iche messe a candelle fro alhalawghe day to Feb. 2 (see l.  
395), and squires  
To candelmesse, as I 3ou say; one too.
- 840 Of candel liueray squiyers schalle haue,  
So long, if hit is mon wille kraue.  
Of brede and ale also þo boteler The Butler shall  
give Squires their  
Schalle make lyueré thurgh-out þe 3ere daily bread and  
ale all the year,  
To squyers, and also wyn to knyzt, and Knights their  
wine.
- 844 Or ellys he dose not his office ryzt.  
Here endys the thryd speche.  
Of alle oure synnes cryst be oure leche, May Christ bring  
us to His dwell-  
And bryng vs to his vonyng place! ing-place. Amen!
- 848 Amen, sayes 3e, for hys grete grace!  
¶ Amen, par charite.

<sup>1</sup> Torche. *Cereus*. P. Parv.

<sup>2</sup> ? same as *tortayes*, p. 192, note<sup>2</sup>; p. 204, *n.*

<sup>3</sup> Pryket, of a candlestykke, or other lyke. *Stiga*, P. Parv. Candlesticks (says Mr Way) in ancient times were not fashioned with nozzles, but with long spikes or *prykets*. . . (See wood cut at the end of this book.) In the Memoriale of Henry, prior of Canterbury, A.D. 1285, the term *prykett* denotes, not the candlestick, but the candle, formed with a corresponding cavity at one end, whereby it was securely fixed upon the spike. p. 413, n. 1. Henry VIII.'s allowance 'unto our right dere and welbilovede the Lady Lucy,' July 16, 1533, included 'at our Chaundrye barr, in Wynter, every night oon *preket* and foure syses of Waxe, with eight Candells white lights, and oon Torche.' *Orig. Letters*, ed. Ellis, Series I., vol. ii. p. 31.

<sup>4</sup> See note <sup>1</sup>, p. 189.



The Booke of

Demeanor

and

the Allowance and

Disallowance

of

certaine Misdemeanors

in

Companie,

[From the reprint by Bensley & Sons (in 1817) of "The Booke of Demeanor from Small Poems entitled *The Schoole of Vertue* by Richard Weste," 1619, 12mo.]

## To the Reader.

R ightly conceiue me, and obserue me well,  
 I Doe what heere is done for Childrens good,  
 C hrist in his Gospell (as S. Marke doth tell)  
 H Ath not forbidden Children, nor withstood  
 A Ny that should but aske the ready way,  
 R Egarding Children, not to say them nay.  
 D irecting all that came, how faith should be,

W Hat they should crave of Gods high Majestie,  
 E Ven Salvation, through their faithful Prayer,  
 S Ending their contemplations into the ayre,  
 T O his high throne, whose love so guide us all  
 E Ven to the end we neuer cease to call.

[N.B.—The stops and sidenotes are those of the original, but  
 that has no Headlines.]



## The Booke of Demeanor.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <p style="text-align: center;">Stand straight vpright, and both thy feet<br/>together closely standing,<br/>Be sure on't, ever let thine eye<br/>4 be still at thy commanding.</p> | <p>Serving at<br/>the table.</p>          |
| <p style="text-align: center;">Observe that nothing wanting be<br/>which should be on the bord.<br/>Vnlesse a question moved be,<br/>8 be carefull : not a word.</p>               | <p>Silence.</p>                           |
| <p style="text-align: center;">If thou doe give or fill the drinke,<br/>with duty set it downe,<br/>And take it backe with manlike cheere<br/>12 not like a rusticke Lowne.</p>    | <p>Serving<br/>or filling<br/>drinke.</p> |
| <p style="text-align: center;">If on an errand thou be sent,<br/>make haste and doe not stay,<br/>When all have done, observe the time,<br/>16 serve God and take away.</p>        | <p>[p. 6.] If on an<br/>errand.</p>       |
| <p style="text-align: center;">When thou hast done and dined well,<br/>remember thou repaire<br/>To schoole againe with carefulnesse,<br/>20 be that thy cheefest care.</p>        | <p>To schoole<br/>againe.</p>             |
| <p style="text-align: center;">And marke what shall be read to thee,<br/>or given thee to learne,<br/>That apprehend as neere as may be,<br/>24 wisdomes so doth warne.</p>        |   |

- With stedfast eye and carefull eare,  
remember every word  
Thy Schoole master shall speake to thee,  
28 as memory shall afford.
- To use the  
browes. Let not thy browes be backward drawn, [p. 7.]  
it is a signe of pride,  
Exalt them not, it shewes a hart  
32 most arrogant beside.
- The eyes. Nor let thine eyes be gloting downe,  
cast with a hanging looke :  
For that to dreamers doth belong,  
36 that goodnesse cannot brooke.
- The fore-  
head. Let forehead joyfull be and full,  
it shewes a merry part,  
And cheerefulnesse in countenance,  
40 and pleasantnesse of heart.
- Counte-  
nance. Nor wrinckled let thy countenance be,  
still going to and fro :  
For that belongs to hedge-hogs right,  
44 they wallow even so.
- The nose. Nor imitate with Socrates, [p. 8.]  
to wipe thy snivelled nose  
Vpon thy cap, as he would doe,  
48 nor yet upon thy clothes.
- But keepe it cleane with handkerchiffe,  
provided for the same,  
Not with thy fingers or thy sleeve,  
52 therein thou art too blame.
- Blowing or  
breathing. Blow not alowd as thou shalt stand,  
for that is most absurd,

- Iust like a broken winded horse.  
 56 it is to be abhord.
- Nor practize snuffingly to speake,  
 for that doth imitate  
 The brutish Storke and Elephant,  
 60 yea and the wralling cat.
- If thou of force doe chance to neeze,  
 then backwards turne away  
 From presence of the company,  
 64 wherein thou art to stay.
- Thy cheekes with shamefac't modesty,  
 dipt in Dame Natures die,  
 Not counterfet, nor puffed out,  
 68 observe it carefully.
- Keepe close thy mouth, for why, thy breath  
 may hap to give offence,  
 And other worse may be repayd  
 72 for further recompence.
- Nor put thy lips out like a foole  
 as thou wouldst kisse a horse,  
 When thou before thy betters art,  
 76 and what is ten times worse,
- To gape in such unseemely sort,  
 with ugly gaping mouth,  
 Is like an image pictured  
 80 a blowing from the south.
- Which to avoyd, then turne about,  
 and with a napkin hide  
 That gaping foule deformity,  
 84 when thou art so aside.

Snuffing in  
the nose  
when you  
speake.

[p. 9.] Neezing.

The  
Cheekes.

Breath-  
ing.

Lips.

[p. 10.] Yawning.

Laughing.

To laugh at all things thou shalt heare,  
 is neither good nor fit,  
 It shewes the property and forme  
 88 of one with little wit.

Biting the  
lip.

To bite the lip it seemeth base,  
 for why, to lay it open,  
 Most base dissembling doggednesse,  
 92 most sure it doth betoken.

Biting the  
upper lip.

And so to bite the upper lip  
 doth most uncomely shew,  
 The lips set close (as like to kisse)  
 96 in manner seeme not so.

[p. 11.]

The  
tongue.

To put the tongue out wantonly,  
 and draw it in agen,  
 Betokens mocking of thy selfe,  
 100 in all the eyes of men,

Spitting:

If spitting chance to move thee so  
 thou canst it not forbear,  
 Remember do it modestly,  
 104 consider who is there.

If filthiness, or ordure thou  
 upon the floore doe cast,  
 Tread out, and cleanse it with thy foot,  
 108 let that be done with haste.

Hammer-  
ing in  
speech.

If in thy tale thou hammering stand,  
 or coughing twixt thy words,  
 It doth betoken a liers smell,  
 112 that's all that it affords.

[p. 12.]

Belching.

To belch or bulch like *Clitipho*,  
 whom *Terence* setteth forth,

- Commendeth manners to be base,  
 116 most foule and nothing worth.
- If thou to vomit be constrain'd, Vomiting.  
 avoyd from company :  
 So shall it better be excus'd,  
 120 if not through gluttony.
- Keep white thy teeth, and wash thy mouth Keeping  
 with water pure and cleane, the teeth  
 And in that washing, mannerly cleane.  
 124 observe and keep a meane.
- Thy head let that be kembd and trimd, [p. 13.] Kembing  
 let not thy haire be long, the head.  
 It is unseemely to the eye,  
 128 rebuked by the tongue.
- And be not like a slothfull wight, Hanging  
 delighted to hang downe down the  
 The head, and lift the shoulders up, head.  
 132 nor with thy browes to frowne.
- To carry up the body faire, Carriage of  
 is decent, and doth shew the body.  
 A comely grace in any one,  
 136 Where ever he doth goe.
- To hang the head on any side, Hanging  
 doth shew hypocrisie : the head  
 And who shall use it trust him not, aside.  
 140 he deales with policie.
- Let not thy privy members be [p. 14.] Privy  
 layd open to be view'd, members.  
 It is most shamefull and abhord,  
 144 detestable and rude.

Urine or  
winde.

Retaine not urine nor the winde,  
which doth thy body vex,  
So it be done with secreisie,  
148 let that not thee perplex.

Sitting.

And in thy sitting use a meane,  
as may become thee well,  
Not straddling, no nor tottering,  
152 and dangling like a bell.

Curtesie.

Observe in Curtesie to take  
a rule of decent kinde,  
Bend not thy body too far fourth,  
156 nor backe thy leg behind.

The gate in going.

In going keep a decent gate,  
not faining lame or broken,  
For that doth seeme but wantonnesse,  
160 and foolishnesse betoken.

[p. 15.]

Apparrell.

Let thy apparrell not exceede,  
to passe for sumptuous cost,  
Nor altogether be too base,  
164 for so thy credit's lost.

Be modest in thy wearing it,  
and keep it neat and cleane,  
For spotted, dirty, or the like,  
168 is lothsome to be seene.

This for thy body may suffice,  
how that must ordred be :  
Now at the Church thou shalt observe  
172 to God how all must be.

[*No doubt incomplete, or to be inserted before Cap. v. of Weste's Schoole of Vertue, at the end of this Part. F. J. F.*].

## By. Grossetest's Household Statutes.

[Sloane MS. 1986, p. 193, ab. 1450-60. The last page mentions the 19th year of Henry VI., A.D. 1440-1.]

INCipiunt statuta familie bone Memorie dompni  
Roberti Grossetest, lincolnie episcopi.

**L** Et alle men be warned þat seruen þou, and warnyng  
be zeue to alle men that be of howseholde, to  
serue god and þou trewly & diligently and to perform-  
yng, or the wyllug of god to be performed and fulfyll-  
ydde. Fyrst let seruauntis doo perfytely in alle thyngis  
youre wylle, and kepe they þoure commaundementis  
after god and rythwysnesse, and *with-oute condicioñ*  
and also *with-oute greif* or offense. And sey þe, that be  
*principalle* heuede or prelate to alle þoure seruauntis  
bothe lesse and more, that they doo fully, reedyly, and  
treuly, *with-oute* offense or ayenseyng, alle youre wille  
& commaundement that is not ayeynys god. ¶ The  
secunde ys, that þe commaunde them that kepe and  
haue keypyng of þoure howseholde, a-fore þoure meynye,  
that bothe *with-in* and *with-oute* the meynye be trewe,  
honest, diligent, bothe chast and profitabulle. ¶ The  
thrydde: commaunde ye that nomañ be admittyd in  
þoure howseholde, nother inwarde nother vtwarde, but  
hit be trustyd and leuyd that þe be trewe and dili-  
gent, and namely to that office to the whiche he is  
admyttyd; Also þat he be of goode maners ¶ The  
fowrethe: be hit sowght and examined ofte tymys yf ther  
be one vntrewman, vnkunnyng, vnhonest, lecherous,

All servants  
should serve truly  
God and their  
Master;

*primus*  
*uersiculus*  
doing fully all  
that their Master  
orders,

without answer-  
ing.

2<sup>us</sup>

The upper serv-  
ants must be  
honest and  
diligent,  
3<sup>us</sup>

and engage no  
untrusty or  
unfit man.

iv.

Dishonest,

- [\* p. 194]  
quarrelsome, and  
drunken servants  
must be turned  
out.
- v. All must be of  
one accord,
- vi.  
obedient to those  
above them,
- vii.  
dress in livery,
- and not wear old  
shoes.  
viii.  
Order your Alms  
to be  
given to the poor  
and sick.
- ix. Make all the  
household dine  
together in the  
Hall.
- [\* p. 195]  
[1 MS. wyse]  
x. Let no woman  
dine with you.
- Let the Master  
show himself to  
all.
- xi.  
Let your servants  
go to their homes.
- stryffulle, drunke\*lewe, vnprofitabulle, yf there be ony  
suche yfunde or diffamydde vppon these thyngis, that  
they be caste oute or put fro the howseholde. ¶ The  
fyft: commaunde 3e that in no wyse be in the howse-  
holde men debatefulle or stryffulle, but that alle be of  
oon a-corde, of oon wyll, euen lyke as in them ys oon  
mynde and oon sowle. ¶ The sixte: commaunde 3e  
that alle tho that seruen in ony offyce be obedient, and  
redy, to them that be a-bofe them in thyngis that per-  
teynyn to there office. ¶ The seuenthe: commaunde  
3e that 3oure gentilmen yomen and other, dayly bere  
and were there robis in 3oure presence, and namely at  
the mete, for 3oure worschyppe, and not oolde robis and  
not cordyng to the lyuerey, nother were they oolde  
schoon ne fylyd. ¶ The viij: Commaunde 3e that  
3oure almys be keypyd, & not sende not to boys and  
knafis, nother in the halle nothe oute of þe halle, ne be  
wasted in soperys ne dyners of gromys, but wysely,  
temperatly, with-oute bate or betyng, be hit distribute  
and the[n] departyd to powre men, beggers, syke folke  
and febulle. ¶ The ix.: Make 3e 3oure owne howse-  
holde to sytte in the alle, as muche as ye mow or may,  
at the bordis of oon parte and of the other parte, and  
lette them sitte to-gedur as mony as may, not here  
fowre and thre there: and when youre chef maynye be  
sett, then alle gromys may\* entre, sitte, And ryse ¶  
The x.: Streytly for-bede 3e that no wyfe<sup>1</sup> be at 3oure  
mete. And sytte 3e euer in the myddul of the hye  
borde, that youre fysegge and chere be schewyd to  
alle men of bothe partyes, and that 3e may see lyghtly  
the seruicis and defawtis: and diligently see 3e that  
euery day in 3oure mete seson be two men ordeyned to  
ouer-se youre mayny, and of that they shalle drede 3ou  
¶ The xi: commaunde 3e, and yeue licence as lytul  
tyme as ye may with honeste to them that be in 3oure  
howseholde, to go home. And whenne 3e yeue licence



to them, Assigne 3e to them a short day of comyng a yeyne vndur peyne of lesyng there seruice. And yf ony mañ speke ayen or be worthe,<sup>1</sup> say to hym, "what! wille ye be lorde? ye wylle þat y serue you after 3oure wylle." and they that wylle not here that 3e say, effectually be they ywarnyd, and ye shalle prouide other seruantis the whiche shalle serue you to youre wylle or plesyng. ¶ The xij is: *command* the panytrere with youre brede, & the botelare with wyne and ale, come to-gedur afore 3ou at the tabulle afore gracys, And let be there thre yomen assigned to serue the hie tabulle and the two syde tabullis in solenne dayes; ¶ And ley they not the vessels deseruyng for ale and wyne vppon the tabulle,\* but afore you, But he thay layid vnder þe tabulle. ¶ The 13: *commaunde* ye the stywarde þat he be besy and diligent to kepe the maynye in hys owne persone inwarde and vtwarde, and namely in the halle and at mete, that they be-haue them selfe honestly, with-out stryffe, fowlespekyng, and noyse; And that they that be ordeynyd to sette messys, bryng them he ordre and continually tyl alle be serued, and not inordinatly, And thorow affeccion<sup>1</sup> to personys or by specialte; And take 3e hede to this tyl messys be fully sett in the halle, and after tende ye to 3oure mette. ¶ The xiiij: *commaunde* 3e þat youre dysshe be welle fyllyd and hepid, and namely of entermes, and of pitance with-oute fat, carkyng that 3e may parte couretesyly to thoo that sitte beside, bothe of the ryght hande and the left, thorow alle the hie tabulle, and to other as plesythe you, thow3ght they haue of the same that ye haue. At the soper be seruantis seruid of oon messe, & by3th metis, & after of chese. ¶ And yf the[r] come gestis, seruice schalle be haued as nedythe. ¶ The xv: *commaunde* ye the officers that they admitte youre knowlechyd men, familiers frendys, and strangers, with mery chere, the

[1 t. i. wroth] .  
Don't allow  
grumbling.

xii. Tell your  
Panter and  
Butler to come to  
the table before  
grace.

Tell off three  
yeomen to wait at  
table.

[\* p. 196]  
xiii.

Tell the Steward  
to keep good order  
in the Hall,

and serve every  
one fairly.  
[1 MS. affeccior]

xiv. Have your  
dish well filled

that you may help  
others to it.

xv. Always admit  
your special  
friends,

[\* p. 197]  
and show them  
you are glad to  
see them.

xvi.  
Talk familiarly to  
your Bailiffs,

ask how your  
tenants and store  
do.

xvii. Allow no  
private meals;  
only those in Hall.

wh[i]che they knowen you to wille for to admitte and receyue, and to them the whiche wyllē you worschipe, and\* they wyllēn to do that ye wyllē to do, that they may know them selfe to haue be welcome to 3ou, and to be welle plesyd that they be come. ¶ And al so muche as 3e may *with-oute* peril of sykenes & werynys ete 3e in the halle afore 3oure meyny, ¶ For that schalle be to 3ou *profyte* and worshippe. ¶ The xvj : when youre ballyfs comyn a-fore 3oure, speke to them fayre and gentilly in opyñ place, and not in *prīuey*, ¶ And shew them mery chere, & serche and axe of them “how fare owre meñ & tenauntis, & how cornys dooñ, & cartis, and of owre store how hit ys multiplied.” Axe suche thyngis openly, and knowe 3e certeynly that they wille the more drede 3ou. ¶ The xvij : *commaunde* 3e that *dineris* and *sopers* *prīuely* in hid plase be not had, & be thay forbeden that there be no suche *dyners* nother *sopers* oute of the halle, For of suche comethe grete destr[u]ccion, and no worshippe therby growythe to the lorde.

¶ Expliciunt Statuta Familie bone Memorie.

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Prof. Brewer has, I find, printed these *Statuta* in his most interesting and valuable *Monumenta Franciscana*, 1858, p. 582-6. He differs from Mr Brock and me in reading *drunkelewe* (drunken, in Chancer, &c.) as ‘drunke, lewe,’ and *vessels* as ‘hossels,’ and in adding *e*’s<sup>1</sup> to some final *g*’s. He says, by way of Introduction, that, “Though entitled Ordinances for the Household of Bishop Grosstete, this is evidently a Letter addressed to the Bishop on the management of his Household by some very intimate friend. From the terms used in the Letter, it is clear that the writer must have been on confidential terms with the Prelate. I cannot affirm positively that the writer was Adam de Marisco, although to no other would this document be attributed with greater probability. No one else enjoyed such a degree of Grosstete’s affection; none would have ventured to address him with so much familiarity. Besides, the references made more than once by Adam de Marisco in his letters to the management of the Bishop’s household, greatly strengthen this supposition. See pp. 160, 170 (*Mon. Francise.*). The MS. is a small quarto on vellum, in the writing of the 15th century. It is in all probability a translation from a Latin original.”

<sup>1</sup> In this he is probably right. The general custom of editors justifies it. Our printers want a pig-tailed or curly *g* to correspond with the MS. one.

## Stanzas and Couplets of Counsel.

[From the *Rawlinson MS.*, C. 86, fol. 31, in the  
*Bodleian Library.*]

- Vtter thy langage wyth good avisement ;  
 Reule the by Reasoun in thy termoꝝ alle ;  
 Mystruste not thy frende for none accusement,  
 4 Fayle him neuer at nede, what so euer befallē ;  
 Solace þi selfe when menn to sporte þee calle ;  
 Largely to speke be wele ware for þat cause ;  
 Rolle faste this reasoun & thynke wele on þis  
 clause.
- 8 What mann þou seruyst, alle wey him drede ;  
 His good as þyn owne, euer þou spare.  
 Lette neuer þy wylle þy witt ouer lede,  
 But be glad of euery mannys welfare.
- 12 Folus lade polys ; wisemenn ete þe fysshe ;  
 Wisemenn hath in þer hondis ofte þat folys  
 after wysse.
- Who so in youthe no vertu vsith,  
 In age alle honour him refusith.
- Never mistrust or  
 fail your friend.
- Don't talk too  
 much.
- Spare your  
 master's goods  
 as your own.
- A lawless youth,  
 a despised old  
 age.

16 Deame þee best in euery doute  
Tyl þe trouthe be tryed oute.

A Gentleman says  
the best he can of  
every one.

It is þe properte of A gentilmann  
To say the beste þat he kann.

20 Si vieꝝ dolere tua crimina dic miserere  
Permiserere mei frangitur ira dei

[Follows :--Policronica.

Josephus of Iewes þat Nobyl was, the firste Auctour of  
the booke of Policronica, &c.]

The schoole  
of Vertue, and booke of

good Nurture for chyldren, and  
youth to learne theyr dutie by.

Newely perused, corrected,  
and augmented by the  
fyrst Auctour

F. S.[eager]

With a briefe declaracion of the  
dutie of eche degree.

Anno. 1557.

Dispise not counsell, rebuking folly  
Esteeme it as, nedefull and holy.

¶ Imprinted at London in Paules  
Churchyarde at the signe of  
the Hedgehogge by  
Wylliam Seares.

¶ THE AUCTOURS NAME IN VERDYT.

S	S	Aye well some wyll	by this my labour
E	E	Euery man yet	Wyll not say the same
A	A	Amonge the good	I doubt not fauour
G	G	God them forgeue	For it me blame
E	E	Eche man I wyshe	It shall offende
R	R	Reade and then iudge	Where faulte is amende.

Face aut Tace.

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[N.B. The even lines (2, 4, &c.) of the original are printed here opposite the odd ones (1, 3, &c.), instead of after them, to save space. The lines must therefore be read right across the page. The sidenotes in large type, 'Cato, Isocra, &c.' are those of the original. The rest are the editor's, and he has added headlines, some stops, &c.]



## The schoole of vertue.

**F**irst in the mornynge when thou dost awake, [sign. A. ii.]  
 To God for his grace thy petition then make ; First,  
 This prayer folowynge vse dayly to say, sey this  
 Thy harte lyftyng vp ; Thus begyn to pray : 8 prayer :

### ¶ The mornynge prayer.

“ **O** God, from whom al good gifts procede ! “ O God !  
 To thee we re-  
     payre in tyme of our nede, 12 enable us to  
 That with thy grace thou wouldst vs endue follow vertue.  
 Vertue to folowe and vyce to exchue : 16  
 Heare this our request, and graunt our desyre,  
 O lorde ! moste humbly we do the requyre ! 20 [sign. A. ii. b.]  
 This day vs defende, that we walkynge aryght Defend us this  
 May do the thyng acceptable in thy syght, day.  
 That as we in yeares And body do growe, 26  
 So in good vertues we may lykewyse flowe Let us abound  
 To thy honour, and ioy of our parentes, with virtues,  
 Learninge to lyue well, and kepe thy commaund-  
     mentes ; 32  
 In flyng from all Vice, synne, and cryme, flee from vice,  
 Applyinge our bookes, not losynge our tyme, 36  
 May fructifye and go for-  
     warde here in good doynge and go forwrd in  
 In this vale of miserie vnto oure lyuees endynge, good doing to our  
 That after this lyfe here transitory [sign. A. iii.] live's end.”  
 We may attayne to greater glory.” 44  
 The Lordes prayer then se thou recyte, Repeat the Lord's  
 So vsynge to do at mornynge and nyght. Prayer night and  
morning.

*How to wash and  
dress yourself.*

¶ Howe to order thy selfe when thou rysest,  
and in apparelynge thy body.

Capitulo .i.

Cato.	<b>F</b> Lye euer slouthe	and ouer much slepe ;	50
Don't sleep too long.	In health the body	therby thou shalte kepe.	
	Muche slepe ingendereth	diseases and payne,	54
Rise early ; [sign. A. iii. b.]	It dulles the the wyt	and hurteth the brayne.	
	Early in the mornynge	thy bed then forsake,	58
	Thy rayment put on,	thy selfe redy make.	
cast up your bed,	To cast vp thy bed	It shalbe thy parte,	62
	Els may they say	that beastly thou art ;	
and don't let it lie.	So to departe	and let the same lye,	66
	It is not semynge	nor yet manerly.	
Go down,	Downe from thy chamber	when thou shalte go,	70
salute your parents,	Thy parentes salute thou,	and the famely also ;	
wash your hands, comb your head,	Thy handes se thou washe,	and thy hed keame,	74
	And of thy rayment	se torne be no seame ;	
brush your cap and put it on. [sign. A. iiii.]	Thy cappe fayre brusht,	thy hed couer than,	78
	Takyng it of	In speakyng to any man.	
Cato.	Cato doth counsel thee	thyne elders to reuerence	
	Declarynge therby	thy dutye and obedience.	
Tie on your shirt- collar,	Thy shyрте coler fast	to thy necke knyт ;	86
	Comely thy rayment	loke on thy body syt.	
fasten your girdle,	Thy gyrdell about	thy wast then fasten,	90
rub your breeches, clean your shoes,	Thy hose fayre rubd	thy showes se be cleane.	
wipe your nose on a napkin,	A napkyn se that	thou haue in redines	94
pare your nails, clean your ears, wash your teeth. [A. sign. iiii. b.]	Thy nose to clense	from all fylthynes.	
Have your torn clothes mended,	Thy nayles, yf nede be,	se that thou payre ;	98
	Thyne eares kepe cleane,	thy teath washe thou fayre.	
	If ought about thee	chaunce to be torne,	102
	Thy frendes therof shewe	howe it is worne,	
or new ones obtained.	And they wyll newe	for thee prouyde,	106
	Or the olde mende,	In tyme beinge spyde,	
Get your satchell and books, and haste to School,	This done, thy setchell	and thy bokes take,	110
	And to the scole	haste see thou make.	

But ere thou go,	with thy selfe forthynke.	taking too
That thou take with thee	pen, paper, and ynke ; 116	pen, paper, and ink,
For these are thynges	for thy study necessary,	which are necessary
Forget not then	with thee them to cary.	
The souldiar preparynge	hym selfe to the fielde 122	
Leaues not at home	his sworde and his shielde,	[sign. A. v.]
No more shulde a scoler	forget then truly 126	
what he at scole	shulde nede to occupy.	for use at school.
These thynges thus had,	Take strayght thy way	Then start off.
Vnto the schole	without any stay. 132	

Howe to behaue thy selfe in going by  
the streate and in the schoole .ii.

<b>I</b> N goynge by the way	and passynge the strete,	<i>How to behaue going to, and at, School.</i>
Thy cappe put of,	Salute those ye mete ; 136	Take off your cap to those you meet;
In geuynge the way	to suche as passe by,	Isocra.
It is a poynte	of siuilitie. 140	Cato.
And thy way fortune	so for to fall,	give way to passers by.
Let it not greue thee	thy felowes to call. 144	[sign A. v. b.] Call your play-mates on your road.
when to the schole	thou shalte resort,	At School
This rule note well	I do the exhort : 148	
Thy master there beynge,	Salute with all reuerence,	salute your master,
Declarynge thereby	thy dutye and obedience ;	
Thy felowes salute	In token of loue, 154	and the scholars.
Lest of inhumanitie	they shall thee reprove.	
Vnto thy place	appoynted for to syt, 158	Go straight to your place,
Streight go thou to,	and thy setchel vnknyt,	undo your satchell,
Thy bokes take out,	thy lesson then learne 162	take out your
Humbly <sup>1</sup> thy selfe	Behaue and gouerne.	<sup>1</sup> [Orig. Huubly]
Therein takynge payne,	with all thyne industry	[sign. A. vi.]
Learnyng to get	thy boke well applye : 168	books and learn your lesson ;
All thynges seme harde	when we do begyn,	stick well to your books.
But labour and diligence	yet both them wyn ; 172	Virgil.
we ought not to reckon	and coumpt the thyng harde	
That bryngeth ioye	and pleasure afterwarde ;	
Leaue of then labour,	and the lacke rue, 178	If you don't work,

you'll repent it when you grow up. Who could now speak of famous	Lament and repent Deades that deserued Buried had ben, If letters had not then	when age doth insue. 180 Fame and greate prayse, we se in olde dayes ; 184 brought them to lyght who coulde nowe resyght ?
[sign. A. vi. b.] deeds of old, had not Letters preserved them ?	The truth of suche thynges Applye thy minde For learnynge in nede	to learnynge and scyence, wyl be thy defence. 192 compare we may well, all thynges doth excell.
Cato.	Nothinge to science The swetenes wherof And Cato the wyse	this worthy sayinge hath, is as the image of death. most bytter we deme ; 202 Moste pleasaunt doth seme, whyle here thou shalt lyue, and good example geue ;
Cicero.	That man wantinge learn- ynge	A membre most worthy In tyme <sup>1</sup> of necessitie. 212 And shewe to thee playne By learninge attayne 216 But symple and bace,— Of Gods speciall grace,— by vertue doth ryse, 222 and counted most wyse.
Aristot.	The rootes of learnynge The frutes at last Then labour for learnynge	226 Beinge neuer so oulde ; Great errors in vs 230 Doubts to discusse ; the good from the yll, 234 Bere them good will. ye shall take your waye, twoo in aray, 240 So equall as ye may, May well of you saye 244 your laudable wayes, to your great prayse, 248
Work hard then, [sign. A. vii.] and you'll be thought worthy to serue the state. [Orig. ryme]	The ignoraunt to teache, So shalte thou be thought The common welth to serue Experience doth teache That many to honour That were of byrthe Suche is the goodnes For he that to honour Is double happy, . If doubte thou doest, No shame is to learne, Ignoraunce doth cause Forwantynge of knowledge Then learne to discerne And suche as thee warne, when from the schoole Or orderly then go ye, your selues matchynge That men it seyng In commendynge this whiche must nedes sounde	
Men of low birth win honour by Learning,		
and then are doubly happy. When you doubt, ask to be told. [sign. A. vii. b.]		
Wish well to those who warn you. Ou your way home walk two and two orderly (for which men will praise you) ;		

Not runnyng on heapes	as a swarme of bees,	don't run in heaps like a swarm of bees
As at this day	Euery man it nowe sees ;	[sign. A. viii.] like hoys do now.
Not vsynge, but refusyng,	Suche foolyshe toyes 254	
As commonly are vsed	In these dayes of boyes,	Don't whoop or hallow as in fox-hunting ;
As hoopyng and halow- yng	as in huntynge the foxe,	
That men it hearyng	Deryde them with mockes.	
This foolyshnes forsake,	this folly exchewyng,	
And learne to followe	this order insuyng. 264	
In goyng by the way	Neyther talke nor iangle,	don't chatter,
Gape not nor gase not	at euery newe fangle, 268	or stare at every new fangle,
But soberly go ye	with countinaunce graue ;	hut walk soberly,
Humblye your selues	towarde all men behaue ;	Isocra.
Be free of cappe	and full of curtesye ; 274	[sign. A. viii. b.] taking your cap off to all,
Greate loue of al men	you shall wyn therby.	
Be lowly and gentyll	and of meke moode ; 278	and bsing gentle.
Then men con not	but of you say good.	
In passyng the strete	Do no man no harme ; 282	Do no man harm ; speak few words.
Vse thou fewe wordes,	and thy tounge charme,	
Then men shal see	that grace in the groweth	
From whom vertues	So aboundantly floweth.	
when thou arte come	where thy parentes do	On reaching home
	dwell, 290	
Thy leaue then takyng	Byd thy felowes farewell ;	salute your parentes rever- ently.
The house then entryng,	In thy parente presence	
Humbly salute them	with all reuerence. 296	[sign. B. i.]

¶ Howe to behaue thi selfe in seruyng  
the table. Cap. iii.

*How to wait at  
table.*

When thy parentes downe	to the table shall syt,	
In place be ready	For the purpose moste fyt :	Look your parents in the face,
With sober countinaunce	Lokyng them in the face,	hold up your hands, and say
Thy handes holdyng vp,	this begyn grace : 304	
“ G Eue thanks to God	with one accorde	Grace before
For that shall be	Set on this borde. 308	meate.

Grace before Meast.	And be not carefull To eche thyngge lyuyngge For foode he wyll not	what to eate, the Lorde sends meate ; Se you peryshe, 314 Foster, and cheryshe ; what he hath sent, 318 therwith content, Praysynge God." 322
[sign. B. i. b.]	But wyll you fede, Take well in worth At this tyme be	as possible thou can, May thee vnderstan. 326 Lowe cursie make thou, May it do you." 330 yf thou be able, to serue the table 334 Suche meate as shall nede that tyme to fede. 338 thou oughtest to fyll, thy seruyce to spyll 342 Or els on the cloth, wolde moue them to wroth.
Make a low curtesy ; wish your parents' food may do 'em good. If you are hig enough, bring the food to table. [sign. B. ii.]	¶ So treatable speakyng That the hearers therof Grace beyngge sayde, Sayinge "muche good Of stature then It shall become thee In bringyngge to it For thy parence vpon Disshes with measure Els mayste thou happen	haue in redynes 348 If there come any gesse. see nothyngge do wante ; that there be no skant, 354 se there be plentie ; Ofte se thou emptie. 358 If any do call, If ought fortune to fall. then ready make 364 In order to take : Se that thou couer, 368 Eyther one or other then to conuaye 372 thou shalt take awaye. the table then haue, 376 therein to receaue ;
Don't fill dishes so full ae to spill them on your parents' dress, or they'll be angry. Have spare trenchers ready for guests.	On theyr apparell whiche for to doe Spare trenchers with nap- kyns To serue afterwarde, Be circumspecte ; Of necessary thynges As breade and drynke, The voyders with bones At hande be ready, To fetche or take vp, when they haue done, The table vp fayre Fyrste the saulte Hauynge by thee thynges from thy handes That from the table A voyder vpon The trenchers and napkyns	
See there's plenty of everything wanted. Empty the Volders often. [sign. B. ii. b.] Be at hand if any one calls. When the meat is over, clear the table :		
1. cover the salt, 2. haue a tray by you to carry things off on, 3. put the trenchers, &c., in one Volder,		

The croomes with a napkyn	together them swepe,	380	4. sweep the crumbs into
It at the tables ende	In a voyder them kepe.		[sign. B. iii.]
Then before eche man	A cleane treanchour lay,		another,
The best fyrste seruyng,	As iudge thou soone may ;		5. set a clean trencher before svery ons,
Then cheese with fruite	On the table set,	388	6. put on Cheese, Fruit, Biscuits, and
With Bisketes or Carowayes,	As you may get.		
Wyne to them fyll,	Els ale or beare ;	392	7. sserve Wine, Ale or Beer.
But wyne is metest,	If any there were.		
Then on the table	Attende with all diligence,		When these are finished,
It for to voyde	when done haue thy parence :	398	clear the table,
Eche syde of the clothe	Do thou tourne in,		and fold up the cloth.
Foldyng it vp,	At the hygher ende begin.		
A cleane towell then	On the table spreade, —		[sign. B. iii. b.]
The towell wantyng,	the cloth take in steade, —		Then spread a clean towel,
The bason and ewer	to the table then bryng,		bring bason and jug,
In place conuenient	theyr pleasure abydyng.		and when your parents
when thou shalt see	them redy to washe,	412	are ready to wash,
The ewer take vp,	and be not to rashe		
In powryng out water	More then wyll suffice.	416	pour out the water.
The table then voyde	that they may ryse.		Clear the table ;
All thynges thus done,	forget not thy dutie,	420	
Before the table	Make thou lowe cursie.		make a low curtesy.

¶ Howe to order thy selfe syttyng at the table.  
Capitulo .iiii.

[sign. B. iiiii.]  
*How to behaue at your own dinner.*

<b>O</b> Chyldren ! geue eare	your duties to learne,	424	
Howe at the table	you may your selues gouerne.		
Presume not to hyghe,	I say, in no case ;	428	Socra. Cato.
In syttyng downe,	to thy betters geue place.		Let your betters sit above you.
Suffer eche man	Fyrste serued to be,	432	See others served first,
For that is a poynte	Of good curtesie.		
when they are serued,	then pause a space,	436	then wait a while before eating.
For that is a sygne	of nourture and grace.		

Take salt with your knife, [sign. B. iii. b.] cut your bread, don't fill your spoon too full,	Saulte with thy knyfe The breade cut fayre, Thy spon with pottage For fylng the cloth, For rudnes it is Or speake to any,	then reache and take, 440 And do not it breake. to full do not fyll, 444 If thou fortune to spyll, thy pottage to sup, 448 his head in the cup.
or sup your pottags.	Thy knyfe se be sharpe Thy mouth not to full	to cut fayre thy meate ; when thou dost eate ; 454
Have your knife sharp.	Not smackynge thy lypes, Nor gnawynge the bones Suche rudenes abhorre, At the table behaue Thy fyngers se cleane Hauynge a Napkyn Thy mouth therwith The cup to drynke Let not thy tongue And of no matter Temper thy tongue For "measure is treasure,"	As comonly do hogges, As it were dogges ; 458 Suche beastlynes fie, thy selfe manerly. 462 that thou euer kepe, thereon them to wype ; Cleane do thou make, 468 In hande yf thou take, At the table walke, 472 Neyther reason nor talke. and belly alway, 476 the prouerbe doth say,
Don't smack your lips or gnaw your bones : avoid such beastliness.	[sign. B. v.] Keep your fingers clean, wipe your mouth before drinking.	Is to be vsed ; 480 Ought to be refused. thou shalt not be shent, May cause thee repent. are commendable, 488 In a chylde at the table. that "in olde and yonge Is to kepe thy tonge." 494 at the table syttyng, Ouer muche spytyng ; Is to be abhorde ; 500 Behaue at the borde. at the table thou se, 504 the same moderately. So muche as thou can ; when thou art a man, 510
Plato.	Cicero.	
Don't jabber or stuff.	And measure in althynges what is without measure	
Silence hurts no one, [sign. B. v. b.] Isocra.	For silence keynge where as thy speache Bothe speache and silence But sylence is metest And Cato doth saye, The fyrste of vertue Pyke not thy teethe Nor vse at thy meate this rudnes of youth thy selfe manerly	
and is fitted for a child at table. Cato.	Behave properly.	
Don't pick your teeth, or spit too much.	Don't laugh too much.	
[sign. B. vi.] Learn all the good manners you can.	Of good maners learne It wyll thee preferre.	



Aristotle the Philosopher this worthy sayinge writ, Aristot.  
 That "maners in a chylde are more requisit 514 They ars better than playing the fiddle,  
 then playnge on instru-  
 mentes and other vayne pleasure ;  
 For vertuous maners Is a most precious treasure."  
 Let not this saynge In no wyse thee offende, though that's no harm,  
 For playnge of instrumentes He doth not discommende,  
 But doth graunt them for a chylde necessary, but necessary ;  
 Yet maners mucche more see here he doth vary. 526 yst maners are mors important.  
 Refuse not his counsell, Nor his wordes dispise ;  
 To vertue and knowledge By them mayste thou ryse. [sign. B. vi. b.]

## ¶ Howe to order thy selfe in the Church.

*How to behave at Church.*

## Cap. .v.

When to the Church thou shalt repayer, 532  
 Knelynge or standynge, to God make thy prayer ; Pray knseling or standing.  
 All worldely matters From thy mynde set apart,  
 Earnestly praynge, to God lyfte vp thy hart.  
 A contrite harte He wyll not dispuse, 540 Psal. 1.  
 whiche he doth coumpt A sweete sacrifice.  
 To hym thy sinnes shewe and confesse, 544 Confess your sins to God.  
 Askynge for them Grace and forgyuenes ;  
 He is the Phisition that knoweth thy sore, [sign. B. vii.] He knows your disease.  
 And can to health A-gayne thee restore. 550  
 Aske then in fayth, Not doubtynge to haue ; James the .i. Ask in fsith, and what you ask you shall have ;  
 The thynges ye desyre ye shall then receaue ; 554  
 So they be lawfull Of God to requyre,  
 He wyll the heare and graunt thy desyre ;  
 More mercifull he is then pen can expresse, 560 He is more merciful than pen can tell.  
 The auctor and geuer here of all goodnesse.  
 " All ye that laboure and burdened be, 564 Math. x.  
 I wyll you refreshe In commynge to me."  
 These are Chrystes wordes, the scripture is playne,  
 Spoken to all suche as here suffre payne ; 570 [sign. B. vii. b.]  
 Our wylles to his worde then let vs frame,  
 The heauenly habytacion therby we may clame. 574

Behave nicely in church,	In the churche comly	thy selfe do behaue,	
and don't talk or chatter.	In vsage sober,	thy countinaunce graue.	
Behave reverently ;	whyle you be there,	taulke of no matter,	580
	Nor one with an other	whisper nor chatter.	
the House of Prayer	Reuerently thy selfe	Order alwaye	584
Luke .xix.	when to the Churche	thou shalt come to pray :	
[sign. B. viii.] is not to be made a fair.	Eche thyng hath his tyme,	Consyder the place,	588
	For that is a token	of vertue and grace,	
	The Lorde doth call it	the house of prayer	592
	And not to be vsed	As is a fayer.	

¶ The frutes of gamynge, vertue and learnynge.

Capitulo .vi.

Avoid	<b>O</b> Lytle chylde,	Eschewe thou euer game,—	
	For that hath brought	Many one to shame,—	598
dicing and carding.	As dysynge, and cardynge,	And suche other playes,	
	which many vndoeth,	as we se nowe a dayes.	602
Cicero.	But yf thou delyght	In any earthly thyng,	
Delight in Knowledge, Virtue, and Learning.	Delyght in knowledge,	Vertue, and learnynge,	606
	For learnynge wyll leade thee	to the schoole of vertue,	
[sign. B. viii. b.]	And vertue wyll teache thee	Vice to subdue.	610
	Vice beyng subdued,	thou canst not but floryshe ;	
Happy is he who cultivates Virtue.	Happy is the man	that vertue doth norysh.	
	By knowledge lykewyse	thou shalt doubtles discerne,	
	By vertue agayne	thy lyfe well gouerne.	618
	These be the frutes	By them we do take,	
Cursed is he who forsakes it.	Cursed is he then	that doth them forsake.	
	But we erre in wyt	In folowynge our wyll,	
	In iudgyng that good	which playnly is yll.	626
Let reason rule you,	Let reason thee rule,	and not will thee leade	
	To folowe thy fansie,	A wronge trace to treade.	
[sign. C. i.] and subdue your lusts.	But subdue thy luste,	and conqueur thy wyll	632
	If it shall moue thee	to doe that is yll ;	
These ills come from gambling :	For what hurte by game	to many doth growe,	636
	No wyse man I thynke	but doth it well knowe.	

Experience doth shewe<sup>1</sup> and make it manifeste 640  
 That all good men can it but deteste,  
 As strife and debate, murder and theft, 644 *strife, murder,*  
 whiche amonge christians, wolde god were lefte, *theft,*  
 with cursynge and bann- cursing and  
 ynge, swearing.  
 That no honest harte with swearynge and tearynge,  
 These be the frutes can abyde the hearynge :  
 with many more as euill that of them doth sprynge,  
 that cometh of gamynge. [sign. C. i. b.]

¶ How to behaue thy selfe in taulkyng  
 with any man. Capitulo .vii. *How to behaue  
 when conversing.*

I F a man demaunde a question of thee, 656  
 In thine aunswere mak-  
 ynge be not to hastie ; Isocra.  
 waie well his wordes, the case vnderstande 660 *Understand a  
 question before  
 you answer it ;*  
 Eare an answere to make thou take in hande,  
 Els may he iudge in thee little wit, 664  
 To answere to a thyng and not heare it.  
 Suffer his tale whole out to be toulde, *let a man tell all  
 his tale.*  
 Then speake thou mayst, and not be controulde ;  
 Low obeisaunce makynge, lokinge him in the face, *[sign. C. ii.]  
 Then bow to him,  
 look him in the  
 face,*  
 Tretably speaking, thy wordes see thou place. *and answer  
 sensibly,*  
 with countinaunce sober thy bodie vprighte 676  
 Thy fete iuste to-gether, thy handes in lyke plight ;  
 Caste not thyne eies on neither syde. 680 *not staring about*  
 when thou arte praised, therin take no pryde.  
 In tellynge thy tale, neither laugh nor smyle, *or laughing,*  
 Such folly forsake thou, banish and exyle ; 686  
 In audible voice thy wordes do thou vtter, *but audibly*  
 Not hie nor lowe, but vsynge a measure. 690  
 Thy wordes se that thou pronounce plaine, *and distinctly,*  
 And that<sup>1</sup> they spoken Be not in vayne ; 694 *[sign. C. ii. b.]  
 your words in due  
 order,*  
 In vttryng wherof Kepe thou an order, *[<sup>1</sup> orig. thal]*  
 Thy matter therby thou shalte much forder ;  
 whiche order yf thou Do not obserue, 700  
 From the purpose nedes must thou swarue, *or you'll straggle  
 off,*

	And hastines of speche	wyll cause thee to erre, 704
or stutler, or stammer, which is a foul crime.	Or wyll thee teache	to stut or stammer.
	To stut or stammer	is a foule crime, 708
	Learne then to leaue it,	take warnyng in tyme ;
	How euyll a chylde	it doth become, 712
	Thy selfe beyng iudge,	hauinge wisdomes ;
[sign. C. iii.]	And sure it is taken	by custome and vre, 716
	whyle yonge you be	there is helpe and cure.
	This generall rule	yet take with the, 720
Always keep your head uncovered.	In speakyng to any man	Thy head vn-couered be.
	The common prouerbe	remember ye oughte, 724
Better vnfed than untaught.	“ Better vnfedde	then vn-taughte.”

*How to take a  
Message.*

¶ How to order thy selfe being sente of message.

Cap. viii.

	<b>I</b> F of message	forthe thou be sente, 728
Listen to it well ; don't go away not knowing it.	Take hede to the same,	Geue eare diligente ;
	Depart not away	and beyng in doute, 732
[sign. C. iii. b.]	Know wel thy message	before thou passe out ;
Then hurry away,	with possible spede	then hast thee right sone ;
	If nede shall requirr it	so to be done. 738
give the message ;	After humble obeisaunce,	the message forth shewe
	Thy wordes well placinge	in vttringe but fewe 742
	As shall thy matter	serue to declare.
get the answer, return home, and tell it to your master	Thine answer made,	then home againe repare,
	And to thy master	therof make relacion 748
	As then the answer	shall geue thee occasion.
Socra.	Neither adde nor deminish	any thyng to the same,
	Lest after it proue	to thy rebuke and shame,
[sign. C. iii.]	But the same vtter	so nere as thou can ; 756
exactly as it was told to you.	No faulte they shall fynde	to charge thee with than,
	In most humble wyse	loke done that it be, 760
	As shall become beste	a seruantes degre.

*Against Anger,  
&c.*

¶ A-gainste Anger, Enuie, and malice.

Cap. ix.

The slave of  
Anger must fall.

**I**F thou be subiecte and to anger thrall, 764  
And reason theer rule not, nedes must thou fall.

Conquer thy wyll	and subdue thy luste, 768	Pericles.
Thy fansy not folowing,	thy cause though be iuste ;	
For anger and furie	wyll thee so chaunge 772	Anger's deeds are
That thy doynge to wise		[sign. C. iiii. b.]
men	wyll appeare straunge.	strange to wise
Thine anger and wrath	seke then to appeace, 776	men.
For wrath, saith Plato,	Leades shame in a leace.	Plato.
The hastie man	wantes neuer trouble, 780	Isocra.
His mad moody mynde	his care doth double.	A hasty man is
And malyce thee moue	to reuenge thy cause, 784	always in trouble.
Dread euer god,	and daunger of the lawes.	
Do not reuenge,	though in thy power it be,	Take no revenge,
Forgeue the offender	being thineemie. 790	but forgivs.
He is perfectly pacient,	we may repute plaine,	
[That] From wrath and		Plato.
furye	himselve can refrayne. 794	
Disdayne nor enuie	The state of thy brother,	[sign. C. v.]
In worde nor dede	not hurtyng one an other.	Envy no one.
Debate and disceate,	contencion and enuie, 800	Seneca.
Are the chiefe frutes	of an euyl bodie.	An ill body breeds
And Salomon saithe	"The harte full of enuie,	debate.
Of him selfe hatb	no pleasure nor commo-	Salomon.
	ditie."	806

¶ The frutes of charitie, loue, and pacience. *The Fruits of Charity, &c.*

Cap. x.

Charitie seketh not	that to her doth belonge,	Charity seeketh
But paciently a-bydinge,	sustainynge rather wronge ;	not her own,
Not enuiynge, but bearinge	with loue and pacience,—	but bears
So noble is her nature,—	forgeuing all offence. 814	patiently.
And loue doth moue	the mynde to mercie,	[sign. C. v. b.]
But malice againe	doth worke the contrarie.	Loves incitas to
whiche in the wicked	wyll euer beare stroke, 820	Mercy.
Pacience thee teacheth	therof to beare the yoke.	Pacience teaches
where pacience and loue	to-gether do dwell 824	forbearance.
All hate and debate,	with malice, they expell.	

Pithagoras.	Loue constant and faithfull, To he a vertue	Pithagoras doth call most principall.	828
Plato.	Plato doth speake ' where loue is not,	almoste in effecte no vertue is perfecte.'	832
<small>[sign. C. vi.] Pray God to give thee Charity and Patience, to lead thee to Virtue's School,</small>	Desire then god Charitie to vse These three folowinge That to vertues schoole	to assiste thee with his grace and pacience to imbrace ; will thee instructe, they wyll thee conducte,	840
<small>and thence to Eternal Bliss.</small>	And from vertues schoole where inessaunt ioie	to eternall blisse continually is.	844
<i>Against Swearing.</i>	¶ A-gainge (so) the horrible vice of swearynge.		
		Cap. xi.	
<small>Tske not God'e name in vain,</small>	<b>I</b> N vaine take not Swere not at all	the name of god ; for feare of his rod.	848
<small>or He will plague thee. [sign. C. vi. b.]</small>	The house with plagues where othes are vsed :	he threteneth to visit they shall not escape it.	852
	Iuste are his iudgements, And sharper then is	and true is his worde, a two edged sworde ;	856
<small>Beware of His wrsth, and live well in thy vocation.</small>	wherfore beware thou And learne to lyue well wherin that god	his heauy indignacion, in thy vocation shall thee set or call ;	860
	Rysinge againe— By prayer and repentance, Christ wolde not the death But rather he turne	if it fortune to fall— whiche is the onely waie. of a sinner, I saye, From his wickednesse,	864
	And so to lyue what better art thou	in vertue and goodnesse. for this thy swearng the name of god tearyng ?	870
<small>[sign. C. vii.] What is the good of swearing ? It kindles God'e wrath against thee.</small>	Blasfamouslye, Prouokynge his yre Thee for to plauge, Knowlage and reason And for to flee	and kyndlinge his wrath that geuinge the hath thy selfe for to rule, the thyng that is euyl.	876
Seneca.	Senica doth counsell thee Although great profite	are manifeste and playne, thee to obstaine ;	884
Pericles.	Pericles, whose wordes From sweryng admonisheth		

The lawe of god,	and commaundement he	God's law forbide
	gaue,	
Swearynge amongst vs	in no wyse wolde haue.	[sign. C. vii. b.] swearing,
The counsell of philoso-		and so does the
ph[ers]	I haue here expreste, 900	counsell of Philosophers.
Amongest whom sweryng	was vtterly deteste ;	
Much lesse amongst chris-	ought it to be vsed, 904	
tians	cleane to be refused.	
But vtterly of them		

¶ A-gainste the vice of filthy talkynge.

*Against filthie  
talking.*

Cap. xii.

<b>N</b> O filthy taulke	in no wise vse,	908	Never talk dirt.
Thy tonge therby	for to abuse.		
Of euery idell worde	an accumpte we shall	For every word	
	render ;—	912	we shall give account
All men I woulde	this sayinge to remember;—		at the Day of
To god for it	at the generall daie	916	Doom, [sign. C. viii.]
In earnest or sporte	we shall speake or saie ;		
whiche daye to the iuste	shalbe most ioyfull,	920	
And to the wicked	againe as wofull.		
As we here doe,	so shall we receaue,	924	and be judged according to our deeds.
Vnles we repente	and mercy of god craue.		
If god wyll deale	with vs so straight	928	
For thinges that be	of so small waight,		
Then haue we cause	to feare and dreade,	932	Let lewd liuers then feare.
Our lyues lewdly	if we haue leade.		
Thy tonge take hede .	thou doe refrayne	936	Keep your tongus from vain talking. [sign. C. viii. b.]
From speakyng wordes	that are moste vayne ;		
Thy wyll and witte	to goodnes applie,	940	Aristot.
Thy mynde exercise	in vertuous studie.		

¶ A-gainste the vice of lyinge.

*Against Lying.*

Capitulo .xiii.

<b>T</b> O forge, to fayne,	to flater and lye,	944	Plato.
Requiere diuers collours	with wordes fayre and slye;		
But the vtteraunce of truthe	is so simple and playne		To speake the

truth needs no study, therefore always	That it nedeth no studie wherfore saye truth, So shalte thou fynde	to forge or to fayne ; 950 how euer stand the case, more fauour and grace. 954
practise it and speak it.	Vse truthe, and say truth, For tyme of althinges	in that thou goest aboute, the truthe wyll bringe out. For lying dewe ; 960
[sign. D. i.] Shame is the reward of lying.	Shame is the réwarde Then auoyde shame, A lyar by his lying	and vtter wordes trewe. this profet doth get, 964
Always speak the truth.	That whan, he saith truth Then let thy talke And blamed for it	no man wyll him credet ; with the truth agree, 968 thou shalte neuer bee.
Who can trust a liar ?	Howe maie a man But doubtte his dedes, In tellyng of truth	a lyer ought truste ? 972 his woordes being vniuste. there lougeth no shame,
Where vttring of lyes	And though a lye	deserueth much blame ; from stripes ye once saue,
If a lie saves you once, [sign. D. i. b.] it deceives you thrice.	Thrise for that once Truste then to truth, And followe these pre-	it wyll thé desceue ; 982 and neither forge nor fayne, from liyng do refraine. 986
	ceptes:	

*A bedward Prayer.*

¶ A praier to be saide when thou goest to bedde.

God of mercy,	<b>O</b> Mercifull god ! And graunte vnto vs	heare this our requeste, this nighte quiet reste. 990
take us into Thy care.	Into thy tuicoin, Our bodies slepynge,	oh lorde, do vs take ! our myndes yet maie wake.
Forgive us our sins.	Forgeue the offences A-gainste thee and our neighbour	this daye we haue wroughte in worde, dede, and thoughte ! 998
[sign. D. ii.] Deliver us from evil, and our enemy the Devil.	And graunte vs thy grace And that a newe lyfe Deliuier and defende vs	hense forth to flie sinne, we maie nowe beginne ! this night from all euell, of our enemy, the diuell, sekyng his praie, 1008
	And from the daunger whiche goeth a-boute And by his craft	whom we maie betraie.



Assiste vs, oh lorde, with thy holy sprite, 1012 Assist us  
 That valiantly against him we maie euer fighte ;  
 And winning the victorie, maie lifte vp our voice, to conquer him  
 And in his strength faithfully reioice, 1018  
 Saying, "to the lorde be all honour and praise and ascribe all  
 For his defence bothe now and alwaies !" honour to Thee.

¶ the dutie of eche degred. (*so*) [sign. D. ii. b.]  
 brefely declared. *Each one's Duty.*

- 1 YE princes, that the earth rule and gouerne, 1024 The Duty of Princes,  
 Seke ye for knowledge doubtles to discerne.
- 2 Ye iudges, geue iudgement according to righte 1028 Judges,  
 As may be founde acceptable in the lordes sight.
- 3 Ye prelates, preache purely the worde of our lorde, Prelates,  
 That your liuings & prechinges in one maie accorde. 1034
- 4 Yefathersand mothers, so your children instructe Parents,  
 As maye them to grace and uertue conducte. 1038
- 5 Ye chyldren, lykewyse obey your parentes here ; [sign. D. iii.]  
 In all godlinesse see that ye them feare. Children,
- 6 Ye maisters, do you the thyng that is righte Masters,  
 Not lokynge what ye may do by mighte.
- 7 Ye seruauntes, applie your busines and arte, Servants,  
 Doinge the same in singleness of harte.
- 8 Ye husbandes, loue your wyues, and with them dwell, Husbands.  
 All bitterness set aparte, vsing wordes gentell. 1054

- |   |    |  |   |
|---|----|--|---|
| The Duty of<br>Wives,<br><br>[sign. D. iii. b.] | 9  | Ye wyues, to your hus-<br>bandes<br>For they are your<br>heades, | be obedient alwaie,<br><br>and ye bounde to obeie.        |
| Parsons and<br>Vicars,                          | 10 | Ye persons and vickers<br>Take hede to the same,                 | that haue cure and charge,<br>and roue not at large. 1062 |
| Men of Law,                                     | 11 | Ye men of lawe,<br>The cause of the poore,                       | in no wyse delaie<br>but helpe what ye maie.              |
| Craftemen,                                      | 12 | Ye that be craftes men,<br>Geuing to all men                     | vse no discrēte, 1068<br>tale, measure, and weighte.      |
| Landlords,                                      | 13 | Ye that be landlordes<br>At reasonable rentes                    | and haue housen to let,<br>do them forth set. 1074        |
| [sign. D. iii.]<br>Merchauntes,                 | 14 | Ye merchauntes that<br>vse<br>Vse lawfull wares                  | the trade of merchandise,<br>and reasonable prise. 1078   |
| Subjects,                                       | 15 | Ye subiectes, lyue ye<br>Fearyng gods stroke,                    | in obedience and awe,<br>and daunger of the lawe.         |
| Rich Men,                                       | 16 | Ye ryche, whom god<br>Releue the poore                           | hath goods vnto sente,<br>and helpe the indigente.        |
| Poor Men,                                       | 17 | Ye that are poore,<br>Not hauinge wherwith                       | with your state be contente,<br>to lyue competente. 1090  |
| Magistrates,<br><br>[sign. D. iii. b.]          | 18 | Ye magistrates, the<br>cause<br>Defende againste suche           | of the widdow and fatherles<br>as shall them oppresse.    |
| Officers,                                       | 19 | All ye that are called<br>Execute the same                       | to any other office, 1096<br>acordinge to iustice.        |



## Whate-ever thow sey, abyse thee welle!

[MS. O. 9. 38. *Trinity College, Cambridge.*]

- |  |           |  |
|--|-----------|--|
| <p>A man must<br/>mind what he<br/>says;</p>           | <p>4</p>  | <p>Almyzty godde, conserue vs fram care !<br/>Where ys thys worle A-wey y-wente ?<br/>A man that schold speke, had nede to be ware,<br/>ffor lytyl thyng he may be schente ;<br/>Tonggys beth y-turne to lyther entente ;<br/>Hertys, they beth bothe fykel and felle ;<br/>Man, be ware leste thow repente !<br/>8 Whate euer thow sey, A-vyse the welle !</p>                |
| <p>hearts are fickle<br/>and fell.</p>                 | <p>12</p> | <p>A-vyse the, man, yn whate place and whare<br/>A woord of conseyl thow doyst seyne ;<br/>Sum man may ley ther-to hys ere ;<br/>Thow wenyst he be thy frend; he ys thy foo<br/>certeyne ;<br/>Peraventor aftyr A zere or tweyne—<br/>Thow trowyst as tru as eny stele,—<br/>Thys woord yn wreth thow schalt hyre A-gayne !<br/>16 Whate euer thow sey, A-vyse the welle !</p> |
| <p>Take care what<br/>you say.</p>                     | <p>20</p> | <p>Meny man spekyth yn hastenys :<br/>hyt hyndryth hym and eke hys frende ;<br/>hym were welle beter his tonge to sese<br/>Than they both ther-for be schende.<br/>Suche wordys beth not to be had yn meynde,<br/>hyt makyzt comforte <i>with</i> care to kele :<br/>Man, yn the begynnyng thank on þe eynde !<br/>24 Whate euer thow sey, A-vyse the welle !</p>              |
| <p>A false friend may<br/>hear it,</p>                 | <p>24</p> |  |
| <p>and after a year<br/>or two will repeat<br/>it.</p> | <p>24</p> |  |
| <p>Hasty speech<br/>hurts hearer and<br/>speaker.</p>  | <p>24</p> |  |
| <p>In the beginning,<br/>think on the end.</p>         | <p>24</p> |  |

- To sum man thow mayste tel a pryuy tale :  
 Whan he fro the ys wente A-way,  
 ffor a drawzt of wyne other ale
- 28 he wolle the wrey, by my fay,  
 And make hyt worse (hyt ys noo nay)  
 Than *euere* hyt was, A thowsend dele.  
 Thys ys my songe both nyzt & day,
- 32 Whate *euere* thow sey, A-vyse the welle !
- Be ware of bagbytynge, y the rede ;  
 ley flaterynge vndyr thy foote, loke ;  
 Deme the beste of *euery* dede
- 36 Tylle trowth haue serchyd truly þe roote ;  
 Rrefrayne malyce cruelle & hootte ;  
 Dyscretly and wysly speende thy spelle ;  
 Boost ne brage ys worth A Iootte ;
- 40 Whate *euere* thow sey, A-vyse the welle !
- Dysese, wharre, sorowe and debate,  
 ys caused ofte by venemys tonge ;  
 haddywyst cometh *euere* to late
- 44 Whan lewyd woordis beth owte y-spronge.  
 The kocke seyth wysly on his songe  
 ‘ hyre and see, and hold the styлле,’  
 And *euere* kepe thys lesson A-monge,
- 48 Whate *euere* thow sey, A-vyse the welle !
- y dere welle swery by the sonne,  
 yf *euery* man had thys woord yn thowzt  
 Meny thynggis had *neuer* be by-gunne
- 52 That ofte yn Ingelond hath be y-wrozt.  
 The wyse man hath hys sone y-tawztte  
 yn ryches, poorte, woo, and welle ,  
 Thys worthy reson for-ȝete thow nozt,
- 56 Whate *euere* thow sey, A-vyse the welle !

You tell a man a secret, and he'll betray it for a drink of wine.

Mind what you say.

Avoid backbiting and flattering :

refrain from malice,

and bragging.

A venomous tongue causes sorrow. When words are said, regret is too late

Mind what you say.

Had men thought of this, many things done in England would never have been begun.

See *The Wise Man*, in *Babees Boke*, &c. p. 48.

To speak aright  
observe six  
things :

1. what; 2. of  
whom; 3. where;  
4. to whom;  
5. why; 6. when.

In every place  
mind what you  
say.

Almighty God,

grant me grace  
to serve Thee !

Mary, mother,

send me grace  
night and day !

- yf that thow wolte speke A-ryzt,  
Ssyx thyngys thow moste obserue then :  
What thow spekyst, & of what wyzt,  
60 Whare, to wham, whye, and whenne.  
Thow noost how soone thow schalt go henne ;  
As lome be meke, as serpent felle ;  
yn euery place, A-monge alle men,  
64 Whate euer thow sey, A-vyse the welle !
- “ Almyzty god yn personys thre,  
With herte mylde mekly y praye,  
Graunte me grace thy seruant to be  
68 Yn woorde and dede euer and aye !  
Mary, moder, blessyd maye,  
Quene of hevyn, Imperes of helle,  
Sende me grace both nyzt and daye !”  
72 Whate euer thow sey, A-vyse the welle !

EXPLICIT &c.

## A Dogg Lardynner, & a Sowe Gardynner.

[MS. O. 9. 38. Trinity College, Cambridge.]

*Printed in Reliquiæ Antiquæ, v. i. p. 233, from MS. Lansdowne  
No. 762, fol. 16 b.*

A dog in a larder,  
a sow in a garden,  
a fool with wise  
men, are ill  
matcht.

hoo so makyzt at crystysmas A dogge lardynner,  
And yn march A sowe gardynner, And yn may A foole  
of every wysmanys counsaylle, he schalle neuer haue  
goode larder, ne fayre gardyn, nother counsaylle welle y-  
keptt.

## Maxims in -ly.

[*MS. Lansdowne 762, fol. 16 b, written as prose.*  
*Printed in Reliquiæ Antiquæ, v. i. p. 233.*]

Aryse erly,  
 serue God devowtely  
 and the worlde besely,  
 doo thy werk wisely,  
 yeue thyne almes secretly,  
 goo by the waye sadly,  
 answer the people demuerly,  
 goo to thy mete apetitely,  
 sit therat discretely,  
 of thy tunge be not to liberally,  
 arise therfrom temperally,  
 go to thy supper soberly  
 and to thy bed merely,  
 be in thyn Inne iocundely,  
 please thy loue duely,  
 and Slepe suerly.

## Roger Ascham's Advice

to

### Lord Warwick's Servant.

With the different counsels to babees, pages, and servants, throughout this volume, may be compared Roger Ascham's advice to his brother-in-law, Mr C. H., when he put him to service with the Earl of Warwick, A.D. 1559. Here follows part of it, from Whitaker's Hist. of Richmondshire, p. 282.

Fear God, serve your lord faithfully,  be courteous to your fellows.  Despise no poor man.  Carry no tales.  Tell no lies.  Don't play at dice or cards.	First and foremost, in all your thoughts, words, and deeds, have before your eyes the feare of God. . . . love and serve your lord willingly, faithfullye, and secretlye ; love and live with your fellowes honestly, quietlye, curteouslye, that noe man have cause either to hate yow for your stubborne frowardnes, or to malice yow for your proud ungentlenes, two faults which commonly yonge men socnes[t] fall into in great men's service. Contemne noe poore man, mocke noe simple man, <i>which</i> proud fooles in cort like and love to doe ; find fault with your selfe and with none other, the best waye to live honestlye and quietlye in the court. Carrye noe tales, be noe common teller of newes, be not inquisitive of other menn's talke, for those that are desirous to heare what they need not, commonly be readye to babble what they shold not. Vse not to lye, for that is vn honest ; speake not everye truth, for that is vnneedfull ; yea, in tyme and place a harmlesse lye is a greate deale better then a hurtfull truth. Use not dyceing nor carding ; the more yow use them the lesse yow wilbe esteemed ; the cunninger yow be at them
---	--



the worse man yow wilbe counted. for pastime, love and learne that *which* your lord liketh and vseth most, whether itt be rydeing, shooteing, hunting, hawkeing, fishing, or any such exercise. Beware of secrett corners and night sitting vp, the two nurses of mischief, unthriftines, losse, and sicknes. Beware cheifely of ydlenes, the great pathway that leadeth directly to all evils; be diligent alwayes, be present every where in your lord's service, be at hand to call others, and be not ofte sent for yourselfe; for marke this as part of your creed, that the good service of one whole yeare shall never gett soe much as the absence of one howre may lose, when your lord shall stand in need of yow to send. if yow consider alwayes that absence and negligence must needes be cause of greife and sorrowe to your selfe, of chideing and rueing to your lord, and that dutye done diligently and presently shall gaine yow profit, and purchase yow great praise and your lord's good countenance, yow shall ridd me of care, and wyne your selfe creditt, make me a gladd man, and your aged mother a ioyfull woman, and breed your freinds great comforth. Soe I comitt and commend yow to God's mercifull proteccion and good guidance, who long preserve Your ever loving and affectionate brother in lawe.

Take to your  
lord's favourite  
sport.

Beware of  
idleness.

Always be at  
hand when you're  
wanted.

Diligence will get  
you praise.

God be with you!

R. ASKAM.

To my loveing Brother in Lawe, Mr C. H., Servant  
to the Rt. Hon. the Earle of Warwick, these.

## The Babees Book,

OR A 'LYTYL REPORTE' OF HOW YOUNG PEOPLE  
SHOULD BEHAVE.

[*MS. Harl. 5086, fol. 86—90; ab. 1475 A.D.*]

My God, support  
me while I trans-  
late this treatise  
from Latin.

It shall tesch  
those of tender  
age.

To know and  
practise vertues  
is the most pro-  
fitable thing in  
the world.

Young Babes,  
adorned with  
grace,

I call on you to  
know this book  
(for Nurture  
should accompany  
beauty),

and not on aged  
men expert  
therein.

IN this tretys the whiche I thenke to wryte  
Out of latyn in-to my comvne langage,  
He me supporte (sen I kan nat endyte),  
4 The whiche only after his owne ymage  
Fourmyd man-kynde! For alle of tendre age  
In curtesye Resseyve shulle document,  
And vertues knowe, by this lytil coment.

¶ And Facett seythe the Book of curtesye,  
9 Vertues to knowe, thaym forto haue and vse,  
Is thing moste heelfulle in this worlde trevly.  
Therefore in feythe I wole me nat excuse  
12 From this labour ywys, nor hit Refuse;  
For myn owne lernynge wole I say summe thing  
That touchis vertues and curtesye havynge.

¶ But, O yonge Babees, whome bloode Royalle  
16 Withe grace, Feture, and hyhe habylite  
Hathe enourmyd, on yow ys that I calle  
To knowe this Book; for it were grete pyte,  
Syn that in yow ys sette sovereyne beaute,  
20 But yf vertue and nurture were withe alle;  
To yow therefore I speke in specyalle,

¶ And nouhte to hem of elde that bene experte  
In governaunce, nurture, and honeste.

- 24 For what nedys to yewe helle peynes smerte,  
Ioye vnto hevене, or water vnto the see,  
Heete to the Fyre that kan nat but hoothe be?  
It nedys nouhte : therefore, O Babees yynge,
- Why add pain to  
hell,  
water to the sea,  
or heat to fire?  
[Fol. 86 b.]
- 28 My Book only is made for youre lernynge.
- Babies, my book  
is for you only,
- ¶ Therefore I pray that no man Reprehende  
This lytyl Book, the whiche for yow I make ;  
But where defaute ys, latte ylke man amende,
- and so I hope no  
one will find fault  
with it, but only  
amend it.
- 32 And nouhte deme yt ; [I] pray thaym for youre  
sake.  
For other mede ywys I kepe noone take  
But that god wolde this Book myhte yche man  
plese,  
And in lernynge vnto yow dozne somme ese.
- The only reward  
I seek is that my  
book may please  
all and improve  
you.
- ¶ Eke, swete children, yf there be eny worde  
37 That yee kenne nouhte, spyrrе whils yee yt ken ;  
Whanne yee yt knowe, yee mowe holde yt in  
horde,  
Thus thurhe spyrryng yee mowe lerne at wyse  
men.
- If you don't know  
any word in it,  
ask till you do,  
and then keep  
hold of it.
- 40 Also thenke nouhte to straungely at my penne,  
In this metre for yow lystе to procedе,  
Men vsen yt ; therefore on hit take hede.
- And do not wonder  
at this being  
in metre.
- ¶ But amonge alle that I thenke of to telle,  
44 My purpos ys first only forto trette  
How yee Babees in housholde that done duelle  
Shulde haue youre sylf whezne yee be sette at  
mete,  
And how yee shulde, whezne men lystе yow Re-  
hete,
- I must first  
describe how you-  
Babies who dwell  
in households  
should behave at  
meals,
- 48 Haue wordes lovly, swete, bleste, and benyngne.  
In this helpe me O Marie, Modir dyngne !
- and be ready with  
lovely and  
benign words  
when you are  
spoken to.
- ¶ And eke, O lady myn, Facecia !  
My perne thow guyde, and helpe vnto me shewe ;
- Lady Facetia,  
help me!

[Fol. 87.]  
Thou art the  
Mother of all  
Virtue.

Help the ignor-  
ance of me  
untaught!

Fair Babees,  
when you enter  
your lord's place,  
say "God speed,"

and salute all  
there.

Kneel on one  
knee to your lord.

If any speak to  
you, look straight  
at them, and listen  
well till they have  
finished; do not  
chatter or let

your eyes wander  
about the house.

Answer  
sensibly,

shortly, and  
easily.

[Fol. 87 b.]

Many words are  
a bore to a wise  
man.

- 52 For as the firste off alle lettres ys the A,  
So Artow firste Modir of alle vertue.  
Off myn vnkunnyng, swete lady, now Rewe ;  
And thouhe vntaunte I speke of governaunce,  
56 Withe thy swete helpe supporte myn ygnor-  
aunce.

A Bele Babees, herkne now to my lore !  
Whenne yee entre into your lordis place,  
Say first, "god spede ;" And alle that ben by-  
fore

- 60 Yow in this stede, salve withe humble Face ;  
Stert nat Rudely ; komme Inne an esy pace ;  
Holde vp youre heede, and knele but on oone  
kne  
To youre sovereyne or lorde, whedir he be.

- ¶ And yf they speke withe yow at youre komyng,  
65 Withe stable Eye loke vpone theym Rihte,  
To theyre tales and yeve yee goodè herynge  
Whils they haue seyde ; loke eke withe alle  
your myhte  
68 Yee Iangle nouhte, also caste nouhte your  
syhte  
Aboute the hovs, but take to theym entent  
Withe blythe vysage, and spiryt diligent.

¶ Whenne yee Answer or speke, yee shulle be  
purveyde

- 72 What yee shalle say / speke eke thing fructuous ;  
On esy wyse latte thy Resone be sayde  
In wordes gentyll and also compendious,  
For many wordes ben rihte Tedious  
76 To ylke wyseman that shalle yeve audience ;  
Thaym to eschewe therfore doo diligence.

- ¶ Take eke noo seete, but to stonde be yee preste ; Stand till you are  
Whils forto sytte ye haue in komaundement, told to sit: Keep
- 80 Youre heede, youre hande, *your* feet, holde yee your head,  
in reste ; hands, and feet  
Nor thurhe clowyng, *your* flesshe loke yee nat don't scratch  
Rent ; yourself,
- Lene to no poste whils that ye stande present or lean against a  
Byfore *your* lorde, nor handylle ye no thyng post,
- 84 Als for that tyme vnto the hovs touching. or handle any-  
thing near.
- ¶ At euery tyme obeye vnto youre lorde Bow to your lord  
Whenne yee answere, ellis stonde yee styl as when you answer.  
stone
- But yf he speke ; loke withe oon accorde
- 88 That yf yee se *komme* Inne eny persone If any one better  
Better thanne yee, that yee goo bak anoone comes in, retire  
And gyff him place ; *your* bak eke in no way and give place to  
Turne on no wihte, as ferforthe as ye may. him.  
Turn your back  
on no man.
- ¶ Yiff that youre lorde also yee se drynkyng,
- 93 Looke that ye be in rihte stable sylence Be silent while  
Withe-oute lowde lauhtere or Iangelynge, your lord drinks,  
Rovnyng, Iapyng, or other Insolence. not laughing,  
whispering, or  
joking.
- 96 Yiff he komaunde also in his presence
- Yow forto sytte, fulfille his wylle belyve, If he tells you to  
And for youre seete, looke nat withe other stryve, sit down, do so at  
once.
- ¶ Whenne yee er sette, take noone vnhoneste tale ; Then don't talk  
dirt, or scorn any  
[Fol. 88.]  
one, but be meek  
and cheerful.
- 100 Eke forto skorne eschewe withe alle *your* myhte ;  
Latte ay youre chere be lowly, blythe, and  
hale,  
Withe-oute chidyng as that yee wolde fyhte.
- Yiff yee perceyve also that eny wihte
- 104 Lyst yow *kommende* that better be thanne yee, If your better  
praises you,  
rise up and thank  
him heartily.
- Ryse vp anoone, and thanke him withe herte  
free.

When your lord  
or lady is speak-  
ing about the  
household,

don't you inter-  
fere,  
but be always  
ready to serve at  
the proper time,

to bring drink,  
hold lights, or

anything else,

and so get a good  
name.  
The best prayer  
you can make to  
God is to be well  
maunered.

If your lord offers  
you his cup,

rise up, take it  
with both hands,

offer it to no one  
else, but give it  
back to him that  
brought it.  
[Fol. 88 v.]

At Noon, when  
your lord is ready  
for dinner,  
[I helde, pour out ;  
A.S. *hyldan*, to  
incline, bend.]  
some pour out  
water, some hold  
the towel for him  
till he has  
finished, and  
don't leave till  
grace is said.

- ¶ Yif that yee se youre lorde or youre lady  
Touching the housholde speke of eny thinge,  
108 Latt themy alloone, for that is curtesy,  
And entremete yow nouhte of theyre doynge,  
But be Ay Redy withe-oute feynynge  
At hable tyme to done *your* lorde service,  
112 So shalle yee gete anoone a name of price.
- ¶ Also to brynge drynke, holde lihte whanne tyme  
ys,  
Or to doo that whiche ouhte forto be done,  
Looke yee be preste, for so yee shalle ywys  
116 In nurture gete a gentyl name ful sone ;  
And yif ye shulde at god aske yow a bone  
Als to the worlde, better in noo degre  
Mihte yee desire thanne nurtred forto be.
- ¶ Yif that youre lorde his owne coppe lyste com-  
mende  
121 To yow to drynke, ryse vp whanne yee it take,  
And resseyve it goodly withe boothe youre  
hende ;  
Of yt also to nōone other profre ye make,  
124 But vnto him that brouhte yt yee hit take  
Whanne yee haue done, for yt in no kyn wyse  
Auhte comvne be, as techis vs the wyse.
- ¶ Now must I telle in shorte, for I muste so,  
128 Your observauce that ye shalle done at none ;  
Whanne that ye se youre lorde to mete shalle  
goo,  
Be redy to fecche him water sone ;  
Summe helle<sup>1</sup> water ; summe holde to he hathe  
done  
132 The clothe to him ; And from him yee nat pace  
Whils he be sette, and haue herde sayde the  
grace.

- ¶ Byfore him stonde whils he komaunde yow sytte,  
 Withe clene handes Ay Redy him to serve ; Stand by your  
 lord till he tells  
 you to sit,
- 136 Whenne yee be sette, *your* knyf withe alle *your* then keep your  
 wytte knife clean and  
 sharpe
- Vnto youre sylf bothe clene and sharpe con-  
 serve,
- That honestly yee mowe *your* owne mete kerve. to cut your food.
- Latte curtesye and sylence withe yow duelle, Be silent, and tell  
 no nasty stories.
- 140 And foule tales looke noone to other telle.
- ¶ Kutte withe *your* knyf *your* brede, and breke Cut your bread,  
 yt nouhte ; don't break it.
- A clene Trenchour byfore yow eke ye lay, Lay a clean  
 trencher before  
 you, and eat your  
 broth with a  
 spoon,
- 144 Take yow sponys, and soupe by no way, don't sup it up.
- And in youre dysshe leve nat *your* spone, I Don't leave your  
 pray, spoon in your  
 dish.
- Nor on the borde lenynge be yee nat sene, Don't lean on the  
 table, or dirty the  
 cloth.
- But from embrowyng the clothe yee kepe clene.
- ¶ Oute ouere youre dysshe *your* heede yee nat Don't hang your  
 hynge, head over your  
 dish, or eat with  
 a full mouth, or
- 149 And withe fulle mouthe drynke in no wyse ;
- Youre nose, *your* teethe, *your* naylles, from pick your nose,  
 teethe, and naille,
- pykyng,
- Kepe At your mete, for so techis the wyse. [Fol. 89.]
- 152 Eke or ye take in youre mouthe, yow avyse,
- So mekyl mete but that yee rihte welle mowe or stuff your  
 mouth so that  
 you can't speake.
- Answer, And speke, whenne men speke to yow.
- ¶ Whanne ye shall drynke, *your* mouthe cence Wipe your mouth  
 when you drink,  
 withe A clothe ;
- 156 Youre handes eke that they in no manere and don't dirty  
 the cup with your  
 hands.
- Imbrowe the cuppe, for thanne shulle noone be  
 lothe

- Don't dip your meat in the salt-cellar,
- 160 Withe yow to drynke that ben withe yow yfere.  
The salte also touche nat in his salere  
Withe nokyns mete, but lay it honestly  
On youre Trenchoure, for that is curtesy.
- or put your knife in your mouth.
- 164 ¶ Youre knyf withe mete to your mouthe nat here,  
And in youre hande nor holdē yee yt no way ;  
Eke yf to yow be brouhte goode metys sere,  
Luke curteysly of ylke mete yee assay,  
And yf your dysshe withe mete be tane away  
And better brouhte, curtesye wole certeyne
- Taste every dish that's brought to you, and when once your plate is taken away, don't ask for it again.
- 168 Yee late yt passe and calle it nat ageyne.
- If strangers dine with you, share all good food sent to you with them.
- 172 ¶ And yf straungers withe yow be sette at mete,  
And vnto yow goode mete be brouhte or sente,  
Withe parte of hit goodely yee them Rehete,  
For yt ys nouhte ywys conveyent  
Withe yow at mete, whanne other ben present,  
Alle forto holde that vnto yow ys brouhte,  
And as wrecches on other vouchesauf nouhte.
- It's not polite to keep it all to yourself.
- [Fol. 89 b.]  
Don't cut your meat like field labourers, who have such an appetite they don't care how they hack their food.
- 177 ¶ Kutte nouhte youre mete eke as it were Felde  
men,  
That to theyre mete haue suche an appetyte  
That they ne rekke in what wyse, where ne  
when,  
Nor how vngoodly they on theyre mete twyte ;
- Sweet children, let your delight be courtesy, and eschew rudeness.
- 180 But, swete children, haue al-wey your delyte  
In curtesye, and in verrey gentylnesse,  
And at youre myhte eschewe boystousnesse.
- Have a clean trencher and knife for your cheese,
- 184 ¶ Whanne chese ys brouhte, A Trenchoure ha ye  
clene  
On whiche withe clene knyf [ye] your chese  
mowe kerve ;  
In youre fedynge luke goodly yee be sene,
- and eat properly.



- And from Iangelyng *your tunge* al-wey conserue,  
 For so ywys yee shalle a name deserve  
 188 Off gentylnesse and of goode governaunce,  
 And in vertue al-wey youre silf avaunce.
- ¶ Whanne that so ys that ende shalle kome of  
 mete,  
 Yourre knyffes clene, where they ouhte to be,  
 192 Luke yee putte vppe ; and holde eke yee *your*  
 seete  
 Whils yee haue wasshe, for so wole honeste.  
 Whenne yee haue done, looke thanne goodly  
 that yee  
 Withe-oute laughtere, Iapyng, or boystous worde,  
 196 Ryse vppe, and goo vnto youre lordis borde,  
 then rise up with-  
 out laughing or  
 joking, and go  
 to your lord's  
 table.
- ¶ And stonde yee there, and passe yee him nat  
 fro  
 Whils grace ys sayde and brouhte vnto an ende,  
 Thanne somme of yow for water owe to goo,  
 200 Somme holde the clothe, somme poure vpōn  
 his hende.  
 Other service thanne this I myhte comende  
 To yow to done, but, for the tyme is shorte,  
 I putte theym nouhte in this lytyl Reporte,  
 till grace is said.  
 Then some of  
 you go for water,  
 some hold the  
 towel, some  
 pour water over  
 his hands.  
 [Fol. 90.]  
 Other things I  
 shall not put in  
 this little Report.
- ¶ But ouere I passe, prayyng with spyrit gladde  
 205 Of this labour that no wihte me detray,  
 But where to lytyl ys, latte him more adde,  
 And whenne to myche ys, latte him take away ;  
 208 For thouhe I wolde, tyme wole that I no moresay ;  
 I leve therefore, And this Book I directe  
 To euery wihte that lyste yt to correcte.  
 but skip over,  
 praying that no  
 one will abuse  
 me for this work.  
 Let readers add or  
 take away :  
 I address it to  
 every one who  
 likes to correct it
- ¶ And, swete children, for whos love now I write,  
 212 I yow beseche with verrey lovande herte,  
 Sweet children,  
 I beseech you

know this book,  
and may God  
make you so  
expert therein

that you may  
attain endless  
bliss.

- To knowe this book that yee sette *your* delyte ;  
And myhtefulle god, that suffred peynes smerte,  
In curtesye he make yow so experte,  
216 That thurhe *your* nurture and youre governaunce  
In lastyng blysse yee mowe *your* self auauance !

### ¶ Verne or be Vernde.

[Fol. 90 b.]

Don't be too  
loving or angry,  
bold or busy,  
courteous or cruel  
or cowardly, and  
don't drink too  
often,

or be too lofty or  
anxious,

but friendly of  
cheer.  
Hate jealousy,

be not too hasty  
or daring ;

joke not too oft ;

ware knaves'  
tricks.

Don't be too  
grudging or too  
liberal,

too meddling,

too particular,  
new-fangled,  
or too daring.  
Hate oaths

- To Amerous, to Aunterous, ne Angre the nat to  
muche ;  
To Bolde, ne to Besy, ne Bourde nat to large ;  
To Curteys, to Cruelle, ne Care nat to sore ;  
4 To Dulle, ne to Dredefulle, ne Drynke nat to  
offte ;  
To Elenge, to Excellent, ne to Carefulle ney-  
thur ;  
To Fers, ne to Famuler, but Frendely of Chere ;  
To gladde, ne to Glorious, and Gelousy thow  
hate ;  
8 To Hasty, to Hardy, ne to Hevy in thyn  
Herte ;  
To Iettyng, ne to Iangelyng, and Iape nat to  
offte ;  
To Kynde, ne to Kepyng, and warre Knavis  
tacches ;  
To Lothe, ne to Lovyng, ne to Lyberalle of  
goode ;  
12 To Medlous, to Mury, but as goode Maner  
askithe ;  
To noyous, ne to Nyce, ne to Newfangylle ;  
To Orped, to Overtwert, and Othes, *sir*, thow  
hate ;

- To Preysyng, to Preve withe Prynces and Dukes ; and flattery.
- 16 To Queynt, to Querelous, and Queme welle thy maistre ; Please well thy master.
- To Riotous, to Revelyng, ne Rage nat muche ; Don't be too racketsy,
- To Straunge, ne to Steryng, ne Stare nat abroode ; or go out too much.
- To Toyllous, to Talevys, for Temperaunce it hatithe ; Don't be
- 20 To Vengable, to Envious, and waste nat muche ; too revengeful
- To Wyld, to Wrathefulle, and Wade nat depe ; or wrathful, and wade not too deep.
- A Mesurable Mene way ys beste for vs alle ; The middle path is the best for us all.

¶ Yitte. Lerne. or. Be. Lewde.

[A Dietary given 'vnto Kyng Herry vte' 'by Sigismoude, Emperour of Rome,' follows, leaf 91. The colophon (leaf 98, back) is '¶ Thus endithe this Dyetarye Compyled And made by Plato and Petrus Lucratys, Grete Philosophers and Astronomers.']

*A complete copy of the A B C Alliterative Poem of which the foregoing LERNE OR BE LEWDE is a fragment, occurs in the Lambeth MS. 853, and is therefore added here.*

## The A B C of Aristotle.

[*Lambeth MS. 853, ab. 1430 A.D., page 30, written without breaks.*]

- W**ho-so wilneþ to be wijs, & worschip desiriþ,  
 Lerne he oo lettir, & looke on anothir  
 Of þe .a. b. c. of aristotil : argue not aȝen þat ;  
 4 It is counzel for riȝt manye clerkis & knyȝtis a  
     þousand,  
 And eek it myȝte ameende a man ful ofte  
 For to learne lore of oo lettir, & his lijf saue ;  
 For to myche of ony þing was neuere holsum.  
 8 Reede ofte on þis rolle, & rewle þou þer aftir ;  
 Who-so be greued in his goost, gouerne him  
     bettir ;  
 Blame he not þe barn þat þis .a. b. c. made,  
 But wite he his wickid will & his werk aftir ;  
 12 It schal neuere greue a good man þouȝ þe gilty  
     be meendid.  
 Now herkeneþ & heeriþ how y bigynne.

- A** to amerose, to aunterose, ne argue not to myche.  
**B** to bolde, ne to bisi, ne boorde not to large.  
**C** to curteis, to cruel, ne care not to sore.  
**D** to dul, ne to dreedful, ne drinks not to ofte.  
**E** to elenge, ne to excellent, ne to eernesful neiper.  
**F** to fers, ne to famuler, but freendli of cheere.  
**G** to glad, ne to gloriose, & gelosie þou hate.

[Page 81.]

- H** to hasti, ne to hardi, ne to heuy in þine herte.  
**I** to iettyngē, ne to iangelinge, ne iape not to ofte.  
**K** to kinde, ne to kepyngē, & be waar of knaue tacchis.  
**L** to looth for to leene, ne to liberal of goodis.  
**M** to medelus, ne to myrie, but as mesure wole it meeuē.  
**N** to noiose, ne to nyce, ne use no new iettis.  
**O** to orped, ne to ouerþwart, & oopis þou hate.  
**P** to presing, ne to preuy *with* princis ne *with* dukis ;  
**Q** to queynte, ne <sup>1</sup> to quarelose, but queeme weel þoure souereyns.  
**R** to riotus, to reueling, ne rage not to rudeli.  
**S** to straunge, ne to stiryngē, ne straungeli to stare.  
**T** to toilose, ne to talewijs, for temperaunce is beest.  
**V** to venemose, ne to veniable, & voide al vilonye.  
**W** to wields, ne to wrapful, neiþer waaste, ne waade not to depe,  
¶ For a mesurable meene is euerē þe beste of alle.

[1 Page 82.]

[“ Whi is þis world biloued ” follows.]

*See two other copies of this A B C in Harl. MS. 541, fol. 213 and 228.*

The copy on fol. 213 has the exordium as prose, thus: Who so wyllē be wyse, and worspyppē to wynne, leerū he on lettur, and loke vpon an other of the .A. B. C. of Arystotle; noon Argument agaynst that. ffor it is counselle for clerkis and knyghtis a thowsande. And also it myghte amende a meane man, fulle oft the lernyng of A lettur, and his lyf save. It shal not greve a good man though gylt be amende. rede on this ragment / and rule the thereafter. The copy on fol. 228 has no Introduction.

## Urbanitatis.

[MS. Cott. Calig. A. II., ab. 1460 A.D., fol. 88, col. 2.]

	Who-so wylle of nurtur lere, Herken to me & 3e shalle here.
When you come before a lord	When þou comeste be-fore a lorde
take off your cap or hood,	4 In halle, yn bowre, or at þe borde, Hooðe or kappe þou of þo. Ere þou come hym alle vn-to,
and fall on your right knee twice or thrice.	Twyse or þryse <i>with-outen</i> dowte
	8 To þat lorde þou moste lowte, <i>With þy Ry3th</i> kne lette hit be do, Thy worshyp þou mayst saue so.
Keep your cap off till you're told to put it on;	Holde of þy cappe & þy hood also
hold up your chin;	12 Tylle þou be byden hit on to do ; Alle þe whyle þou spekest <i>with</i> hym, Fayr & louely holde vp þy chynn, So aftur þe nurtur of þe book
look in the lord's face; keep hand and foot still;	16 In his face louely þou loke ; Foot & hond þou kepe fulle styлле Fro clawyng or tryppynge, hit ys skylle ; Fro spettyng & snetyng kepe þe also ;
don't spit or snout; get rid of it quietly;	20 Be priuy of voydance, & lette hit go. And loke þou be wyse & felle, And þerto also þat þow gouerne þe welle.
behave well. When you go into the hall,	In-to þe halle when þou dost wende
don't press up too high.	24 Amonge þe genteles gode & hende, Prece þou not vp to hy3 for no þyng, Nor for þy hy3 blood, nere for þy konnyng, Nopur to sytte, neþur to lene,
	28 For hit ys neyþur good ne clene.

- Lette not þy contynauce also abate,  
 For good nurtur wyllle saue þy state ;  
 Fadyr & modyr, what euur þey be,
- 32 Welle ys þe chylde þat may the :  
 In halle, in chambur, ore where þou gon,  
 Nurtur & good maners makeþ man.  
 To þe nexte degre loke þou wysely
- 36 To do hem Reuerence by and by :  
 Do hem no Reuerens, but sette alle in Rowe  
 But ȝyf þou þe bettur do hym knowe.  
 To þe mete when þou art sette,
- 40 Fayre & honestly thow ete hyt :  
 Fyrste loke þat þy handes be clene,  
 And þat þy knyf be sharpe & kene ;  
 And cutte þy breed & alle þy mete
- 44 Ryȝth euen as þou doste hit ete.  
 If þou sytte be a worthyor man  
 Then þy self thow art on,  
 Suffre hym fyrste to towche þe mete
- 48 Ere þy self any þer-of gete ;  
 To þe beste morselle þou may not stryke  
 Thowȝ þou neuur so welle hit lyke.  
 Also kepe þy hondys fayre & welle
- 52 Fro fylunge of the towelle,  
 Ther-on þou shalt not þy nose wype ;  
 Nopur at þy mete þy toth þou pyke ;  
 To depe in þy cuppe þou may not synke
- 56 Thowȝ þou haue good wyllle to drynke,  
 Leste þy eyen water þere by,  
 Then ys hyt no curtesy.  
 Loke yn þy mowth be no mete
- 60 When þou begynneste to drynke or speke ;  
 Also when þou sest any man drynkyng  
 That taketh hede of þy karpyng,  
 Soone a-non þou sece þy tale,
- 64 Wheþur he drynke wyne or Ale.

Don't be shame-  
faced.

Wherever you  
go, good manners  
make the man.

Reverence your  
betters,  
but treat all  
equally whom  
you don't know.  
[Fol. 86, back,  
col. 1.]

See that your  
hands are clean,  
and your knife  
sharp.

Let worthier men  
help themselves  
before you eat.

Don't clutch at  
the best bit.

Keep your hands  
from dirtying the  
cloth, and don't  
wipe your nose on  
it,

or dip too deep in  
your cup.

Have no meat in  
your mouth when  
you drink or  
speak ; and stop  
talking when your  
neighbour is  
drinking.

Scorn and

[1 Marg. has *gre*  
for insertion.]  
reprove no man.

[2 *repraue* is  
written above  
the line.]

Keep your fingers  
from what would  
bring you to grief.

[Fol. 86, back,  
col. 2.]

Among ladies,  
look, don't talk.  
Don't laugh loud,  
or riot with  
rihalds.

Don't repeat what  
you hear.

[3 *not* put in by a  
later hand.]

Words make or  
mar you.

If you follow a  
worthier man,  
let your right  
shoulder follow  
his back, and

don't speak till  
he has done.

Be austere (?) in  
speech;

don't stop any  
man's tale.

Christ gives us all  
wit to know this,

and heaven as our  
reward. Amen!

- Loke also þou skorne no mon  
In what þe[gre]<sup>1</sup> þou se hym gon ;  
Nor þou shalte no mon Repreue<sup>2</sup>  
68 3yf þou wylt þy owen worshyp saue,  
For suche wordys þou myzth out kaste  
Sholde make þe to lyue *in* euelle reste ;  
Close þyn honde yn þy feste,  
72 And kepe þe welle from hadde-y-wyste.  
In chambur among ladyes bryzth,  
Kepe þy tonge & spende þy syzth ;  
Lawze þou not *with* no grette cry,  
76 Ne Rage þou not *with* Rybawdry.  
Pley þou not but *with* þy peres ;  
Ne telle þou not þat þou heres,  
Nor dyskeuere þou not<sup>3</sup> þyn owen dede  
80 For no myrth nor for no mede ;  
*With* fayr speche þou may haue þy wylle,  
And *with* þy speche þou may þe spylle.  
3yf þou suwe a wordyer mon  
84 Then þy self þou art on,  
Lette þy Ryzth sholdur folow his bakke,  
For nurtur þat ys, *with*-owten lakke.  
When he doth speke, holde þe style ;  
88 When he hath don, say þy wylle ;  
Loke yn þy speche þou be felle,  
And what þou sayste a-vyse þe welle ;  
And be-refe þou no mon his tale,  
92 Nopur at wyne nere at Ale.  
Now, *criste* of his grette *grace*  
3eue vs alle bothe wytte & space  
Welle þis to knowe & Rede,  
96 And heuen to haue for *our* mede !  
Amen, Amen, so moot hit be,  
So saye we alle for charyte !

EXPLICIT TRACTUS VRBANITATIS.



## The Boris hede furst.

[Porkington MS. No. 10, fol. 202; ? ab. 1460-70 A.D.]

Hey, hey, hey, hey, þe borrys hede is armyd gay!<sup>1</sup>  
 The boris hede in hond I bryng  
 Witt garlond gay in porttoryng.  
 I pray yow all witt me to synge

[Fol. 202 b.]

Witt hay.

¶¶ Lordys, knyztis, and skyers,  
 Persons, prystis and wycars,  
 The boris hede ys þe fur[s]t mes,  
 Witt hay.

¶¶ The boris hede, as I yow say,  
 He takis his leyfe, & gothe his way  
 Soñ aftur þe xij theylffyt day,  
 Witt hay.

¶¶ Then commys in þe secund kowrs with mekyll  
 pryde,  
 þe crannis & þe heyrrouns, þe bytturis by þe syde,  
 þe partrychys & þe plowers, þe wodcokis & þe  
 snyt,  
 Witt hay.

¶¶ Larkys in hoot schow,<sup>2</sup> ladys for to pyk,  
 Good drynk þerto, lycyvs and fyn,  
 Blwet of allmayn,<sup>3</sup> romnay and wyin,  
 Witt hay.

¶¶ Gud<sup>4</sup> bred, alle & wyin, daer I well say,  
 þe boris hede witt musterd armyd soo gay,  
 ¶¶ furmante to pōdtage,<sup>5</sup> witt wennissun fyn,  
 & þe hambuls of þe dow, & all þat euer commis in,  
 ¶¶ Cappons I-bake witt þe pesys of þe roow,  
 Reysons of corrans, witt odyre spysis moo,

[incomplete.]

<sup>1</sup> "When you print I recommend that the first line of the MS. 'Hey, hey,' &c. should stand alone in two lines. They are the burthen of the song, and were a sort of accompaniment, or under-song, sung throughout, while an upper voice sang the words and tune. You will see numbers of the same kind in Wright's Songs and Carols printed by the Percy Society. It was common in the 14th and 15th centuries."—WM. CHAPPELL.

This Carol is printed in *Reliq. Antiq.*, vol. ii., and is inserted here—copied from and read with the MS.—to fill up a blank page. The title is mine.

<sup>2</sup> ? sewe, stew.

<sup>3</sup> ? the name of a wyne. Recipes for the dish *Brouet of Almayne* (H. O.), *Brouet of Almony*, *Brouet de Almonde*, are in *Household Ordinances*, p. 456; *Forme of Cury*, p. 29, and *Liber Cure Cocorum*, p. 12. <sup>4</sup> ? MS. End.

<sup>5</sup> Recipe for *Potage de Frumenty* in *Household Ordinances*, p. 425.

# The Lytyle Childrenes Lytil Boke or Edyllys be.

[*Harl. MS. 541, fol. 210 ; and Egerton MS. 1995 ;  
ab. 1480 A.D.*]

- Clerke say that  
courtesy came  
from heaven when  
Gabriel greeted  
our Lady.  
All virtues are  
included in it,  
See that your  
hands and nails  
are clean.  
Don't eat till  
grace is said,  
or eit down till  
you're told.  
First, think on  
the poor; the  
full belly wots  
not what the  
hungry feels.  
Don't eat too  
quickly.
- Lytylle childrene, here ye may lere  
Moche curtesy þat is wrytyn here ;  
For clerkis that the vij artes cunne,  
4 Seyn <sup>1</sup> þat curtesy from hevyn come  
Whan Gabryelle oure lady grette,  
And Elizabeth with mary mette.  
Alle vertues arne <sup>2</sup> closide yn curtesye,  
8 And alle vices yn vylonye.  
Loke þyne hondis be <sup>3</sup> wasshe clene,  
That no fylthe on <sup>4</sup> thy nayles be sene.  
Take þou no mete tylle grace <sup>5</sup> be seyde,  
12 And tylle þou see alle thyng arayed.  
Loke, my son, þat thow not sytte  
Tylle þe ruler of þe hous the bydde ; <sup>6</sup>  
And at thy <sup>7</sup> mete, yn þe begynnyng,  
16 Loke on <sup>8</sup> pore men that thow thynk,  
For the full wombe without [<sup>9</sup> any faylys]  
Wot full lytyl [<sup>9</sup> what the hungry aylys.]  
Ete [<sup>9</sup> not thy mete to hastely,  
20 A-byde and ete esely.

<sup>1</sup> Egerton MS. 1995, Synne      <sup>2</sup> hen closyde  
<sup>3</sup> that thy hondys henne      <sup>4</sup> in      <sup>5</sup> the fyrste gracyz  
<sup>6</sup> the halle the bytte      <sup>7</sup> Atte the      <sup>8</sup> a-pon (and omits *that*)  
<sup>9</sup> The parts between square brackets [ ] are from the Egerton MS.

## The Young Children's Book.

[From the Ashmolean MS. 61 (Bodleian Library),  
ab. 1500 A.D., fol. 20.]

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>Who so euer wylle thryue or the,<br/>Muste <i>vertus</i> lerne, &amp; <i>curtas</i> be ;<br/>Fore who in <i>zowthe</i> no <i>vertus</i> vsythe,</p> <p>4 Yn Age All men hym refusythe.<br/>Clerkys þat came þe scyens seuene,<br/>Seys þat <i>curtasy</i> came fro heuen<br/>When gabryell owre lady grette,</p> <p>8 And elyzabeth <i>with</i> here mette.<br/>All <i>vertus</i> be cloyde in <i>curtasy</i>,<br/>And Alle vyces in vilony.</p> <p>Aryse be tyme oute of thi bedde,</p> <p>12 And blysse þi brest &amp; thi forhede,<br/>Than wasche thi hondes &amp; thi face,<br/>Keme þi hede, &amp; Aske god <i>grace</i><br/>The to helpe in All þi werkes ;</p> <p>16 Thow schall spede better what so þou carpes.<br/>Than go to þe chyrche, &amp; here A messe,<br/>There aske <i>mersy</i> fore þi trespasse.<br/>To whom þou metys come by þe weye,</p> <p>20 Curtasly 'gode morne' þou sey.<br/>When þou hast done, go breke thy faste<br/><i>With</i> mete &amp; drynke of gode repaste :<br/>Blysse þi mouthe or þou it ete,</p> <p>24 The better schalle be þi dyete.</p> | <p>Whoever will<br/>thrive, must be<br/>courteous, and be-<br/>gin in his youth.</p> <p>Courtesy came<br/>from heaven,</p> <p>and contains all<br/>virtues, as rude-<br/>ness does all<br/>vices.<br/>Get up betimes ;<br/>cross yourself ;</p> <p>wash your hands<br/>and face ; comb<br/>your hair ; say<br/>your prayers ;</p> <p>go to church and<br/>hear Mass.</p> <p>Say ' Good Morn-<br/>ing ' to every one<br/>you meet.</p> <p>Then have<br/>breakfast,</p> <p>first crossing<br/>your mouth.</p> |
|---|---|

Touch nothing  
till you are fully  
helped.

Don't break your  
bread in two,

or put your pieces  
in your pocket,

your fingers in  
the dish,

or your meat in  
the salt-cellar.

[Fol. 210, back.]

Don't pick your  
ears or nose,

or drink with  
your mouth full,

or cram it full.

Don't pick your  
teeth with your  
knife.

Take your spoon  
out when you've  
finished soup.

Don't spit over  
or on the table,  
that's not proper.

Don't put your  
elbows on the  
table,  
or beleh as if you  
had a bean in  
your throat.

Be carefull of good  
food;

- Tylle þou haue thy fulle seruyse,  
Touche noo messe in noo wyse.  
Kerue not thy brede to thynne,  
24 Ne breke hit not on twynne :  
The mosselle that þou begynnysse to touche,  
Cast them not in thy pouche.  
Put not thy fyngerys on thy dysche,  
28 Nothyr in flesche, nothyr in fysche.  
Put not thy mete in-to the salte,  
In-to thy Seler that thy salte halte,]  
But ley it fayre <sup>1</sup> on þi trenchere  
32 The byfore, <sup>2</sup> and þat is þyne honore.  
Pyke not þyne Eris ne thy nostrellis ;  
If <sup>3</sup> þou do, men wolle sey þou come of cherlis. <sup>4</sup>  
And <sup>5</sup> whylle þi mete yn þi mouth is,  
36 Drynk þow not ; for-gete not this.  
Ete þi mete by smalle mosselles ;  
Fylle not thy mouth as done <sup>6</sup> brothellis.  
Pyke not þi tethe with thy knyfe ;  
40 In no company begynne þow stryfe. <sup>7</sup>  
And whan þou hast þi potage doone, <sup>8</sup>  
Out of thy dyssh þow put thi spone.  
Ne spitte þow not <sup>9</sup> over the <sup>10</sup> tabylle,  
44 Ne therupon, for that is no ping abyлле. <sup>11</sup>  
Ley not þyne Elbowe nor <sup>12</sup> thy fyst  
Vpon the tabylle whylis þat thow etist. <sup>13</sup>  
Bulk not as a Beene were yn þi throte,  
48 [As a ka]rle þat comys oute of a cote.  
[<sup>14</sup> And thy mete be o]f grete pryce,  
[Be ware of hyt, or þou arte n]ot wyse.  
[Speke noo worde styлле ne sterke ;

<sup>1</sup> Egerton MS. omits *fayre*      <sup>2</sup> To-fore the      <sup>3</sup> And

<sup>4</sup> comyste of karlys      <sup>5</sup> But      <sup>6</sup> dothe

<sup>7</sup> Whyle þou ettyste by thy lyffe      <sup>8</sup> Idone      <sup>9</sup> Spette not

<sup>10</sup> thy      <sup>11</sup> Nor a-pon hyt, for hyt ys not able      <sup>12</sup> nothyr

<sup>13</sup> whyle þou este

<sup>14</sup> The parts between square brackets [ ] are from the Egerton MS.

- Be-fore þi mete sey þou þi grace,  
Yt occupys bot lytell space ;—  
Fore oure mete, & drynke, & vs,  
28 Thanke we owre lord Ihesus ;—  
A pater noster & Aue mary  
Sey fore þe saulys þat in peyne ly ;  
Than go labour as þou arte bownde,  
32 And be not Idylle in no stounde :  
Holy scryptour þus it seyth  
To þe þat Arte of cristen feyth,  
“ Yffe þou labour, þou muste ete  
36 That with þi hondes þou doyste gete ; ”  
A byrde hath wenges forto fle,  
So man hath Armes laboryd to be.  
Luke þou be trew in worde & dede,  
40 Yn Alle þi werkes þan schall þou spede :  
Treuth wyt neuer his master schame,  
Yt kepys hym out offe synne & blame.  
The weys to heuen þei bene þus tweyne,  
44 Mercy & treuthe, As clerkes seyne ;  
Who so wyll come to þe lyfe of blysse,  
To go þe weys he may not mysse.  
Make no promys bot it be gode,  
48 And kepe þou it with myght & mode ;  
Fore euery promys, it is dette,  
That with no falsed muste be lette.  
God & þi neybores lufe all wey ;  
52 Welle is þe, than may þou sey,  
Fore so þou kepys All þe lawe  
With-oute Any fere, drede, or awe.  
Vn-callyd go þou to no counselle ;  
56 That longes to þe, with þat thow melle.  
Scorne not þe pore, ne hurte no mane ;  
Lerne of hym þat the teche cane ;  
Be no glosere nor no mokere,  
60 Ne no seruantes no wey lokere.

Say grace,

thank Jesus for  
your food,and say an Ave  
for tha soula in  
pain.  
Then set to work,  
and don't be idle.Scripture tella  
you,if you work, you  
must eat what  
you get with your  
hands.Be true in word  
and deed;truth keeps a man  
from blame.  
Mercy and Truth  
are the two ways  
to heaven,fall not to go by  
them.Make only proper  
promises, and  
keep themwithout falsehood.  
Love God and  
your neighbours,and so fulfil all  
the Law.Meddle only with  
what belonge to  
you.Scorn not the  
poor ;flatter no one ;  
oppress (?) not  
servants

- and be courteous  
and cheerful.
- Don't whisper in  
any man's ear.  
Take your food  
with your fingers,  
and don't waste it.  
Don't grin, or  
talk too much,
- or spill your food.
- Keep your cloth  
before you.  
[Fol. 207.]  
Cut your meat,  
don't hit it.
- Don't open your  
mouth too wide  
when you eat,
- or blow in your  
food.  
If your lord  
drinks, always  
wait till he has  
done.
- Keep your  
trencher clean.
- Drink behind no  
man's back.
- Don't rush at  
the cheese,
- or throw your  
bones on the floor.
- 52 And honowre and curtesy loke þou kepe,  
And at the tabylle loke þou make goode chere ;  
Loke þou rownde not in nomannys ere.  
With thy fyngerys þou towche and taste
- 56 Thy mete ; And loke þou doo noo waste.  
Loke þou laughe not, nor grenne ;  
And with moche speche þou mayste do synne.  
Mete ne drynke loke þou ne spylle,
- 60 But sette hit downe fayre and styлле.]  
Kepe thy cloth clene the byforne,  
And bere the so <sup>1</sup> thow haue no scorne.  
Byte not þi mete, but kerve it <sup>2</sup> clene,
- 64 Be welle ware no <sup>3</sup> drop be sene.  
Whan þou etyst, gape not to wyde  
That þi mouth be sene on yche a <sup>4</sup> syde.  
And son, beware, I rede, of <sup>5</sup> on thyng,
- 68 Blow neþer <sup>6</sup> yn thi mete nor yn þi <sup>7</sup> drynk.  
And yif thi lord drynk at þat tyde,  
Drynk þou not, but hym abyde ;  
Be it at Evyne, be it at noone,<sup>8</sup>
- 72 Drynk þou not tylle he haue done.  
Vpon þi trencher no fyllthe þou see,<sup>9</sup>  
It is not honest, as I telle the ;  
Ne drynk <sup>10</sup> behynde no mannes bakke,
- 76 For yf þou do, thow art to lakke.<sup>11</sup>  
And chese come forthe,<sup>12</sup> be not to gredy,<sup>13</sup>  
Ne cutte þow not therof to hastely.<sup>14</sup>  
Caste not þi bones ynto the flore,
- 80 But ley þem <sup>15</sup> fayre on þi trenchore.  
Kepe clene þi cloth byfore þe <sup>16</sup> alle ;

<sup>1</sup> that                      <sup>2</sup> cut hit                      <sup>3</sup> that noo  
<sup>4</sup> be in euery      <sup>5</sup> be ware of      <sup>6</sup> þou not      <sup>7</sup> mete not  
<sup>8</sup> morowe, (and omits next line.)      <sup>9</sup> be sene  
<sup>10</sup> Drynke þou not      <sup>11</sup> blame      <sup>12</sup> by-fore the  
<sup>13</sup> redy      <sup>14</sup> To cut there-of be not to gredy.      <sup>15</sup> hem  
<sup>16</sup> þe omitted.

The parts between square brackets [ ] are from the Egerton MS.

- Be not proud, bot meke & lynd,  
And *with* thi better go þou be-hynd.  
When þi better schewys his wylle,  
64 To he haue seyð þou muste be styлле.  
When þou spekes to Any mane,  
Hande, fote, & fynger, kepe þou styلل þan,  
And luke þou vppe *in* to his face,  
68 And *curtase* be in euery place.  
*With* þi fynger schew þou no thyngе,  
Nor be not lefe to telle tydinge.  
Yff Any man sey welle of þe,  
72 Or of thi frendes, thankyd muste be.  
Haue few wordes, & wysly sette,  
Fore so þou may thi worschyppe gete.  
Vse no suerynge noþer lyenge,  
76 Yn thi sellynge & thi byenge,  
Fore & þou do þou arte to blame,  
And at þe last þou wylle haue schame.  
Gete þi gowd *with* trewe[t]h & wynnе,  
80 And kepe þe out of dette & synne.  
Be loth to greue, & leffe to ples ;  
Seke þe pes, & lyfe in es.  
Offe whome þou spekes, where & when,  
84 A-vyse þe welle, & to what men.  
When þou *commys* vn to A dore,  
Sey "god be here," or þou go ferre :  
*Wer-euer* þou *commys*, speke honestly  
88 To *ser* or dame, or þer meny.  
Stand, & sytte not furth-*with*-alle  
Tylle he byde þe þat rewlys þe halle ;  
Where he bydis, þer must þou sytte,  
92 And fore none oþer change ne flyte ;  
Sytt vp-ryght Aud honestly,  
Ete & drinke, & be feleyly,  
Parte *with* hem þat sytes þe by,  
96 Thus teches þe dame *curtasy*.
- Be meek,  
and wait till your  
better has spoken.  
When you speak  
to a man, keep  
still,  
and look him in  
the face.  
Don't be a  
tale-hearer.  
Thank all who  
speak well of you.  
Use few words ;  
don't swear or lie  
in your dealings.  
Earn money  
honestly, and keep  
out of debt.  
Try to please ;  
seek peace ;  
mind whom you  
speak to and what  
you say.  
Wherever you  
enter, say "God  
be here,"  
and speak  
courteously to  
master and man.  
Stand till you are  
told to sit at meat,  
and don't leave  
your seat before  
others.  
Sit upright ;  
be sociable,  
and share with  
your neighbours.

Sit still till grace  
is said and you've  
washed your  
hands,

and don't spit in  
the basin.

Rise quietly,  
don't jabber, but

[Fol. 207, back.]

thank your host  
and all the  
company,

and then men will  
say,  
'A gentleman was  
here!'  
He who despises  
this teaching  
isn't fit to sit at a  
good man's table.

Children, love this  
little book, and

pray that Jesus  
may help the  
author to die  
among his friends,  
and not be  
troubled with  
devils,

- And sit þou styлле, what so be-falle,<sup>1</sup>  
Tylle grace be said vnto þe ende,  
84 And tylle þou haue wasshen *witþ* þi frend.  
Let the more worthy þan<sup>2</sup> thow  
Wassh to-fore<sup>3</sup> þe, & that is þi prow ;  
And spitte not yn<sup>4</sup> þi basyne,  
88 My swete son, þat þow wasshist yne ;  
And aryse up soft & styлле,<sup>5</sup>  
And iangylle nether with Iak ne Iylle,  
But take þi leve of the hede<sup>6</sup> lowly,  
92 And þank hym *witþ* thyne hert hyghly,  
And alle þe gentyllis<sup>7</sup> togydre yn-same,  
And bare the so<sup>8</sup> thow haue no blame ;  
Than men wylle<sup>9</sup> say therafter  
96 That a gentylleman was heere.  
And he þat dispiseth this techyng,  
He is not worthy, *witþoute* lesyng,  
Nether at<sup>10</sup> good mannes tabulle to<sup>11</sup> sitte,  
100 Ner<sup>12</sup> of no worshiþe for to wytte.  
And therfore, chyldren, for<sup>13</sup> charyte,  
Louyth this boke though yt lytil be !<sup>14</sup>  
And pray for hym þat made it thus,<sup>15</sup>  
104 That hym may helpe swete *Ihesus*  
To lyve & dye among his frendes,  
<sup>16</sup> And neuer to be combred *witþ* no fendes ;

<sup>1</sup> styлле *witþ*alle

<sup>2</sup> thenne

<sup>3</sup> by-fore

<sup>4</sup> Spete not on (and omits next line.)

<sup>5</sup> And ryse *witþ* hym that sate *witþ* the styлле,  
And thanke hym fayre and welle :

Aftyр, Iangely not *witþ* Iacke ne gylle.

<sup>6</sup> lorde

<sup>7</sup> þe gentyllis omitted.

<sup>8</sup> soo that

<sup>9</sup> wylle they sey

<sup>10</sup> Neuyr at a

<sup>11</sup> for to

<sup>12</sup> Nothyr

<sup>13</sup> pur

<sup>14</sup> Lernythe thys boke that ys callyd Edyllys be

<sup>15</sup> made thys

<sup>16-16</sup> And vs graunte in Ioy to a-byde !

Say ye alle Amen for charyde in euery syde.



- Take þe salt *with* thi clene knyfe ;  
 Be cold of spech, & make no stryfe ;  
 Bakbyte no man þat is A-weye,  
 100 Be glad of Alle men wele to sey.  
 Here & se, & sey thou nought,  
 Than schall þou not to *profe* be brought.  
*With* mete & drynke be-fore þe sette,  
 104 Hold þe plesyd, & aske no bette.  
 Wype thi mouth when þou wyll drinke,  
 Lest it foule thi copys brinke ;  
 Kepe clene thi fyngeres, lypes, & chine,  
 108 Fore so þou may thi wyrshype wyne.  
 Yn þi mouth when þi mete is,  
 To drinke, or speke, or lauzh, I-wys  
 Dame *curtasy* fore-bydes it the :  
 112 Bot *prayse* thi fare, *wer-so-euer* þou be,  
 Fore be it gode or be it badde,  
 Yn gud worth it muste be had.  
 When þou spytes, be welles were  
 116 Where so þou spytes, nyze or fere ;  
 Hold þi hand be-fore thi mouth  
 When þou spytes, & hyde it couth.  
 Kepe þi knyfe both clene & scherpe,  
 120 And be not besy forto kerpe ;  
 Clens þi knyfe *with* some cutte bred,  
 Not *with* thi cloth, As I þe rede :  
*With* Any fylth to fowle þe clothe,  
 124 A *curtase* mane he wyll be lothe.  
 In þi dysch sette not þi sponne,  
 Noþer on þe brynke, as vn-lernyd done.  
 When þou sopys, make no no[y]se  
 128 *With* thi mouth As do boys.  
 The mete þat on þi trencher is,  
 Putte it not in-to þi dysch.  
 Gete þe sone A voyder,  
 132 And sone A-voyd þou thi trenchere.

Take salt with a  
clean knif;

talk no scandal,  
but speak well of  
all.  
Hear and see;  
don't talk.

Be satisfied with  
what's set before  
you.

Wipe your mouth  
before you drink;  
keep your fingers  
and lips clean.

Don't speak with  
your mouth full.

Praise your food  
for whether it's  
good or bad, it  
must be taken in  
good part.

Mind where you  
spit,

and put your  
hand before your  
mouth.

Keep your knife  
clean,

and don't wipe it  
on the cloth.

Don't put your  
spoon in the dish,

or make a noise,  
like boys, when  
you sup.

Don't put meat  
off your plate into  
the dish, but into  
a voider.

but be in joy for  
ever. Amen!

And geve vs grace yn Ioy to be ;  
108 Amen, Amen, for charytee !<sup>16</sup>

EXPLICIT. lerne or be lewde  
*quod* Whytyng.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>17</sup> AMEN.

Here endythe the boke of Curtesy that ys fulle neces-  
sary vnto yonge chydryn that muste nedys lerne the  
maner of curtesy.

EXPLICIT. AMEN.

- When thi better take þe tho coppe,  
 Drinke thi selffe, & sette it vppe,  
 Take tho coppe *with* thi hondes.
- 136 Lest it falle þer As þou stondes.  
 When thi better spekes to the,  
 Do offe thi cape & bow þi kne.  
 At thi tabull noþer crache ne claw,  
 140 Than men wylle sey þou arte A daw.  
 Wype not thi nose nor þi nos-thirlys,  
 Than mene wylle sey þou come of cherlys.  
 Make þou noþer cate ne hond (*so in MS.*)
- 144 Thi felow at þou tabull round ; ( „ „ )  
 Ne pleye *with* spone, trenchere, ne knyffe.  
 Yn honesty & clenys lede þou thi lyffe.  
 This boke is made for chylder zonge
- 148 At the scowle þat hyde not longe :  
 Sone it may be conyd & had,  
 And make them gode iff þei be bad.  
 God gyffe them *grace*, *vertuos* to be,
- 152 Fore than þei may both thryff & the.  
 Amen ! *quod* Kate.
- If your superior hands you a cup, drink,  
 but take the cup with two hands.
- When he speaks to you, doff your cap and bend your knee.  
 Don't scratch yourself at table,  
 wipe your nose,
- or play with your spoon, &c.
- This book is for young children who don't stay long at school.
- God grant them grace to be virtuous !

## Stans Puer ad Mensam.

ASCRIBED TO JOHN LIDGATE.

[MS. Harl. 2251, ? about 1460 A.D., fol. 153 or 148. The parts between brackets [ ], and various readings, are from Mr Halliwell's print in *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, v. 1, p. 156-8, of a 15th-century MS. Q. F. 8, fol. 77, r°, in the Library of Jesus College, Cambridge.]

¶ [My dere childe, first thiself enable  
 With all thin herte to vertuous disciplyne  
 Afor thi soverayne standing at the table,  
 4 Dispose thi youth aftir my doctryne  
 To all norture thi corage to enclyne.  
 First when thu spekist be not rekles,  
 Kepe feete and fingeris and handes still in pese.]

**B**E symple of chiere, cast nat thyn ye aside,  
 Agenst the post lete nat thy bak abyde ;  
 Gaase nat aboute, *tournyng oueralle* ;  
 Make nat thy myrroure also of the walle,  
 12 Pyke nat thy nose, and in especialle  
 Be right wele ware, and sette hieron thi thought,  
 By-fore thy souerayne cracche ne rubbe nought.

¶ Who spekithe to the in any *maner* place,  
 16 Rudely <sup>1</sup> cast nat thyn ye <sup>2</sup> adowne,  
 But with a sadde chiere loke hym in the face ;  
 Walke demurely by strete in the towne,  
 Advertise the withe wisdom and Reasoun.  
 20 Withe dissolute laughters do thow non offence  
 To-fore thy souerayn, whiles he is in presence.

<sup>1</sup> *Rel. Ant.*, Lumbisshly

<sup>2</sup> hede

# The Book of Curteisie

That is Clepid

## Stans Puer ad Mensam.

[Lambeth MS. 853, ab. 1430 A.D., page 150, back.  
Part written as prose.]

- M**i dere sone, first þi silf able  
with al þin herte to vertuouse discipline,—  
A-fore þi souereyn standinge at þe table
- 4 Dispose þou þee aftir my doctryne—  
To al nortur þi corage to encline.  
First while þou spekist, be not richelees ;  
Kepe boþe fyngir and hond stille in pees ;
- 8 **B**e symple in cheer ; caste not þi looke a-side,  
gase not about, *turnynge* þi sizt oueral.  
azen þe post lete not þi bak abide,  
neþer make þi myrrour also of þe wal.
- 12 Pike not þi nose ; & moost in especial  
be weel waar, sette her-on þi þouzt,  
to-fore þi souereyn cratche ne picke þee nouzt.
- ¶ Who-so speke to þee in ony maner place,
- 16 lumpischli caste not þin heed a-down,  
but with a sad cheer loke him in þe face.  
walke demurely bi streetis in þe toun,  
And take good hede bi wisdom & resoun
- 20 þat bi no wantowne lauzyng þou do noon offence  
To-fore þi souereyne while he is in presence.
- When you stand  
before your  
sovereign,
- speak not reck-  
lessly, and keep  
your hands still.
- [Page 151.]  
Don't stare about,
- lean against a  
post, look at the  
wall, pick your  
nose, or scratch  
yourself.
- When spoken to,  
don't lumpishly  
look at the  
ground.
- Walk demurely in  
the streets,
- and don't laugh  
before your lord.

- ¶ Pare clene thy nailles, thyn handes wasshe also  
To-fore mete, and whan thow dooest arise ;
- 24 Sitte in that place thow art assigned to ;  
Prease nat to hye in no maner wise ;  
And til thow se afore the thy service,  
Be nat to hasty on brede for to byte,
- 28 Of gredynesse lest men wolde the endwyte.<sup>1</sup>
- ¶ Grennyng and mowes at the table eschowe ;  
Cry nat to lowde ; kepe honestly silence ;  
To enboce thy Iowis withe mete<sup>2</sup> is nat diewe ;
- 32 Withe ful mowthe speke nat, lest thow do offence ;  
Drynk nat bretheles<sup>3</sup> for hast ne negligence ;  
Kepe clene thy lippes from fat of flesshe or  
fisshe ;  
Wype clene<sup>4</sup> thi spone, leve it nat in thy disshe.
- ¶ Of brede I-byten no soppis that thow make ;
- 37 In ale nor wyne withe hande leve no fattenes ;  
Withe mowthe brewed thy cuppe thow nat take ;  
Enbrowe<sup>5</sup> no napery for no rekelesnes ;
- 40 For to souppe [loude] is agenst gentiles ;  
[N]euer at mete begynne thow nat<sup>6</sup> stryf ;  
Thi tethe also thow pike nat withe no knyf.

[Fol. 153, back.]

- ¶ Of honest myrthe late be thy daliaunce ;
- 44 Swere none othes, speke no ribawdrye ;  
The best morsel, have in remembraunce,  
Hole to thyself alwey do nat applie ;  
Part withe thy felaw, for that is curtesie :
- 48 Laade nat thy trenchour withe many remyssailles ;  
And from blaknes alwey kepe thy nayles.
- ¶ Of curtesye also agenst the lawe,  
Withe sowne<sup>7</sup> dishonest for to do offence ;
- 52 Of old surfaytes abrayde nat thy felawe ;  
Toward thy souerayne alwey thyn aduertence ;

<sup>1</sup> a-wite.<sup>2</sup> brede it<sup>3</sup> bridlid<sup>4</sup> fayre<sup>5</sup> Foul<sup>6</sup> be warre gynne no<sup>7</sup> Which sou

- P**are elene þi nailis ; þin hondis waische also  
to-fore þi mete, [&] whanne þou doist arise. Clean your nails  
and wash your  
hands.
- 24 sitte þou in þat place þat þou art a-signed to ; Sit where you're  
Prece not to hie in no maner wise ; told to,  
And whanne þou seest afore þee þi seruice,  
be not to hasti upon breed to bite and don't be too  
hasty to begin  
eating.
- 28 lest men þerof Do þee edwite.
- G**rennyng & mowynge at þi table eschewe ; [Page 152.]  
Crie not to lowde : honestli kepe silence. Don't grin, about,
- To enbrace þi iowis *with* breed, it is not dewe ; or stuff your  
jaws with food,
- 32 *with* ful mouþ speke not lest þou do offence ;  
Drinke not bridelid for haste ne necligence ; or drink too  
quickly.  
Kepe elene þi lippis from fleisch & fische ; Keep your lips  
clean, and wipe  
your spoon.
- 36 **O**f breed *with* þi teef no soppis þou make ; Don't make sops  
of bread,  
Lowde for to soupe is azen gentilnes :  
*With* mouþ enbrowide þi cuppe þou not take, or drink with a  
dirty mouth.
- 40 Defoule not þe naprie bi no richelesnes. Don't dirty the  
table linen,  
Be waar þat at þe mete þou bigynne no striif ;  
þi teef also at þe table picke *with* no knyf. or pick your teeth  
with your knife.
- O**f honest mirþe euere be þi daliaunce ; Don't swear or  
talk ribaldry, or  
take the best bits ;
- 44 Swere noon oþis ; speke no ribandie.  
þe beste morsels,—haue þis *in remembraunce*,—  
Holli alwey þi silf to take do not applie.
- 48 Lete not þi trenchour be *with* many morsels ; share with your  
fellowe.  
And fro blaknes kepe weel þi nailis. Eat up your  
pieces, and keep  
your nails clean.
- O**f curtesie it is azen þe lawe, [Page 153.]  
*With* dishoneste, sone, for to do difence ; It's bad manners  
to bring up old  
complainte.
- 52 Of oolde forfetis vpbraide not þi felawe ;  
Towarde þi souereyn do euere reuerence.

Play withē no knyf, take hecde to my sentence ;  
 At mete and soupper kepe the stille and soft ;  
 56 Eke to and fro meve nat thy foote to oft.

¶ Droppe nat thi brest withē sawce ne withē potage ;  
 Brynge no knyves vnskoured to the table ;  
 Fil nat thy sponc, lest in the cariage  
 60 It went beside, whiche were nat comendable ;  
 Be quyke and redy, meke and seruisable,  
 Wele awaityng to fulfille anone  
 What that thy souerayne comav[n]dithe the to  
 be done.

64 ¶ And whereso euer that thow dyne or soupe,  
 Of gentillesse take salt withē thy knyf ;  
 And be wele ware thow blow nat in the cuppe.  
 Reuerence thy felawe, gynne withē hym no stryf ;  
 68 Be thy powere kepe pees al thy lyf.  
 Interrupt nat, where so thow wende,  
 None other mans tale, til he have made an ende ;

¶ Withē thy fyngres make <sup>1</sup> thow nat thy tale ;  
 72 Be wele avised, namly in tendre age,  
 To drynk by mesure bothe wyne and ale ;  
 Be nat copious also of langage ;  
 As tyme requyrithe, shewe out thy visage,  
 76 To gladde ne to sory, but kepe atwene tweyne,  
 For losse or lucre or any case sodayne.

[Fol. 154 or 149.]

¶ Be meke in mesure, nat hasti, but tretable ;  
 Ouer moche is nat worthe in no maner thyng ;  
 80 To children it longithe nat to be [vengeable,<sup>2</sup>  
 Sone meeved and sone forgyvyng ;  
 And as it is remembrid bi <sup>3</sup> wrytyng,  
 Wrathe of children is sone ouergone,  
 84 Withē an apple the parties be made atone.

<sup>1</sup> *Rel. Ant.*, marke    <sup>2</sup> MS. Harl., tretable    <sup>3</sup> *Rel. Ant.*, by olde



- Pleie *with* no knif, take hede to my sentence ;  
 At mete & at soper kepe þee stille & softe,  
 56 And eek to & fro meene not þi feep to ofte. Don't play with your knife, or shuffle your feet about.
- D**roppe not þi brest *with* seew & oþer potage,  
 Bringe no foule knyues vnto þe table ;  
 Fille not þi spoon lest in þe cariage  
 60 It scheede bi side, it were not commendable. Don't epill your broth on your chest, or use dirty knives, or fill your spoon too full.
- Be quik & redi, meke & seruiable,  
 Weel awaitinge to fulfille anoon  
 What þat þi souereyn commaundiþ to be doon. Be quick to do whatever your lord orders.
- 64 **A**nd where-so-euere þou be to digne or to suppe,  
 Of gentilnes take salt *with* þi knyf,  
 And be weel waar þou blowe not in þe cuppe.  
 Reuerence þi felawis ; bigynne *with* hem no strijf ; Take salt with your knife ; don't blow in your cup, or begin quarrels.
- 68 To þi power kepe pees al þi lijf.  
 Intrippe no man where so þat þou wende,  
 No man in his tale, til he haue maado an eende. Interrupt no man in his story.
- ¶ *With* þi fyngris marke not þi tale ; [Page 154.]  
 72 be weel avysid, & nameli in tendir age,  
 To drinke mesurabli bope wiyn & ale. Drink wine and ale in moderation.
- Be not to copiose of langage ;  
 As tyme requiriþ schewe out þi visage,  
 76 To glad, ne to sory, but kepe þee euene bitwene but keep a middle course.  
 For los, or lucre, or ony case sodene.
- B**e soft in mesure, not hasti, but treteable ;  
 Ouer soft is nouzt in no maner þing  
 80 To children longiþ not to be vengeable,  
 Soone meued and soone fiztinge ;  
 And as it is remembrid bi writyng,  
 wrappe of children is ouercome soone,  
 84 *With* þe partis of an appil ben made at oon. Be gentle and tractable, but not too soft. Children must not be revengeful ; their anger is appeased with a bit of apple.

- ¶ In children werre <sup>1</sup> now myrthe and now debate,  
 In theyr quarel no grete violence ;  
 Now pley, now wepyng, sielede in one estate ;  
 88 To theyr playntes gyve no credence ;  
 A Rodde refourmythe al theyr insolence ;  
 In theyr corage no Rancour dothe abyde ;  
 Who sparithe the yerd, al vertu set aside.

## LENVOYE.

- 92 ¶ Go, litel bille, bareyn of eloquence,  
 Pray yonge children that the shal see or Reede,  
 Though the thow be compendious of sentence,  
 Of thi clauses for to taken heede,  
 96 Whiche to al vertu shal theyr yowthe leede.  
 Of the writyng, though the ther be no date,  
 If ought be mysse,—wordes, sillable, or dede,—  
 Put al the defaute vpon Iohne Lydegate.

<sup>1</sup> *Rel. Ant.*, In childre

- I**n children werre is now mirþe & now debate,  
 In her quarel is no violence,  
 now pleie, now wepinge, & seelde in oon state ;  
 88 to her pleyntis 3eue no credence ;  
 A rodde reformeþ al her negligence ;  
 in her corage no rancour doop abide,  
 who þat spariþ þe rodde all uertues settiþ a-side.
- Children's quarrels are first play, then crying ;  
 don't believe their complaints : give 'em the rod.  
 Spare that, and you'll spoil all.
- 92 **A** ! litil balade, voide of eloquence,  
 I praiæ 3ou 3onge children þat þis schal se & rede,  
 þou3 3e be copious of sentence,  
 3it to þese clausis for to take bede  
 96 Which al into vertues schal 3oure 3ouþe lede.  
 In þis writynge, þou3 þer be no date,  
 Yf ou3t be mys in word, sillable, or dede,  
 I submitte me to correccioun *withoute* ony debate.
- [Page 155.]  
 Young children, pray take heed to my little ballad, which shall lead you into all virtues.  
 My mistakes I submit to correction.

Thus eendith þe book of curteisie þat is clepid  
 stans puer ad mensam.



## NOTES TO THE BOOK OF CURTASYE.

p. 188, l. 377-8, *Statut.* The only Statute about horse-hire that I can find, is 20 Ric. II. cap. 5, A.D. 1396-7, given below. I suppose the *Fourpens* of l. 376 of the *Boke of Curtasye* was the price fixed by "the kyngis crye" or Proclamation, l. 378, or by the sheriff or magistrates in accordance with it as the "due Agreement to the party" required by the Statute.

"*Item.* Forasmuch as the Commons have made Complaint, that many great Mischiefs Extortions & Oppressions be done by divers people of evil Condition, which of their own Authority take & cause to be taken royally Horses and other Things, and Beasts out of their Wains Carts and Houses, saying & devising that they be to ride on hasty Messages & Business, where of Truth they be in no wise privy of any Business or Message, but only in Deceit & Subtilty, by such Colour and Device to take Horses, and the said Horses hastily to ride & evil entreat, having no Manner of Conscience or Compassion in this Behalf, so that the said Horses become all spoiled and fundered, paying no manner of Thing nor penny for the same, nor giving them any manner of sustenance; and also that some such manner of people, changing & altering their Names, do take and ride such Horses, and carry them far from thence to another Place, so that they to whom they belong, can never after by any mean see, have again, nor know their said Horses where they be, to the great Mischief Loss Impoverishment & Hindrance of the King's poor People, their Husbandry, and of their Living: Our Lord the King willing, for the Quietness and Ease of his People, to provide Remedy thereof, will & hath ordained, That none from henceforth shall take any such Horse or Beast in Such Manner, against the Consent of them to whom they be; and if any that do, and have no sufficient Warrant nor Authority of the King, he shall be taken and imprisoned till he hath made due Agreement to the Party."

That this seizing of horses for the pretended use of the king was no fancied grievance, even in much later times, is testified by Roger Ascham's letter to Lord Chancellor Wriothesley (? in 1546 A.D.) complaining of an audacious seizure of the horse of the invalid Master of Peterhouse, Cambridge, on the plea that it was to carry the king's fish, whereas the seizer's own servant was the nag's real burden: "tentatum est per hominem apud nos valde turbulentum, nomine Maxwellum." *Ascham's Works*, ed. Giles, v. 1, p. 99. In vols. ix., x., and xi. of Rymer, I find no Proclamation or Edict about horse-hire. In 1413 Henry V.'s *Herbergeator* is to pro-

vide Henry le Scrop, knight, with all that he wants "Proviso semper quòd idem Henricus pro hujusmodi Fœnis, Equis, Carectis, Cariagiis, & aliis necessariis, per se, seu Homines & Servientes suos prædictos, ibidem capiendis, fideliter solvat & satisfaciat, ut est justum." *Rymer*, ix. 13.

The general rule shown by the documents in *Rymer* is that reasonable payments be made.

*De Equis pro Cariagio Gunnorum Regis capiendis.*

A.D. 1413 (1 Sept.), An. l. Hen. V. Pat. 1, Hen. V. p. 3, m. 19. Rex, Dilectis sibi, *Johanni Sprong*, Armigero, & *Johanni Louth* Clerico, Salutem.

Sciatis quod Assignavimus vos, conjunctim & divisim, ad tot Equos, Boves, Plaustra, & Carectas, quot pro Cariagio certorum Gunnorum nostrorum, ac aliarum Rerum pro eisdem Gunnis necessarium, a Villa Bristollie usque Civitatem nostram Londoniæ, indiguerint, tàm infra Libertates, quàm extea (Feodo Ecclesiæ dumtaxat excepto) pro Denariis nostris, in hac parte rationabiliter solvendis Capiendum & Providendum. *Rymer*, ix. p. 49.

So in 1417 the order to have six wings plucked from the wing of every goose (except those commonly called *Brodoges*—? brood geese—) to make arrows for our archers, says that the feathers are *rationabiliter solvendis*. See also p. 653.

p. 188, l. 358. *The stuarde* and his *stafe*. Cp. Cavendish's Life of Wolsey (ed. Singer, i. 34), "he had in his hall, daily, three especial tables furnished with three principal officers; that is to say, a Steward, which was always a dean or a priest; a Treasurer, a knight; and a Comptroller, an esquire; *which bare always within his house their white staves*."

"Then had he a cofferer, three marshals, two yeomen ushers, two grooms, and an almoner. He had in the hall-kitchen two clerks of his kitchen, a clerk comptroller, a surveyor of the dresser, a clerk of his spicery." See the rest of Wolsey's household officers, p. 34-9.

p. 190, l. 409. *Ale*. See in *Notes on the Months*, p. 418, the Song "Bryng us in good ale," copied from the MS. song-book of an Ipswich Minstrel of the 15th century, read by Mr Thomas Wright before the British Archaeological Association, August, 1864, and afterwards published in *The Gentleman's Magazine*. P.S.—The song was first printed complete in Mr Wright's edition of *Songs & Carols* for the Percy Society, 1847, p. 63. He gives Ritson's incomplete copy from Harl. MS. 541, at p. 102.

Bryng us in good ale, and bryng us in good ale;  
For owr blyssyd lady sak, bryng us in good ale.

Bryng us in no browne bred, fore that is made of hrane,  
Nor bryng us in no whyt bred, for therin is no game;  
But bryng us in good ale.

Bryng us in no befe, for there is many honys;  
But bryng us in good ale, for that goth downe at onys,  
And bryng us in good ale.

Bryng us in no bacon, for that is passing fate ;  
 But bryng us in good ale, and gyfe us i-nought of that,  
 And bryng us in good ale.

Bryng us in no mutton, for that is often lene,  
 Nor bryng us in no tryfes, for thei be syldom clene ;  
 But bryng us in good ale.

Bryng us in no eggys, for ther ar many schelles ;  
 But bryng us in good ale, and gyfe us no[th]yng ellys,  
 And bryng ns in good ale.

Bryng vs in no butter, for therin ar many herys  
 Nor bryng us in no pygges flesch, for that will make us borys ;  
 But bryng us in good ale.

Bryng us in no podynges, for therin is al Godes-good ;  
 Nor bryng us in no venesen, for that is not for ovr blood ;  
 But hryng us in good ale.

Bryng us in no capons flesch, for that is ofte der ;  
 Nor bryng us in no dokes flesche, for thei slober in the mer ;  
 But bryng us in good ale.

See also the other ale song at p. 81 of the same volume, with the burden

Doll thi ale, doll ; doll thi ale, doll ;  
 Ale mak many a mane to have a doty poll.

p. 191, l. 435, *Gromes*. "the said four gromes, or two of them at the least, shall repaire and be in the King's privy chamber, at the farthest between six and seven of the clock in the morning, or sooner, as they shall have knowledge that the King's highnesse intendeth to be up early in the morning ; which gromes so comen to the said chamber, shall not onely avoyde the pallets, but also make ready the fire, dresse and straw the chamber, purgeing and makeing cleane of the same of all manner of filthy-nesse, in such manner and wise as the King's highnesse, at his uprising and coming thereunto, may finde the said chamber pure, cleane, whollsome, and mecte, without any displeasent aire or thing, as the health, commodity, and pleasure of his most noble person doth require." *Household Ordinances*, p. 155, cap. 56, A.D. 1526.

## INDEX.

To save the repetition of *p.* and *l.* for *page* and *line*, I have adopted Mr Morris's plan, in his Chaucer Glossary, of putting a / between the numbers of the page and line, so that 5 / 115 stands for page 5, line 115. Where no line is named, then *p.* for *page* is prefixed. The French references are to Cotgrave, except where otherwise specified. The Index, though long, does not pretend to completeness. The explanations of words given in the notes to the text are not repeated here.

- Abbots of Westminster & Tintern  
not to sit together, 76/1141-4.
- Abbot with a mitre, 70/1013,  
72/1051; without one, L. 1015;  
72/1059.
- A B C of Aristotle, p. 260, p. 258.
- A bofe, 216/9, above.
- Abrayde, 277/52, upbraid.
- Abremon, a fish, p. 113.
- A-brode, 62/906, spread open.
- Abstinence, 8/108; 153/6.
- Abylle, 267/44, fit, convenient,  
heseeming; L. *habilis*, suitable,  
fit.
- Accounts, yearly, taken to the  
Auditor, 196/590.
- Achatis, 201/555, purchases. Fr.  
*achet*, a bargain, or purchase.  
Cotgrave.
- Addes, 153/11, adze.
- Aduertence, p. 277, attention, re-  
spect, reverence.
- Affection, 52/763, disposition.
- After-dinner nap, 65/947-54, to  
be taken standing against a  
cupboard, p. 128.
- Ages of man, the four, p. 53, p.  
104.
- Ahuna, a monster of the sea, p.  
114.
- Alay, 16/232, temper.
- Alaye, p. 151, carve.
- Aldermen, the old, rank above the  
young, 77/1157.
- Ale; is to be 5 days old, 12/178;  
p. 92; 154/19. Fr. *Gutale* ou  
*Guttale*. Ale, good Ale. Cot.
- Ale or wine, the sauce for capons,  
26/411.
- Algate, 26/400, always.
- Aliene, 75/1109, foreigners.
- Alle, p. 216, No. ix. hall.
- Allhallows Day, fires in hall begin  
on, 189/393.



- Allhallowsday, 205/837.
- Alloft, 69/996, above, over the vessel of herbs.
- Almandes, 5/74, almonds.
- Almond, 44/625, a whelk's operculum.
- Almonds, good against sour food, 8/102; eat it with raw fruit, 153/1.
- Almond, iardyne, cream of, 52/744; cream and milk of, 35/520; cream of, 49/705; 56/825; 157/8; p. 167, last line.
- Almoner, his duties, 201/729; to remove a towel, 204/814.
- Alms to be given to the poor, p. 216, No. viii.
- Alms-dish, 23/346; 200/687; 201/730; loaf for, 202/731; it has the leavings in the lord's cup, 203/787, and a piece of everything heis served with, 204/799. See John Fitz Roberts's account for altering and ornamenting an almsdish for Hen. VI., that belonged to the *Duk d'Excestre*, in Rymer X. 388, col. i.
- Aloes epatick, 135/12; Fr. *hepatique*, Liuer-helping; comforting a whole, or curing a diseased, liuer. Cot.
- Als, 197/599, also.
- Altar, minister at the high, with both hands, 182/167.
- Alycaunt, p. 86, p. 89, a wine.
- Amber, 141/3; *adj.* 49/699.
- Amberdegrece, 132/9, a scent.
- Angel and 3 Shepherds, device of, 49/702.
- Anger, avoid, 236/764.
- Anhonest, 180/96, unmannerly, improper; 180/124, unpolite.
- Annaunciande, 201/705, announcing, who announces guests?
- Answer sensibly, 252/71.
- Answer, servants mustn't, 215/13.
- Ape tied with a clog, 180/108.
- Apparel, rules for, 214/159, &c.
- Apple fritter, 33/502, &c.
- Apple, a raw, cures indigestion, 153/5; and the fumes of drink, 8/105.
- Apples, 52/757; 55/813; 152/19. "The dyvell choke hym, he hath eaten all the *appels* alone." Palsgrave, p. 484, col. 2.
- Apples and pears roasted, 164/17, &c.
- Apprentise of lawe, rank of, 73/1070.
- Apprentices, thievish, hanging good for, p. 125.
- Apys mow, 179/59; apes grimace.
- Aquarius*, p. 199, the Ewerer or Water-bearer.
- Aquetons, 197/597, acquittance.
- Ar, 201/710, before.
- Archbishop, 72/1047.
- Archbishop ranks with a prince, 70/1010; is to dine alone, 171/4.
- Archdeacon, rank of, 70/1016; 72/1060.
- Areche, 19/290, retch?
- Areise, 43/609, tear off?
- Arere, 26/407, cut.
- Areyse, 27/418, 425; 28/429, &c.; tear or cut off.
- Aristotle's A B C*, p. 260, p. 258.
- Arm, don't claw it, 193/329.
- Armes, servauntes of, 156/28, ? in livery, or men-at-arms.

- Artificers, rich ; rank of, 71/1037.  
 Asche, 45/643, ask.  
 Ashore, 5/71, slantwise, aslope ;  
 20/299, astraddle.  
 Asise, 60/879, way, manner.  
 Aslout, 39/560 ; aslant.  
 Aspidochelon, a great whale-fisshe,  
 p. 114.  
 Assaying bread, by the panter,  
 200/691 ; water, 201/702 ;  
 meat, by the sewer, 202/764.  
*See* Credence, and Tasting.  
 Asseles, 196/566, sets the lord's  
 seal to.  
 Astate, 185/276 ; rank.  
 At, 256/182, with ; 184/242, that.  
 Aþer, 200/689, either, each.  
 Attend at school, 209/21.  
 Attirling, 287/41, shrew ; A.S.  
*Attor, Ater*, poison.  
 Atwytynge, 18/274, twitting,  
 blaming others.  
 Audibly, speak, 235/687.  
 Auditor, the lord's, all officers to  
 account to, once a year, 196/  
 587-94.  
 Aunterose, p. 260, l. A, venture-  
 some.  
 Aurata (a fish), p. 114.  
 Autumn, the device of, 53/766 ;  
 p. 54.  
 Ave, 48/692.  
 Ave-Maria, 181/147.  
 Aveyner, his duties, p. 197.  
 Advise, 35/525, opinion, learning.  
 Awoydes, 204/821, removes, puts  
 off.  
 Ayselle, 42/596, a kind of vine-  
 gar.  
 Baase (the fish), 58/842. *See*  
 Base,  
 Babulle, 1/12. Au fol la marotte.  
 Prov. We say also, Giue the  
 foole his *bable* ; or what's a  
 foole without a *bable*? Cotgrave,  
 under *fol*.  
 Back ; turn it on no one, 253/90 ;  
 not on him you give a cup to,  
 180/121.  
 Backbite no man, 272/99.  
 Bacon and peas, 54/797.  
 Bailiffs of a city, rank of, 71/  
 1033.  
 Bailiffs of farms, &c., to be talked  
 to pleasantly, p. 218, No. xvi.  
 Baked herrings with sugar, 166/7.  
 Bakemete, 54/802, meat-pie.  
 Bake metes, 30/476-7, game pies,  
 &c. ; ? sweet pies, 54/809 ; how  
 to carve, 159/19 ; how assayed,  
 203/771-6.  
 Baker, gets money from the  
 treasurer, 196/582 ; his duties,  
 198/623-28.  
 Bakes, 179/60, as *bokes*, bulges,  
 stuffs.  
 Balena, a whale or mermaid, pp.  
 115, 123, 119, last line.  
 Banker, 63/924, cloth to cover  
 a bench.  
 Barbe, p. 151, cut up.  
 Barme, 61/891, bosom.  
 Barnard's blowe, p. 126, a secret  
 blow by a highwayman.  
 Baron, 70/1013, 72/1051 ;\* of  
 the Exchequer, 70/1014 ; 72/  
 /1061.  
 Baron of the Exchequer, appeal  
 lies to, from an Auditor, 196/  
 594.  
 Base, the fish, 51/735 ; 166/13 ;  
 167/6.  
 Bason, 63/926, washing basin.

- Basshe, 45 / 645, be abashed, ashamed.
- Bastard, 9/119 ; 89/7 ; 153/20 ; a sweet wine.
- Bate, 182/188, quarrelling.
- Bath, how to make one, p. 66-7 ; a medicated one, p. 67-9.
- Bayle, 196/576, bailiff.
- Bearer of meat to stand or kneel as the sewer does, 203/777.
- Beastlynes, 232/460 ; nasty practise, t. i., gnawing bones.
- Beaver, considered as a fish, 37/547. "The beuer, whose hinder feet and taile onlie are supposed to be fish. Certes the taile of this beast is like vnto a thin whetstone, as the bodie vnto a monstereous rat. . It is also reported that their said tailles are a delicate fish." Harrison, *Desc. Brit.*, i. 225, col. 2. See Giraldus Cambrensis, *Works*, vol. v. p. 59, ed. 1867.
- Beckoning, don't use it, 184/249.
- Bed, how to undress a lord for, p. 65-6.
- Bed and Bedroom, how to air and prepare, 63/919-30.
- Bed, offer your bed-fellow his choice of place in, 185/293.
- Bed, prayer on going to, 240 / 987-8.
- Bedchamber, how to prepare your master's, pp. 63, 65.
- Bedchamber door, lights stuck on, 193/509.
- Bedes, for church service, 63/918.
- Bedrooms, don't sleep in ratty ones, or those deprived of sun, p. 132.
- Beds of straw, &c., to be 9 ft. long and 7 ft. broad, 191/436-7.
- Beef, 34/517 ; 48/688 ; p. 105 ; powdered, p. 102, note to l. 694 ; stewed, 54/798 ; how to carve, 25 / 393. "Touchyng the *befe*: I do estymate him of nature melancolyke, and engendre and produce grosse blode well norisshyng folkes robustes and of stronge complexion, whiche occupy them in great busynesse and payne."—*Du Guez's Introductory*, p. 1071.
- Behight, 41/605, direct.
- Behoveable, 54/804, necessary.
- Belch not, 178/113.
- Believe fair words, don't, 183/205.
- Bengwine, p. 134 ; Fr. *Benjoin*, the aromatical gumme called Benjamin or Benzoin. Cot.
- Benym, 24/368, deprive.
- Be-sene, 21/318, become, suit.
- Bete, 63/930, feed, nourish.
- Bete, 67/990, remedy, cure.
- Betowre, 37 / 541, the bittern, q. v. ; 49/696 ; how to carve, 27/421 ; p. 162.
- Better, give place to your, 253/89.
- Bilgres, 69/994 ; bugloss? p. 110.
- Birds, how to carve, pp. 25-8, 30-1, 161-62.
- Birth to be looked to first, 74/1105.
- Bishop, rank of, 70/1012.
- Bisketes, 231/389, biscuits.
- Bite not thy bread, 178/49.
- Bithe, 47/678, are.
- Biting your lips is bad, 178/89.
- Bittern, to unjoint or carve, p. 162 ; 165/1. See Betowre.

- Blaknes, 278, 277/49, black dirt.
- Blamanger and Blanchmanger, p. 101, bottom. *See* Blanger mangere and Blaunche manger.
- Blandrelles, 157/10, white apples. *See* Blaundrelles.
- Blanger mangere, 49/693.
- Blanked, 169/23. *See* Blanket.
- Blanket, 64/935. Fr. *blanchet*.  
A blanket for a bed; also, white woollen cloth. Cot. Is to be kept in the privy.
- Blasting, 20/304; cp. Fr. *Petarade*: f. Gunshot of farting. Cotgrave.
- Blaunche manger, 157/3.
- Blaunche powder, 6/80, note; p. 85, p. 10, note 3; 152/26.
- Blaunderelle, 50/714; Blawnderelles, 6/79; p. 85, white apples.
- Blaynshe powder, p. 10, note 3.
- Blow and puff not, 20/303.
- Blow not like a broken-winded horse, 210/53.
- Blow, don't, on your food to cool it, 180/111.
- Blood Royal, Babees of, *The Babees Book*, addressed to, 250/15.
- Blood Royal ranks above property, 74/1094; 171/16.
- Blush or change colour, don't, 187/337.
- Blysse, 266/12, 23, make the sign of the cross on or over.
- Blythe, 178/47, joy? = (in) faith.
- Boar pasty, 31/489.
- Boar, 48/686.
- Boards of the privy to be covered with green cloth, 63/932.
- Body to be kept upright, 235/676.
- Bof, 202/750, ?not "*boeuf*, an ox, a beefe," Cot.; but *a-bof* (dishes), above, up.
- Boke, the, 185/261.
- Bold, don't be too, p. 258, p. 260, l. B.
- Bolde, 192/454, finely?
- Bole Armoniake, p. 134. Fr. *Armoniac*, a gumme spring from the Cyrenian *Ferula* or *Fennell-giant*.
- Bolkyng, 19/298, belching. A.S. *bealcian*, to belch; to bolke belche, *roucter*. Palsgrave.
- Bombace, p. 139, cotton; cp. bombast.
- Boner, 183/191. Fr. *bonaire*, gentle, courteous, affable. Cot.
- Bones not to be thrown on the floor, 269/79; to be put into voyders, 230/358.
- Bonet, 169/29, nightcap.
- Book, stick to it well, 227/168.
- Boorde, p. 260, l. B, joke, play. "To *bourde* or iape with one in sports, *truffler*, *border*, *iouncher*." Palsgrave.
- Boorde, bourde, p. 258, p. 260, l. B; Fr. *bourder*, to toy, trifle, dally; bourd or ieast with. Cot.
- Borbotha, a slippery fish, p. 115.
- Borelothe, 30/468, table-cloth.
- Bordclothe, 4/62, table-cloth. "The table clothes and towelles shoulde be chaunged twyes every weeke at the leste; more if neede require." H. Ord. p. 85.
- Borde, 178/31, table.
- Borde, Andrew, extracts from, pp. 89, 91, &c.; on *Sleep, Rising, and Dress*, p. 128-32.
- Border, p. 151, carve.
- Botery, 12/176-7.

- Botre, 193/489, buttery.
- Bouzt, 13/188, 189 *n*, 191, fold ; 268/27, 29 ; 269/17 ; ' *Mal feru*, A malander in the *bought* of a horse's knee.' Cot.
- Bow when you answer, 253/83.
- Boxyng, p. 124, smacking the face.
- Boys to walk two and two from school, not hooping and hallooming, 228/238-264.
- Boystous, 257/195, rude ; Boystows, *rudis*. Prompt.
- Boystousnesse, 256/182 ; *Ruditias*. Prompt.
- Brade, 199/666, broad.
- Bragot, 55/817 ; p. 107.
- Brandrels, 152 / 24, blaundrels, white apples.
- Brawn of boar, 48/686 ; 54/796.
- Brawn of a capon, 163/27.
- Brawn, how to carve, 24 / 378 ; pp. 94, 156.
- Brayd, at a, 15 / 226, sharply, quickly.
- Brayde, 13 / 188, instant, same time.
- Brayde, 11/146, start, slip.
- Brayde, at a, 200/678, quickly.
- Bread to be cut, not broken, 255/141 ; 267/24 ; at dinner to be cut in two, 178/35.
- Bread, how to chop, p. 4 ; how assayed, 200/691-2.
- Bread and cheese, 55/815.
- Break your bread, 178/51.
- Break not wind, 20/304.
- Bream, 51 / 736 ; 58 / 841 ; pp. 108, 115.
- Bream, sea-, 40/578 ; 49/698 ; 52/746 ; 58/848.
- Breath, as it may smell, keep your mouth shut, 211/69.
- Breche (? drawers), clean, 60/871.
- Brede, 13/192, breadth.
- Breke, 21/315 ; p. 151, carve venison.
- Breke a cony, 29/448.
- Bresewort, 68/993. " In the curious treatise of the virtues of herbs, Royal MS. 18 A. vi., fol. 72 b, is mentioned ' *brysewort*, or bon-wort, or daysye, *consolida minor*, good to breke bocches." Way, Promptorium, p. 52, note <sup>1</sup>.
- Brest, 19/288, ? for fist.
- Bret, Brett, a fish, 41/583 ; 51 / 735 ; 59/852. Fr. *Limaude*, f. A Burt or *Bret*-fish. Cot.
- Breue, 190/413, book, score-up.
- Breuet, 194/536, briefed (with green wax).
- Breve, 195/553, set down in writing, keep accounts of.
- Brewe, 36/540, a bird ; 49/706 ; 157/8 ; how to carve, 27/422 ; to untache or carve, p. 160.
- Bridelid, 278/33, ? a wrong reading ; or, with food in one's mouth ; Fr. *boire sa bride*, A horse to draw vp his bit into his mouth with his tongue. Cot.
- Broach a pipe of wine, how to, 5/69, p. 152.
- Broche ?, 161/6.
- Broiled herrings, 52/748.
- Broke-lempk, 69/994 ; p. 68, note.
- Broken, 214/158, with hernia ?, E. Engl. *bursten*.
- Broken meat or food for the poor, 202/739.
- Brothellis, 267/38, low rude people. Fr. *bordeau*, a brothell

- or bawdie house; *bordelier*, a wencher, haunter of baudie-houses. Cotgrave. Adulterous friars are called *brothels* in Piers Plowman's Crede, l. 1540, v. 2, p. 496, ed. Wright. See Arth. and Merlin, &c., in Halliwell;—a blackguard, Towneley Mysteries, p. 142, "stynt, *brodels*, youre dyn."
- Browsers, 199/663; *brower* must be a napkin or doyley. "Can it be a bib put on when taking *broo* or broth in, against the spilling of what is supped up? (Or rather, wiping the fingers from the *broo*, sauce, or gravy, that men dipped their bits of meat into.) Halliwell curiously explains *broo*, top of anything. 'Tak a knyf & shere it smal, the rute and alle, & sethe it in water; take the *broo* of that, and late it go thorow a clowte'—evidently the juice. Ital. *broda*, broth, swill for swine, dirt or mire; *brodare*, to cast broth upon."—H. Wedgwood.
- Browes, p. 160, last line; p. 173. A.S. *briv*, es.; m. Brewis, the small pieces of meat in broth; pottage, frumenty, &c., *briwan*, to brew. Somner.
- Brows, how to use the, 210/29; 213/132.
- Browynge, 179/75, broth, grease. See Browes.
- Brush your master well, 62/913; all robes lightly, 64/940-3; your cap, 228/78.
- Brushed (well), breeches, 60/873.
- Brydelynge, 19/288, ? the passage seems corrupt.
- Brytte, a fish, 166/12.
- Buche, 31 / 492, in squares. Sloane MS. 1315, reads "Custarde, enche square checke hit with your knyfe."
- Bufte, p. 133, leather made of buck's skin.
- Bulch not, 294/113.
- Bulk, 267/47. A.S. *bealcian*, to belch. "Bolkyng, *ructo*, eructo, orexo." Prompt.
- Bulke, 29 / 452, body, trunk; 159/16.
- BULLEYN, Wilyam; on Boxyng and Neckeweede, p. 124-7.
- Bultelle clothe, 12/164.
- Bun, 14/211; 15/218.
- Bushel of flour to make 20 loaves, 198/625-6.
- Business, attend to your own, 268 56.
- Bustard, 28/433; 37/541; p. 97; 49/695; p. 102; 157/4.
- Butler and Panter's duties, p. 152-1.
- Butler, his duties, 196/423-30; is the panter's mate, /425.
- Butt or fresh-water flounder, p. 115.
- Butter, sweet, of Claynos or hakeney, 39/559.
- Butter, one of the *fruits* to be eaten before dinner, 46/667-8.
- Butter and fruits to be eaten before dinner, 152/22.
- Butter, wholesome first and last, 7/89; 152/31.
- Butter, 7/89-92; p. 85; 152/20, 22.
- Buttler, p. 3, 140-1. 'Butler, the officer in charge of the *buttery* or collection of casks; as Pantler, the officer in charge of the pantry.' Wedgwood.
- Buying, swear & lie not in, 270/76.

- Bydene, 4/62, properly.
- Cabages, 35/521 ; p. 97 ; 159/29.
- Calf, boiled, on Easter-day, p. 160.
- Calves-foot jelly, 34/515.
- Calves-skin garments to be worn in summer, p. 139.
- Camamelle, 68/992, chamomile.
- Camelyne sauce, p. 36, note 6.
- Camphire, 135/13.
- Campolet wine, 153/20, p. 174.
- Cancer, the creuyce or cray-fish, p. 115.
- Candelarius*, 204 / 822-3, the chandler.
- Candle, one to each mess at dinner, 205/837.
- Candlemas-eve, squires' allowances stop on, 189/394 ; 205/837. "*Aujourd'huy Febvrier demain Chandelier*: Prov. (For Candlemas day is euer the second of Februarie.)" Cot.
- Candles, 34/510.
- Canel, 5/66 ; p. 84, a spout.
- Canelle, 11/142 ; 10/135 ; 153/24, 31 ; a spice.
- Canelle-boon, 29 / 449 ; 159/14. Fr. *Clavicules*, f. The kannell bones, channell bones, neckebones, craw-bones, extending (on each side one) from the bottom of the throat vnto the top of the shoulder. Cot. The merrythought of a bird. The haunchbones below correspond to the clavicles or kannell bones above.
- Canne, 266/4 ; cunne, 265/3, know.
- Cannelles, 152 / 15, channels, spouts.
- Canterbury, Bp. of, 73/1077. See Archbishop.
- Canterbury, the prior of, 77/1145.
- Cap, take it off before a lord, 262/4 ; before your better, 274/137 ; when speaking to any man, 226/80 ; be free of, 229/274, salute every one.
- Capitaius, a fish, p. 116.
- Capon, 48/689 ; 54/801 ; p. 106. "Of all meates the best and most utille to the body of man is of capons, chyckyns, faisantes, partriches, yonge partriches, *plouuiers*, *pigeons*, quailles, snites (*becasses*§), wodcockes, turtell doves, knyghtes (*cheualiers*†), stares, sparrows, or *passeriaux*, finches, *verdieres*,\* *frions*, gold finches, linotes, thrushe, felde fare, and all kyndes of small byrdes (whereof the names ben without nombre) ben metes norisshyng and of litell degestion, and that engendre good blode." *Du Guez's Introductorie*, p. 1071-2.
- Capon, how to carve, 26/409 ; to sauce or carve, p. 161.
- Capon, boiled, 54/799 ; verjuice its sauce, 36/534. "Capons boyled, and chekyns, ben lykewyse of good nourysshing, and doth engender good blode, but whan they ben rosted, they ben somewhat more colloryke, and all maner of meates rosted, the red, the other blacke. Cot. \* *Verdrier*, m. The Gold-hammer, Yellowhammer, Yowrling. Cot.
- § *Becasse*, f. A Woodcock. *Becasse petite*, A Snite or Snipe. † *Chevalier*, A daintie Water-fowle, as big as a Stock-doue, and of two kinds, the one

- tone more the tother lesse." Du Guez, p. 1071.
- Capon pie, 31/481.
- Capon, roast, how to carve, 161/21.
- Cappe, 65/964, night-cap.
- Cappe-de-huse, 62/909, ? cape for the house, Fr. *cappe*, a short cloake, or loose and sleeuelesse garment, which hath, instead of a Cape, a Capuche behind it. Cot.
- Caprik, 9/120; p. 91, No. 13, a sweet wine.
- Caraway, Careawey, 6/79, caraway-seeds, (from *kapov*, cumin; Lat. *careum*; Ar. *karawiya*; Mahn,) 50/713; 152/25; 157/11; 231/389.
- Cardinal, rank of a, 70/1008; 72/1045.
- Carding, eschew, 234/599.
- Cariage, p. 280, 279, l. 59, act of carrying.
- Carowayes, 231/389, caraway-seed cakes.
- Carp, 40/578; 51/735; 58/842; p. 116.<sup>1</sup>
- Carpentes, 169/9, 18, carpets under foot? See carpettes for cupbordes, l. 19.
- Carpets, about a bed, windows, &c., 63/927-8.
- Carry your body up, 213/133.
- Carver, his duties, p. 24-32; as-says the wine?, and carves the lord's meat, 209/789-95. See Keruyng.
- Carving of fish, p. 166-7; of flesh, p. 157.
- Carving-knives, panter to lay two, 200/673.
- Cast, 197/607, armful or pitch-fork-full.
- Cast of bread, 198/631, ? armful, lot taken up at one heave.
- Cast up thy bed, 226/61.
- Castles, the Receiver sees to repairs of, 197/601.
- Castyng, 187/336, ?
- Cat, don't stroke it at meals, 180/107.
- Cate, 274/143, ? cat (*hond*, hound).
- Cathedral prior sits above others, 77/1150.
- Cato quoted, 232/491.
- Cats to be turned out of bedrooms, 66/969; p. 108, p. 109; 169/34.
- Caucius, a fish, p. 116.
- Cawdrons, the sauce for swans, p. 159, last line. See Chawdon.
- Cellar, yeomen of the, 21/311.
- Celle, 12/176, cell.
- Cena Domini*, fires in hall stop on, 95/398; Shere Thursday or Maundy Thursday, day before Good Friday.
- Cetus, the greatest whale, p. 116.
- Ceuy, 55/822, chive-sauce.
- Chafer, 192/466, a heater.
- Chaffire, 45/639. "Chafowre to make whote a thyng, as watur. *Calefactorium*." Prompt.
- Chalcedony to be worn in a ring, p. 141.
- Chambur, bason for, 66/971.
- Chamberlain, the duties of one, p. 59-69, p. 168-9.

<sup>1</sup> And of the carp, that it is a deyntous fyssche, but there ben but fewe in Englonde; and therefore I wryte the lasse of hym.—*Jul. Berners's Book of St Alban's*.



- Chancellor, his duties, 195/563.
- Chandelew, 199/642, chandlery, stock of candles.
- Chandler, his bread, 198/628; his duties, p. 204-11.
- Change (countenance or temper?) don't, 270/92
- Char, 180/96, turn, trick.
- Chardequynce, 152/21, chare de quynces, 5/75; conserve of quinces, or quince marmalade. *Charequynses*, 10<sup>th</sup>. the boke, vs—2<sup>l</sup>., 10s. A.D. 1468, *H. Ord.* p. 103. Marmalet of Quinces. R. Holme, Bk. III., p. 80, col. 1.
- Charger, 44/633; Chargere, 26/405, a kind of dish.
- Charity, the fruits of, p. 233, cap. x.
- Charlet, 159/28; p. 173.
- Chat after meals, p. 142.
- Chatter, don't, 253/94; 257/186.
- Chaufing-dysshe, 162/2, heating dish.
- Chaundeler, 299/492, chandler, officer in charge of the candles.
- Chawden (chawdron, p. 161), the sauce for swan, 36/535; p. 97.
- Chawdwyn, the sauce for swans, 48/688.
- Cheeks, don't puff 'em out, 211/65; don't stuff yours out like an ape's, 179/57.
- Cheese, hard, 6/78; 7/85; p. 84, p. 85; 7/84-8; 8/102; 152/24.
- Cheese, 55/815; 152/19.
- Cheese, the best cement for broken pets, p. 85. Ruin cheese, p. 7, note<sup>2</sup>; 85/3.
- Cheese, have a clean trencher for, 256/183.
- Cheese, fruit, and biscuits, for dessert, 231/388.
- Cheese, only take a little, 269/76. *Fourmage est bon quand il y en a peu*: Prov. The lesse cheese the better; or, cheese is good when a miserable hand giues it. Cot.
- Chekker, 196/594, the Exchequer.
- Chekkid, 25/389; 31/492, cut into chequers or squares.
- Chekmate, 8/96.
- Cherlis, 267/34, 48, peor, rude, and rough people.
- Cherries, 6/77; 46/668; 152/23.
- Chet, 199/501, coarse bread; chet loaf to the almsdish, 200/687.
- Cheven (Cheuene, 166/13), chub, 51/736, note<sup>3</sup>; 58/842. Fr. *Vilain*, the *Cheuin* or Pollard fish (called so because it feedes vpon nothing but filth). Cot. *See* Chub.
- Cheve, 24/369, end.
- Chewettes, 161/4; p. 171; 173/3.
- Chicken, boiled, 54/799; roast, 54/808; chicken pie, 31/481.
- Chickens, how to carve, 25/397.
- Chide not, 253/102. "I lyken the to a sowe, for thou arte ever chyding at mete." Palsgrave, p. 611, col. 2.
- Chief Justices, rank of, 70/1014; 72/1052.
- Childe, or young page, the King's, 75/1124.
- Children soon get angry, 279, 280/81; 281, 282/85; give 'em an apple then, 280/84; and a rod when they're insolent, 281, 282/89.
- Children, to wait on their parents at dinner before eating their own, 229/297; 231/423; the duty of, 241/5.

- Chin, hold it up when you speak, 262/14; keep it clean at dinner, 272/107.
- Chine, 25/393. Fr. *Eschinon*: m. The *Chyne*, or vpper part of the backe betweene the shoulders. *Eschine*: f. The *Chyne*, backe bone, ridge of the backe. 1611, Cotgrave.
- Chip, p. 84; 152/4. "I chyppe breed. *Je chappelle du payn . . . je descrouste du pain . . . and je payre du pain.* Chyppe the breed at ones, for our gestes be come." Palsgrave, p. 484, col. 1. See "choppe" and "chyppere."
- Choke, don't, by drinking with your mouth full, 180/98.
- Choppe (loaves), 4/51; p. 184.
- Chub, p. 51, note 3. See Cheuen.
- Church, how to behave in, 233/332 (this is the part that would follow at the end of the *Booke of Demeanor*, p. 296).
- Church, behave well at; go to, 266/17.
- Chyme of a pipe, 152/18, rim.
- Chymné, 192/461, fire-place or brasier.
- Chyne, 5/70, rim of a cask.
- Chyne, 25/393; 159/15, 16, back, loin. See Chine.
- Chyne, p. 151, carve.
- Chynchynge, 153/11, pinching. Metaphorically "*chynchyn* or sparyn mekyllé, *perparco*." Prompt.
- Chyppere, 152/4, a knife to chip bread with.
- Cinnamon and salt as sauce for venison, &c., 37/542-3.
- Cinnamon, eaten with lamprey-pie, 44/636; with fish, 58/842, 847; 168/11.
- Cinnamon, 153/30.
- Cirypppe, 56/826, syrop.
- Civeye (chive sauce), hares and conies in, p. 309; 55/822.
- Clared wyne, 153/19.
- Clarey, 9/120; p. 91, No. 14; Clarrey, 153/21. Sp. *Clarea*: f. Clary drinke of hony and wine. Some say Muscadell, others call it Nectar or kingly drinke. 1591, Percivale, ed. Minsheu, 1623.
- Clarke of the crowne and th'es-chekere, 70/1019.
- Claryfynynge, 9/124.
- Claw, don't, 253/81; 262/18; 274/139.
- Claw not your head, &c., 18/279. "I clawe, as a man or beest dothe a thyng softly with his nayles. *Je grattigne . . . Clawe my backe, and I wyll clawe thy toe.*" Palsgrave.
- Claynos buttur, 39/559.
- Cleanse your spoon, 179/74.
- Clene, 262/28, fitting, courteous.
- Clerk of the Kitchen, 195/549; his duties, 195/553-62; gets money from the Treasurer, 196/579.
- Clof, 192/462, ?
- Cloke, 62/909, cloak.
- Cloos-howse, 80/1202, lock-up place for food.
- Cloth, how to lay the, 13/187, &c., 154/23; how to take it off the table, 231/399.
- Cloth, keep it clean, 269/61, 81; 272/123; 277/39; 278/40; don't wipe your knife on it, 272/122; or your nose, 263/53.

- Clothes, don't wipe your nose on, 210/48. *See* Apparel. "Graue clothes make dunces oftenseeme great clarkes." Cot., u. fol.
- Clothing of officers, given out by the clerk of the kitchen, 195/561; of lord and lady, by the chancellor, 195/563.
- Cloven-footed fowls, skin of, is unwholesome, 163/18.
- Clowche, 33/503, belly? Not "clowchyn or clowe (clewe), *glomus, globus*." Prompt.
- Clutch at the best bit, don't, 263/29.
- Coat, long, 60/872.
- Cock and hen, p. 105.
- Cock, shooting at; girls not to go to, 289/81.
- Cockes, 24/375, cooks.
- Cod, 58/845; 168/12.
- Cod, how to carve, 40/576; names of, p. 99.
- Codling, a fish, p. 59, note; 167/7.
- Codware not to be clawed, 19/286; not to be exposed, 20/305.
- Coffyn, cofyn, 30/478; 31/481; 96/2, 22, &c., crust of a pie.
- Cold, head and feet to be kept from, p. 138.
- Cold fritter is not to be eaten, 33/502.
- Colericus*, 53/772; p. 54; p. 104.
- Colice, 56/824, broth.
- Collector, the Pope's, 70/1023; 72/1063.
- Cologne, the kings of, 50/712.
- Colombyne gynger, 10/131; Columbyne gyngre, 52/758; a kind of ginger. ? what.
- Coloure de rose, 9/114. *See* note there; it was a wine, p. 86, extract from the *Four Elements*.
- Colvering, 126/3, ?
- Comade, 96/4; sauce of whipped eggs and milk.
- Comb for the hair, 61/885.
- Comb your head often, p. 130; nothing recreateth the memorie more, p. 128.
- Comb your head, 266/14; do it 40 times every morning, p. 139.
- Comb your lord's head, 65/963; 169/2, 28.
- Comedies, 34/510, quaint dishes?
- Comenyng, 81/1220, communication, teaching.
- Comfit, 50/714; p. 104.
- Commende, 254/120. Fr. ? *Commander*, to recommend, or to commit ouer vnto the care of another. *A Dieu vous command*. God be with you. Cot.
- Commensed, 77/1154, taken a degree.
- Commyn, 46/671, communicate, talk.
- Companions, pray for your, 182/161.
- Compleccion, 52/764, device.
- Compleccyon, 165/11, disposition. My *compleccyon* a-cordyth to eny mete,  
But rere sopers j reflowse, lest j shuld surfett.  
Piers of Fullham, l. 197-8.
- Compostes, 5/75, note; 6/79; 152/21; 154/19. *See* Recipe 100, *Forme of Curry*, p. 49.
- Conche or muscle fish, p. 116.
- Concoction, 136/12, digestion.
- Concordable, 54/796, suitable.

- Condell, smale, 205/826, tapers.
- Confiteor*, the, to be learnt, 181/154.
- Confites, 5/75; p. 85, note to l. 82, comfits.
- Confyte, 51/731, a comfit.
- Congaudence, 79/1190, congratulation, satisfaction.
- Conger, 38/555; 41/583; 51/733; p. 117. Richard Sheale, the minstrel and ballad-writer, says,  
 "I can be content, if it be out of Lent,  
 A piece of beef to take, my hunger to aslake.  
 Both mutton and veal is good for Richard Sheale;  
 Though I look so grave, I were a very knave  
 If I would think scorn, either evening or morn,  
 Being in hunger, of fresh salmon or *congar*." Knight's Life of Caxton, p. 48.
- Conger, salt, 57/833.
- Congettynge, 80/1202, conspiracy, tricks.
- Connynge, 81/1220-2, learning, knowledge.
- Contrarotulator*, p. 195, the controller.
- Controller, his work, 195/541, 550; sits on the dais in hall, 177/20. "I feel by William Peacock that my nephew is not yet verily acquainted in the king's house, nor with the officers of the king's house he is not taken as none of that house; for the cooks be not charged to serve him, nor the sewer to give him no dish, for the sewer will not take no men no dishes till they be commanded by the *controller*." Clement Paston, P. Letters, ed. 1841, v. 1, p. 144 (XV. vol. iv. p. 53, orig.).
- Cold of speech, be, 272/98.
- Cony, 34/517; 49/694; 54/807; p. 107. "And conys, hares, rabbettes (*laperaus*), buckes, does, hartes, hyndes, robuckes, or lepers (*cheureus ou saillanz*), holde also all of melancoly." Du Guez.
- Cony, how to carve, 29/447; 159/12; to unlace or cut up, p. 162.
- Cony, with mustard and sugar, 36/538.
- Conyde, 274/149, learnt.
- Coochele, sea-snails, p. 116.
- Cook must obey a marshal, 79/1182.
- Cooks are always finding out new dishes, and nearly killing people, 33/505.
- Coost, 49/705, rank, succession? Fr. *coste à coste*, in euen ranke, side by side. Cotgrave.
- Cope, 200/689, covering, towel?
- Copious of talk, don't be, 279, 280/74.
- Coral, 141/3.
- Coretz, a fish, p. 119.
- Cornys, p. 218, No. xvi. different kinds of grain.
- Cote, 267/48, cot, cottage.
- Cottell, 168/14, cuttle-fish.
- Cotyn, cotton, to be kept in the privy, 64/935.
- Couche, 154/25.
- Couertoure, 202/753, dish-cover; 203/791, cover, or lid of a wine-cup.

- Cough not, 18/271 ; before your lord, 19/297.
- Counturpynt, 192/455, counterpane.
- Countyng, 194/535, reckoning.
- Courteous, be, to God, and kneel at prayers, 182/163.
- Courtesy came from heaven, 265/4 ; 266/6 ; all virtues are included in it, 265/8 ; 266/10.
- Courtesy and gentleness, delight in, 256/180.
- Courts (fines of), 196/577.
- Couth, 272/118, ? truly, indeed, A.S. *cudlice*, certainly.
- Couthe, 180/114, known persons, friends.
- Coverlet of a bed, 63/923.
- Cowd, 3/34-5, knew.
- Cowche, 13/187, and note, the undermost table-cloth.
- Cowheels mixed with jellies, 34/515.
- Crab, how to carve and dress one, 42/590-601 ; 165/14.
- Crache, 274/139 ; 275/14 ; 276/14. 'Clawyn or cracchyn, scratche, *Scalpo, scrato, grado.*' Cath. in P. Pl. ; '*Krauwen, krabben, kratsen, ofte schrabben.*' Hexham.
- Craftsmen, their duty, 242/12.
- Cram your mouth full, don't, 267/38.
- Crane (the bird), 36/539 ; p. 97 ; 49/695 ; p. 102, and note \*, for their fighting pigmies.
- Crane, how to carve, 28/429 ; or dysplaye, p. 162.
- Crane's trump, take care of it, 28/431 ; 157/4.
- Crawe, 19/288 ; Fr. *iabot*, the  
 · crawl, crop, or gorge of a bird.  
 Cotgrave.
- Crayfish, how it catches oysters, p. 115 ; p. 117 ; freshwater, p. 116. See Creues, &c.
- Cream, cow- and goat-, 7/81 ; 8/93 ; p. 85 ; 54/803 ; is bad, 152/27. "The dyvell burst him, he hath eaten all the *creame* without me." Palsgrave, p. 472, col. 2.
- Credence, 80/1195-9, tasting food against poison. Only done for the highest ranks, down to an earl.
- Creed, to be learnt by boys, 181/167.
- Creues (crayfish), how to carve, 167/20.
- Crevice, freshwater, 58/848.
- Crevis dewe douz, fresh-water cray-fish ; how to carve, 43/618.
- Crevisse, freshwater, 50/707.
- Crevisse or cray-fish, how to carve, 42/602 ; the names of, p. 100.
- Crochettis, 197/446, hooks.
- Cropyns, 24/362, crops, craws, of birds.
- Croscrest, 181/144.
- Cross, make the sign of, on rising, 266/12.
- Croups of birds indigestible, 158/7.
- Cruddes, 8/93, curds.
- Culpon, p. 151, cut into chunks.
- Cup, don't ask a friend to take it, but give it him yourself, 180/123.
- Cupboard, 13/193, table or stand for cups, &c., to stand on ; is in the marshal's charge, 189/390 ; to be covered with carpets, 169/19.

- Cupborde, bread and wine stand on (or in), 194/511.
- Cuppeborde in a bed-room, 63/928.
- Cups to be silver, p. 136.
- Cure, 78/1174, charge.
- Cure, 21/324; 31/492; custom, way of doing a thing.
- Cure, 28/435, directions.
- Cure, 24/375, craft, art, practice.
- Curies, 33/506, dodges, curious dishes.
- Curlew, 49/706; 157/8; how to carve, 27/421; to untache or cut up, p. 162. *Sir Degrevant*, l. 1406, p. 235, has flatt conyngus and newe, fesauntys and corelewe.
- Cursie, 230/328, curtsey.
- Curtains, bed-, 66/968; four to a bed, 191/448.
- Curtasye, the Boke of* (Sloane MS. 1986), p. 175-205.
- Curtesy, 156/9, a bow or salutation.
- Curtsey, make your, decently, 214/153.
- Cury, 34/513, dodges, sleights.
- Cushion, to be put on the chair, 61/882.
- Cuspis, p. 32, note<sup>2</sup>.
- Custade costable, 54/802, a kind of custard.
- Custard, how to carve, 31/492; p. 95; 157/1; 159/21.
- Cut your meat, don't bite it, 269/63.
- Cut, 153/22, cute wine.
- Cute, 9/118; p. 87, No. 3, a sweet wine. Fr. *Vin cwiect*. Wine boyled on the fire to a certaine thickness, and then put into vessells, and reserved for sweet sawces. Cot.
- Cute, 10/138, baking.
- Cute, gynger of iij, 11/159.
- Cuttid, 20/305, short-coated.
- Cuttlefish, p. 174.
- Cyueye (chive or onion sauce), hares and conies in, p. 309.
- Dace, 40/575; p. 98, bottom, 58/841; Fr. *Sophie* . . . the Dace or Dare-fish. Cot.
- Damsons, 6/77; p. 91, last note (wrongly headed, l. 177); 46/668; 152/23.
- Dangle like a bell, don't, 214/152.
- Dates, 5/74; p. 32, note<sup>2</sup>; 51/731; 152/21, 23; p. 167, last line.
- Dates in confite, 56/825; in confetes, 166/11; capte with mynceed ginger, 166/19.
- Daungeresnes, 46/659, of great difficulty.
- Daw, a, sticks its neck askew, 19/285.
- Dean, rank of, 70/1016; 72/1060.
- Debt, keep out of, 270/80.
- Degree, University; rank of clerks that have taken one, 71/1028.
- Degree (of men), the duty of each, p. 241-8.
- Delicatis, 50/713; delicacies.
- Delphin, or mermaid, p. 117.
- Demeanor, The Booke of*, p. 207-14.
- Demeene, 78/1163; learn ? or arrange.
- Demurely, walk in the streets, 275, 276/18.

- Depelled, 142/12, driven out.  
 Dere, 47/684, injury.  
 Deshe, 177/20, dais.  
 Despisers of courtesy are not fit to sit at table, 271/99 ; 181/137.  
 Dewe, 43/618, of water.  
 Dewgarde, leche, 157/10.  
 Dewynge, 51/732, service.  
 Deynteithe, 52/752, ? inclination, desire.  
 Deynteithly, 55/814, tooth-somely.  
 Deyntethe, adj., 50/723, tooth-some, dainty.  
 Deyntethe, sb., 194/527, dainty.  
 Diaper towel, 154/31.  
 Diapery, towelle of, 13/193.  
 Diatrion piperion, to be used against rheums, p. 137.  
 Dice, don't play at with your lord, 184/228.  
 Diet, 31/488, food.  
 Diet, one for every day, p. 133.  
 Difence, 278/51 ; ? Fr. *defense*, a reply, answer, argument, or allegation vsed, or vrged in defence. Cot. *Faire defense* is now to forbid, prohibit.  
 Dig your thumb into your nose, don't, 186/327.  
 Digest his stomak, his food, 65/947.  
 Digne, 71/1024, worthy.  
 Diligences, 79/1183, duties.  
 Dim sight, remedy for, p. 135.  
 Dinner described, from the laying of the cloth, 199/655, to the removal of the board and trestles, 204/822.  
 Dinner of flesh, p. 48-50, p. 100 ; of fish, p. 50-2 ; fruits to be eaten before, 46/667-8.  
 Dinner at noon, what the page is to do at, 254/128.  
 Dinner and supper, the only meals allowed, p. 141.  
 Dip your meat in the saltcellar, don't. *See* Salt.  
 Dipping slices of meat in sauce, 30/467.  
 Dirty clothes forbidden, 214/167.  
 Disallow, 29/1181.  
 Dise, 8/112, an adze ?  
 Dish taken away, don't ask for it again, 256/166 ; 179/83.  
 Dish-side, spoon not to be laid on, 179/73 ; 272/126.  
 Dismember, p. 151, carve.  
*Dispendu*, 201/543 (? eatables, &c., not money), disposed of, consumed.  
 Dispenses, 195/555, payments, expenditure.  
 Dissolute laughters, avoid, 275/20.  
 Diswere, 191/436, doubt. Hal-liwell. "Platt-D. *waren* is to certify, assure ; to prove by witnesses, &c. ; *wahr*, true, is, I believe, what is certain, sure. '*Ik will jou de Waarschup darvan bringen*,' I will bring you the truth of it, will bring you certain intelligence of it. *Diswere* then would be uncertainty."—H. Wedgwood.  
 Do to others as you would they'd do to you, 182/175.  
 Doctor of both laws (Canon and Civil), *utriusque juris*, 71/1024 ; 72/1062.  
 Doctor of divinity, rank of, 70/1021 ; 72/1062.  
 Doctors of 12 years' standing, rank above those of nine, 77/1153.

- Document, 250/6, L. *documentum*, that which teaches, a lesson, example for instruction; Fr. *document*, precept, instruction, admonition. Cot.
- Dog, don't claw yours at dinner, 179/87.
- Dogs to be turned out of bedrooms, 66/969; p. 109; 169/33. One reason for turning dogs out of the bedroom at night is given in Palsgrave's "I wolde gladly yonder dogge were hanged, he never ceased howlyng all nyght," p. 784-5.
- Donne, 169/23, down.
- Dorray, 51/733, dorée.
- Doree, the fish, 41/582; 166/12.
- Dosurs, 189/391, canopies, hangings: 'Docere of an halle: *Dorsorium, auleum.*' Prompt. Fr. *Vn dossier de pavillon*. The head of a Pauillion, or Canopie; the peece that hangs down at the head thereof. Cot.
- Doted daf (confounded ass, stupid fool), don't be one, 186/326.
- Doublet, 60/872; 61/892; 62/899; 169/1.
- Dou3, 43/618, soft, fresh (water).
- Dowcetes, dowcettes, a dish, 32/494; recipe at p. 309; 49/699; 54/809.
- Dowled drink not to be given to any one, 154/22; *dowld*, dead, flat (Yorkshire), Halliwell; not 'dollyd, sum what hotte, *tepefactus.*' Prompt.
- Dowt, 79/1188, fear.
- Doyle, 19/285, skew.
- Draconites, 141/7, the dragon-stone.
- Dragons herbe, p. 134.
- Drapery, 64/946, cloths.
- Draughtes, 25/388, drawn lines, scorings.
- Dresser, in the kitchen, 195/557.
- Dressing described, p. 168-9.
- Drink hinders digestion, p. 136.
- Drink, how assayed, 203/785-93; how to hand, 209/9.
- Drink not behind a man's back, 269/75; wipe your mouth first, 272/105.
- Drink all in the cup, don't, 185/289.
- Drink with full mouth, don't, 272/110.
- Drink moderately, 279, 280/73.
- Drivel not with your mouth, 19/292.
- Drop soup on your breast, don't, 279, 280/57.
- Dropyng from the eyes, 18/283.
- Drunk, don't get, p. 258, p. 260, l. D.
- Drunkelewe, 216\*/1, drunken; 'drunkelew *ebriosus.*' Prompt. For the *-lewe = -ly*; cp. 'delicat horses that ben holden for delyt, that they ben so faire, fat, and *costlewe.*' Chaucer. *Parsones Tale*, Poet. Works, ed. Morris, iii. 298; *costlewe* furring in here gownes, *ib.* p. 296.
- Drunken servants to be turned away, 216/1.
- Dry thy mouth before drinking, 179/81.
- Duchess, 200/680.
- Duck: see *Mallard*. 'The ducke maketh a clere voyce, & causeth man to lay gladdly in the armes & geueth hym the sede of nature / & the sewet is



- of it very good to souple all maner of paynes in the bodi of man."—*Noble Lyfe*. L. i. back.
- Dugard, leche, 50/708.
- Duke of royal blood, 70/1011 ; 72/1048.
- Duke to dine alone, 171/4.
- Dumb, don't be, 184/255.
- Dysfygure, p. 151, carve.
- Dysplaye, p. 151, carve.
- Earl, the lowest rank for which food was tasted by a servant, 80/1198.
- Ears, not to be picked, 267/33 ; 19/289 ; to be kept clean, 226/99.
- Ease (quiet), live in, 270/82.
- Easter-day feast, p. 160.
- Easter to Whit-sunday, feasts and service from, p. 160.
- Eat properly, 263/40 ; not hastily, 265/19.
- Eat, don't, till your mess is brought from the kitchen, 178/43.
- Echeola, the pearl-muscle, p. 117.
- Echynus, p. 118.
- Edwite, 278/28, blame, reproach, turt ; A.S. *edwitan*.
- Eel, salt, 57/834.
- Eels, bred from slime, p. 114.
- Eels, roasted, 41/588 ; 58/848.
- Eels, names of, p. 99.
- Eels, 50/719 ; 51/737 ; 55/820 ; p. 104
- Eernesful, p. 260, l. E ; A.S. *geornes*, earnestness ; *geornfull*, full of desire, eager, anxious.
- Egestyon, 130/15, evacuations.
- Edge, 22/335, edge.
- Eggs, 54/803 ; p. 106.
- Egre, 57/837 ; Fr. *aigre*, eagre, sharpe, tart, biting, sower. Cot.
- Egret, 36/539 ; p. 97 ; 49/697, great white heron.
- Egret, how to carve, 27/421 ; to breke or carve, p. 162.
- Elbows, don't lean on, at meals, 267/45 ; 180/125.
- Elemosinarius*, 201/728-9, the Almoner.
- Elenge, p. 260, l. E.
- Elephant, don't you snuffle like he does, 211/59.
- Elizabeth, 265/6 ; 266/8.
- Embrowyng, 255/147, dirtying, soiling ; Fr. *embroué*, bedurtied, soiled, defiled. Cot.
- Emperialle, 15/231, set out, deck, adorn.
- Emperor, after the pope, 70/1006.
- Empty your mouth before speaking, 263/59 ; 272/110 ; 277/32 ; 278/32.
- Enboce, p. 277, } l. 31, stuff out ;  
Enbrace, p. 278, }  
? Fr. *emboucher*, to mouth or put into the mouth of.
- Enbrowe, 22/331, dirty, soil.
- Enbrowide, 278/39 ; Fr. *embroué*, . . bedurtied, soiled, defiled. Cotgrave.
- Enbrowynge, 30/468, soiling, dirtying.
- Enclyne, 177/23, bow.
- End of a meal, what to do at the, 257/190.
- Endoured, 161/3, glazed ; endoured pygyons, 164/15.
- Endure, 35/524, make to last ; ' *endurer faut pour durer* : ' Pro. To dure we must endure. Cotgrave.
- Enemies, man's three, 183/219.

- Englandis gise, a flesh feast after, 35/526.  
 Enlased, 26/412, cut up, carved.  
 Enourmyd, 250/17, adorned; O. Fr. *aorner*, L. *adornare*; not *enorer*, honour.  
 Entende, 64/936, 939, attend.  
 Entendyng, 46/665, listening for orders, attending.  
 Enter a lord's place, how to, 252/58.  
 Entremete, 254/109, interfere.  
 Envy no one, 237/795.  
 Equal, give way to your, 185/276; don't play with him, 264/77.  
 Errands, going, 209/13.  
 Esox, a fish of the Danube, p. 118.  
 Esquyere, pe body, 70/1016, the Esquire of the King's person.  
 Est, 187/346, host.  
 Estate, how to lay or make, with a cloth, 13/192; 17/152; p. 92.  
 Estate, 65/957, rank, 73/1072-3.  
 Estates, 72/1053, ranks, persons.  
 Euwere, 199/641, water-bringer; L. *aquarius*, Fr. *eauvier*, is a gutter, channell, sinke, sewer, for the voiding of foule water. Cotgrave.  
 Evacuate yourself, p. 133.  
 Evy, 7/91, heavy.  
 Ewer, 64/937; 231/413, jug of water; water-bearer, 199/641, 655, &c.  
 Ewerer, strains water into the basins, 200/695.  
 Ewery, 13/192, drinking vessels.  
 Ewery, 154/31, stand or cupboard for water-vessels; how to dress it, 155/23.  
 Exonerate, 130/16, unload, disburden.  
 Eyebright water, 135/2.  
 Eyes, don't make 'em water by drinking too much, 263/57.  
 Eyes, don't wipe 'em on the table-cloth, 180/116; wash them, p. 134; p. 139.  
 Eyes, how to use the, 210/33.  
 Eyes, not to be cast about, 275, 276/8; 231/679.  
 Eyroun, p. 146, eggs.  
 Facche, 42/599, fetch.  
 Face, look in the man's you're speaking to, 262/16; 270/67.  
 Facett, 250/8; Fr. *Facet*: m. A Primmer, or Grammer for a young scholler. Cotgrave.  
 Facet, booke, *Facetus* (well-speaking, polite). Pr. Parv.  
 Falconers, 195/564.  
 Fall, if any one does, don't laugh at him, 184/235.  
 Familiar, don't be too, p. 258, F; p. 260, line F.  
 Familiar friends, always admit, p. 217, No. xv.  
 Fande, 76/1143, try, experience?  
 Fangle, 229/268, toy, thing.  
 Farsed, 23/358; p. 94, stuffed.  
 Fast now and then, p. 142.  
 Father and mother; worship and serve them, 182/172.  
 Fathers and mothers, duty of, 241/4.  
 Fatnes, 277/37; 278/39, fat, grease.  
 Faucettes, 152/16, taps.  
 Fawcet, 5/68; p. 84; 152/16, a tap. Yn tyme therfore tye vp your tryacle tappe; Let

- not to long thy *fawset* renne. Piers of Fullham, l. 228-9. *Early Pop. P.*, v. 2, p. 10. Stryke out the heed of your vesselles, our men be to thrustye to tarye tyll their drinke be drawen with a *faulsed*. Palsgrave, p. 740, col. 1. Fr. *Guille*: f. The quille or *faucet* of a wine vessell. Cot.
- Fawn, 49/694; how to carve, 28/441.
- Fawn, and ginger sauce, 36/537.
- Fawte, 82/1238, make default or mistakes.
- Fayge, fruyter, 157/10; p. 173.
- Featherbed to be beaten, 63/921; 169/12.
- Feed elegantly, 256/185.
- Feede onely twice a day, p. 141.
- Feet to be kept still, 270/66; 275/7; 279, 280/56.
- Feet and hands together, 235/677.
- Feet, what birds to be served with their, 28/435.
- Fele, 11/155, 157, perceive, taste; 24/364, ?taste or see; 23/349, understand.
- Feleyly, 270/94, fellowly, sociable.
- Felle, 262/21; 264/89; ?stern, or discreet. *See* Cold.
- Fende, 82/1233, defend.
- Fenel-water, p. 139.
- Fenelle, the brown, 67/991.
- Fercularius*, 202/749, the Sewer.
- Fere, 50/719, company; *in fere*, together.
- Fere, 83/774, companion.
- Fermys, 197/596, rents; Fr. *ferme*, a farme or lease, a thing farmed, a toll, rent, mannor or demesne in farme. Cot.
- Ferour, 197/612, 615, farrier; Fr. *Mareschal ferrant*. Cot.
- Few words, use, 270/73.
- Fieldfares, 165/3.
- Fieldmen, how they fly at their food, 256/176.
- Figs, fritters of, p. 145.
- Figs, 152/21; 166/18, in Cornwall, raisins are called figs, 'a thoomping *figgy* pudden,' a big plum pudding. *Spec. of Cornish Dialect*, p. 53.
- Filthy talking, against, p. 239, cap. xii.
- Finger, don't point with, 270/69; don't mark your tale with, 279, 280/71.
- Fingering, avoid it, 184/249.
- Fingers, meat to be eaten with, 269/55; nose not to be blown with, 262/19; 118/284; 210/51; not to be put in one's cup, 118/272; or on the dish, 267/27; keep 'em clean, 272/107; wipe 'em on a napkin, 232/465.
- Fingers, two, & a thumb, to be put on a knife, 21/320-4; 22/326.
- Fingers and hands, keep still, 275/7; 276/7.
- Fingers and toes to be kept still, 186/320.
- Fins of fish to be cut off, 39/560.
- Fire at meals in winter, p. 142.
- Fire, have a good one, 169/20.
- Fire in bed-room, p. 128.
- Fire in hall at every meal from Nov. 1 to Feb. 2, 189/393-8.
- Fire to dress by, 61/888.
- Fire to be clear, 60/877.
- Fire-screens for a lord, 192/462.

- First course of fish, p. 166.
- Fish, a dinner of, three courses, & one of fruit, p. 50. *Ieune chair vieil poisson*: Prov. Old flesh and young fish (is fit for the dish). Cot.
- Fish, carving & dressing of, p. 37; p. 98, &c.; p. 166; how assayed, 203/767-70; sauces for, p. 56; 168/4; sewynge or courses of, p. 166.
- Fish, salt, 57/833.
- Fish, names of, from Yarrell, p. 152; extracts from Laurens Andrewe on, p. 113.
- Fisshe, p. 121, p. 122, the flesh or body of fish.
- Fist, close your hand in it, 264/71; keep your opinions to yourself.
- Fist, not to be put on the table, 267/45.
- Fit servants only to be engaged, p. 215.
- Flapjack, 96/13, a fried cake.
- Flasche, 65/985, dash.
- Flauer, 130/11, warm & air.
- Flaunes, 161/4; p. 173; flawne, 96/12, a kind of tart; Fr. *flans*: m. Flawnes, Custards, Egge-pies. Cotgrave. Du. *een kees vlaeye*, a Cheese-cake or Flawne. Hexham.
- Flax, wild, 69/994.
- Flea, don't scratch after one, 18/279.
- Flemings, great drinkers, p. 131, note.
- Flesche-mought, 18/280, louse.
- Flesh, carving of, p. 26; p. 157; how assayed, 203/767-70; sauces for, p. 39; sewynge or succession of dishes of, p. 156.
- Flesh, a dinner of, p. 40.
- Flette, 201/711, room, floor.
- Fleumaticus*, 54/792; p. 104.
- Flewische, 53/777, melancholy.
- Flounders, 55/819; 58/842; 168/10.
- Flyte, 178/54, quarrel; don't, 270/92.
- Focas or phocas, p. 118.
- Follow your better, how to, 264/83-6.
- Foole, 96/12, as in gooseberry-fool.
- Foot-cushion, 61/882-4.
- Footmen to run by ladies' bridles, 198/621.
- Foot-sheet, how to prepare it, 61/879-84; 65/956; 67/988.
- Foot-sheet, the lord sits on it while he is undressed for bed, 193/488.
- For, 3/34, because; 178/42, notwithstanding.
- For, 18/275, against, to stop or prevent.
- Forcast, 180/104, plot, scheme for.
- Forder, 235/698, further.
- Fordo, 180/100, done for, killed.
- Forehead, to be joyful, 170/37.
- Forenoon, work in the, p. 141.
- Forewryter, 77/1243, transcriber?
- Forfeits to a lord, go to the treasurer, 196/577.
- Forfetis, 281/52; Fr. *forfait*: m. A crime, sinne, fault, misdeed, offence, trespasse, transgression. Cot.
- Forgive, 182/185.
- Formes, 189/389; 192/464, forms, benches.

- Foul tales, don't tell, at table 255/140.
- Fourpence a piece for hire of horses, 188/376. *See* Notes, p. 283.
- Four slices in each bit of meat, 159/18.
- Foxskin garments for winter, p. 139.
- Franklin, a feast for one, p. 54.
- Franklins, rank of, 71/1071.
- Fray, 81/1210, fright.
- Freke, 184/255, man, fellow; A.S. *freca*, one who is bold.
- Fretoure powche, 49/700; fruture sage, 50/708.
- Friars, give way to them on pilgrimages, 186/303.
- Fricacion, or rubbing of the body, is good, p. 130 n.
- Fried things are fumose or indigestible, 21/358; 30/500; 32/512; 54/6. They generally came in the last course (*see Modus Cenandi*). Du Guez, after speaking of the English dishes in order, pottage, beef, mutton, capons, river birds, game, and lastly, small birds, says, "howbeit that in Spaine and in Fraunce the use [succession at dinner] of suche metes is more to be commended than ours . . . for they begynne always with the best, and ende with the most grosse, which they leave for the servantes, where-as we do al the contrary," p. 1072.
- Friend, don't mistrust or fail him, 219/3.
- Friendly, don't be too, p. 258, p. 260, line F.
- Friezeadow coats for winter, p. 127.
- Fritters, 33/501; 34/511; 51/725, 737; 54/810; 157/24-6; 161/32; 163/3. *See* Fruter, &c.
- Friture, a, 51/725.
- Frogs shelter themselves under the leaves of *Scabiosa*, p. 109, note on l. 987.
- Frote, 19/288, wring, twist. Fretyn or chervyn (chorvyn), *Torqueo*. Prompt.
- Frown, don't, 173/132.
- Froyze, 96/13, pancake, or omelet.
- Fruits to be eaten before dinner, 46/667-8. But of all manner of meate, the moost dangerous is that whiche is of fruites (*fruitz crudz*), as cheres, small cheryse (*guingues*<sup>1</sup>), great cherise (*gascognes*), strauberis, fryberis (*framboises*) mulberis, *cornelles*,<sup>2</sup> preunes, chestaynes nuts, fylberdes, walnuttes, cervyse, medlers, aples, peres, peches, melons, *concombres*, and all other kyndes of fruites, howbeit that youth, bycause of heate and moystnesse, doth dygest them better than age dothe. *Du Guez's Introductione*, p. 1073-4.
- Frumenty potage, 25/391, furmity.
- Frumenty, 37/547; 38/549; with venesoun, 33/518.
- Frusse, p. 151, carve.
- Fruter Crispin & Napkin, p. 96.

<sup>1</sup> *Guisnes*: f. A kind of little, sweet, and long cherries; tearmed so because at first they came out of Guyenne; also any kind of Cherries. Cotgrave.

<sup>2</sup> *Cornelle*, a Cornill berrie; *Cornillier*, The long cherrie, wild cherrie, or Cornill tree. Cotgrave.

- Fruture viant, sawge & pouche, 33/501, ? meat, sage, & poached fritters.
- Fruturs, 34/511; Fryters, 161/32, fritters; recipes for, p. 145.
- Fryture, a, 51/737, fritter.
- Fuel, a groom for, 189/385.
- Full belly and hungry, 265/17.
- Fumose, 23/353, fume-creating, indigestible.
- Fumosities, p. 23-4.
- Fumosities, p. 23; p. 94; 151/4; p. 158, indigestibilities, indigestible things creating noxious fumes in the belly that ascend to the brain; such to be set aside, 25/396.
- Fumosity, 8/105; p. 86.
- Furs to be brushed every week, 64/943.
- Fustian, 63/922, a cloth over and under the sheets of a bed.
- Fustyan, whyte, 130/2.
- Fygges, 5/74; p. 84, figs.
- Fyle, 191/435, fill?
- Fylour, 191/447, a rod on which the bed-curtains hung. "*Fylour* looks like *felloe*, G. *felge*, which is explained as something bent round; it would apply to the curtain-rod round the top of the bed." Wedgwood.
- Fylynge, 263/52, dirtying; A.S. *fūlian*, to foul; *fūlnes*, foulness; *fūlā*, filth.
- Fynne, p. 151, cut up.
- Fyr, 184/232, further.
- Fyr hous, 194/514, privy?
- Fysegge, p. 216, No. x, phiz, face.
- Fytt, 213/806, section of a poem.
- Fytte, 67/980, while, time.
- Fyxfax, to be taken out of the neck, 28/444.
- Gabriel, angel, 265/5; 266/7; 148/692.
- Galantyne sauce, 40/569; 58/840; 167/27, 29; 168/9.
- Galantyne, to be mixed with lamprey pie, 44/634; recipe for, p. 100.
- Galingale, p. 44, last line but one; p. 100.
- Gallants, shortcoated, denounced, 20/305.
- Galleylawfrey, 96/14, a dish.
- Gallowgrass, p. 124.
- Game, some, to be played before going to business, p. 131.
- Gamelyn sauce, 36/539; 37/541.
- Gaming, the fruits of, p. 234, cap. vi.
- Ganynge, 19/294, yawning: Ganynge or Janynge, *Oscitus*. Prompt. I gane, or gape, or yane, *ie baille*. Palsgrave, *ib.* "I yane, I gaspe or gape. *Je baille*." Palsgrave.
- Gape not, 19/294; when going to eat, 272/65.
- Gaping is rude, 211/77.
- Garcio*, 191/434-5, groom (of the chamber).
- Gardevyan, 80/1202, a safe for meat.
- Gares, 190/420, causes.
- Garlic, 58/843.
- Garlic, the sauce for roast beef and goose, 36/536.
- Garlic, green, with goose, 164/2.
- Gastarios, a fish, p. 118.
- Gate, on coming to a lord's, what to do, 177/5. See also 252/58.

- Gaze about, don't, 192/175.
- Gele, p. 49, note <sup>2</sup>; gelly, 166/11, jelly.
- Gelopere sauce, 165/4; p. 173.
- Gentilmen welle nurtured, 71/1038.
- Gentilwommen, rank of, 71/1039.
- Gentlemen, one property of, 220/18.
- Gentlemen of the chamber, 191/433.
- Gentlemen's table in hall, 178/33.
- Gentyllis, 273/93, gentlefolk.
- Geson, 54/803, plentiful.
- Gesse, 230/350, guest.
- Gestis, 79/1189, guests.
- Getting-up in the morning, a lord, how dressed, p. 61.
- Gild, 25/231, gilt plate.
- Ginger, white and green, 5/75; colombyne, valadyne, and maydelyn, 10/131-2; columbyne, 52/758; green, 152/21.
- Ginger sauce with lamb, kid, &c., 36/537.
- Ginger, 58/847; with pheasant, 164/19.
- Girdle, 64/907.
- Girls, young, pick their noses, 186/328.
- Glaucus, a white fish, p. 118.
- Glorious (boasting), don't be too, p. 258, p. 260, line G.
- Glosand, 186/313, lying.
- Glose, 183/199, deceit, lie.
- Glosere, 268/59. Fr. *flateur*, a flatterer, *glozer*, fawner, soother, foister, smother; a claw-backe, sycphant, pickthanke. Cot.
- Gloves to be taken off on entering the hall, 177/16.
- Gloves, perfumed, 132/8-9. Cp. in the account of Sir John Nevile, of Chete, in *The Forme of Cury*, p. 171, "for a pair of perfumed Gloves, 3s. 4d.; for a pair of other Gloves, 4d."
- Gloucester, Humphrey, Duke of, 79/1177; 82/1230; p. lxxxii.
- Glowtyngge, 18/281, looking sulky, staring. Halliwell. Sw. *glutta*; Norse, *glytta*, *gletta*, look out of the corner of the eye. Wedgwood.
- Gnastyngge, 20/301, note <sup>5</sup>.
- Gnaw bones, don't, 232/457.
- Goatskin gloves, 132/9.
- Goben, 39/566, cut into lumps.
- Gobone, 167/2, cut in lumps; 167/29, a piece.
- Gobyn, 41/580; p. 99, gobbets.
- Gobyns, 45/638, lumps, pieces.
- 'God be here!' say on entering, 270/86.
- Good cheer, make, at table, 269/53, be jolly.
- Good manners, learn, 232/507.
- 'Good Morning;' say it to all you meet, 266/20.
- Goodly, 62/908, nattily.
- Goose, how to carve, 26/402; p. 163, last line but one; garlic its sauce, 36/536; roast, 54/801; p. 222.
- Goshawk, p. 103, note on Heir-onsew.
- Gown, a man's, 62/904.
- Gowt of a crayfish, 43/607.
- Grace, 46/663, the prayer before dinner, 229/305-322; to be said by the Almoner, 221/729.
- Grace after dinner, sit still till it's said, 271/82; pages to stand by

- their lord while it's said, 257/197.
- Gradewable, p. 170, graduated, have taken degrees.
- Gramed, 23/348, angered, vexed.
- Granat, 141/11, a garnet.
- Grapes, 6/77; 46/668; 152/21.
- Gravelle of beef or motoun, 34/519.
- Gravus, a fish, p. 120.
- Graynes, 9/123; 10/137, 141; p. 91. Fr. *Maniguet*, the spice called Graines, or graines of Paradise. Cot.
- Graynes of paradice, 151/32.
- Graytly, 61/886; entirely, quite.
- Grayue, 196/576, 589, 597, reeve, outdoor steward.
- Greable, 13/192, suitable.
- Great birds, 49/698.
- Grece (fat), hen of, 158/29.
- Green cheese, p. 84, n. to l. 74.
- Green fish, 58/851; 188/8, 29, ling. Fr. *Moruë*: f. The Cod, or Greenefish (a lesse and dull-eyed kind whereof is called by some, the Morhwell). *Moruë verte*. Greenefish. *Moruyer*. *Poissonnier moruyer*. A Fishmonger that sells. nothing but Cod, or Greenefish. Cot.
- Green sauce, 58/851; 200/13, 14.
- Green wax, accounts to be briefed with, 192/536.
- Greet the men you meet, 200/251.
- Greithe, 61/880, ready.
- Greke, 9/120; 86/31; p. 90, No. 12, a sweet wine.
- Grene metis, 8/97, green vegetables.
- Greve, 81/1214. Fr. *grief*, trouble.
- Greyhounds fed on brown bread, 198/628; p. 84, note on l. 51; each has a bone, &c., 198/633. "*Eau & pain, c'est la viande du chien*. Prov.: Bread and water is diet for dogs." Cot.
- Greyn, 62/914, a crimson stuff or cloth.
- Grin, don't, 269/57; 277, 278/29.
- Grisynge, 20/301, grinding.
- Groan not, 19/298.
- Groggyng, 18/273, grumbling. Grutchyn, gruchyn, *murmuro*. Prompt. *Gruger*, to grudge, repine, mutter. Cot.
- Grone fische, 38/555.
- Groom of the King may sit with a knight, 75/1122-5; 204/1.
- Grooms of the Chamber, their duties, p. 191-2.
- Groos, 29/461, large.
- Grossetest, Bp., bis Household Statutes, p. 207-10.
- Grouellyng, *adv.* 129/8, 12, face downwards.
- Growelle of force, 34/519; p. 97.
- Gruell of befe or motton, 159/27.
- Grumbling of servants to be put down, p. 208.
- Gudgeons, 55/819; p. 118.
- Guns blasting, (breaking wind,) to be avoided, 20/304. The parallel passage in Sloane MS. 2027 (fol. 42, last line), is. "And alle wey be ware thyn ars be natte carpyng."
- Gurdylstode, 191/442, girdlestead, waist.
- Gurnard, 40/574; 51/725; 58/849; baked, 198/9.



- 3yme, 186/304, attend to, wish, like.  
 Gymlet, 5/67, 71.  
 Gynger, 3 kinds of, 10/131-2 ;  
 p. 91.  
 Haberdine, 'Mouschebout: m. The  
 spotted Cod whereof Haberdine  
 is made.' Cot.  
 Hable, 254/111, fitting, due.  
 Had, 274/149, ? held in the  
 memory.  
 Hadde-y-wyste, 264/72; vain  
 after-regret, 'had I but known  
 how it would have turned out.'  
 Haddock, 58/845, 200/11.  
 Haddock, how to carve, 39/576.  
 Haft of a knife, 200/675.  
 Hair, don't scratch, for lice, 18/  
 280; to be combed, 173/125.  
 Hake, 58/845; p. 107; 166/31.  
 Hakenay buttur, 39/559.  
 Halata, p. 118.  
 Hale, 253/101, A.S. *hál*, healthy.  
 Half-penny; farrier paid one a  
 day, 197/616; hunter one for  
 every hound, 198/629.  
 Halke, 2/24; A.S. *hylca*, hooks,  
 turnings. Somner.  
 Hall, who should not keep it  
 (? meaning), 72/1048; who  
 seated in, 217/19-22.  
 Hall, head of the house to eat  
 in, p. 209, No. xv  
 Halybut, a fish, 41/584; 39/  
 735; 166/12; 167/11.  
 Hammering in speech is bad, 212/  
 109.  
 Hand to be cleaned when you  
 blow your nose in it, 199/90;  
 put it on your stomach to warm  
 the latter, p. 129.  
 Handkerchief for the nose, 210/  
 49; 'Jan. 1537-8, my ladys  
 grace lanes handkerchers  
 silks.' P. P. Exp. of Princess  
 Mary, p. 54.  
 Handle nothing while you are  
 spoken to, 253/83.  
 Hands and feet, keep 'em quiet,  
 216/317.  
 Hands, to be washed, 277, 278/  
 22; before meals, 187/343, 201/  
 713-21; to be wiped before  
 taking hold of the cup, 255/156.  
 Hands to be clean at meals, 263/  
 41, 51; 265/9; 266/13.  
 Hang in hand, 183/199; be  
 delayed.  
 Hanging down your head is  
 wrong, 213/130.  
 Hard cheese, the virtues of, 150/  
 29. See Cheese.  
 Hare, 34/517; chive sauce to, see  
 Ceuye.  
 Harington, Sir John; the Dyet  
 for every day, p. 138-9; on  
 Rising and going to Bed, p.  
 140-1.  
 Harm of others, don't talk, at  
 table, 180/102.  
 Harpooning whales, p. 116.  
 Harts-skin garments to be worn  
 in summer, p. 139.  
 Harvest, the device of, 52/754.  
 Hastily, don't eat, 265/19.  
 Hasty, don't be, 279, 280/78.  
 Hat, 62/909.  
 Haylys, 184/253, salute. O. N.  
*heilsa*, Dan. *hilsa*, to salute, to  
 cry hail to. Wedgwood.  
 Head and hands, keep quiet, 253/  
 80.  
 Head, don't hang it, 255/148;  
 don't cast it down, 276/16;  
 don't bend it too low, 193/330.  
 Heads of field- and wood-birds

- unwholesome ; they eat toads,  
p. 197-8.
- Headsheet, 63/925 ; 65/950 ; 66/  
965.
- Hede, 271/91, host, master or  
lord of a house at a meal.
- ★ Hedge-hogs' countenances, 210/  
43.
- Heelfulle, 250 / 10, health-ful,  
help-ful.
- Heere, 35 / 524 ; Sloane MS.  
1315 reads *hele*, health.
- Heironsew (the heron), 49/696 ;  
p. 103. *See* Heron.
- Hele, 199/655, cover.
- Helle, 254/131, ? not 'clear, A.S.  
*helle*,' but from *hyldan*, to in-  
cline, bend, and so pour.
- Help all, be ready to, 183/193.
- Help others from your own dish,  
p. 217, No. xiv.
- Hemp, the names of, p. 124 ; its  
advantages, p. 125-6.
- Hen, fat, how to carve, 26/409 ;  
34/517.
- Henchman, p. ii. ; Mayster of the  
henshmen — *escvier de pages*  
*dhonnevr.* Palsgrave.
- Hende, 254/122, hands.
- Henderson's Hist. of Ancient and  
Modern Wines, p. 87, &c.
- Her, 185/294, higher.
- Herald of Arms, 71/1035 ; king  
or chief herald, l. 1036.
- Herber, 190/427, lodge, accommo-  
date.
- Herbe benet, 68/993.
- Herbe John, 68/992.
- Herbs in sheets to be hung round  
the bath-room, 67/977.
- Herne, 2/24, corner.
- Heron, to dysmembre or carve, p.  
162. *See* Heyron-sewe.
- Heronsew, 157/5 ; to be cooked  
dry, 165/20.
- 'I wol nat tellen of her straunge  
sewes,  
Ne of her swannes, ne here  
*heron-sewes.*'  
Chaucer, March. Tale, l. 60,  
v. 2, p. 357, ed. Morris.
- Herring, L. Andrewe on the, p.  
114.
- Herrings, baked, 50/722 ; fresh,  
58/844 ; fresh, broiled, 52/  
748 ; salt, 57/832.
- Herrings, how to carve and serve,  
38/550-3.
- Herrings, white, or fresh, how to  
serve up, 45/641-5, 166/28.
- Hethyng, 185/266, contempt.
- Heyhove, 68/993, a herb.
- Heyriff, 68/993, a herb.
- Heyron-sewe, 36 / 239 ; p. 97,  
the heron: how to carve it, 27/  
422.
- Hiccup not, 19/298.
- High name, the, 181/152, God ?
- Highest place, don't take unless  
bidden, 187/347.
- Hit, *for* his, 29/456.
- Hithe, 53/783, it.
- Hold your hand before your  
mouth when you spit, 272/  
115-18.
- Hole of the privy to be covered,  
64/933.
- Holy water, take it at the church-  
door, 182/160.
- Holyhock, 67/991.
- Holyn, 189/399. ?
- Hom, 185/273, them.
- Homes, servants to visit their  
own, p. 207, No. xi.
- Honest, 269/74, fitting, proper.

- Honeste, 65/954, propriety, decency.
- Honey not clarified, used for dressing dischmetes, 34/514.
- Hood, a man's, 62/909.
- Hood, take it off, 217/16.
- Hoopid, 12/167, made round like a hoop.
- Hor, 187/272, their.
- Hornebeaks, p. 97, note on l. 533.
- Horse-hire, 4*d.* a day, 188/375.
- Horsyng, 195/564, being horsed, horses.
- Hose, p. 108; to be rubbed, 226/91. Du. *koussen*, Stockins or Hosen; *opper-koussen*, Hose or Breeches; *onder koussen*, Nether-stockins; *boven koussen*, Upper-hosen, or Briches. Hexham.
- Hosen, 130/10; 168/31.
- Hosyn, 60/873; 62/895-8; 65/961; p. 108, breeches.
- Hostiarius*, 190/430-1, usher.
- Hot dishes, a dodge to prevent them burning your hands, 202/757-60.
- Hot wines, p. 83, in extract from A. Borde.
- Houndfisch, 41/584; p. 99; 56/827; 58/844; 167/11, dogfish.  
'He lullith her, he kissith hir ful ofte;  
With thikke bristlis on his berd unsofte,  
Lik to the skyn of *houndfisch*,  
scharp as brere,  
(For he was schave al newe in his manere,)  
He rubbith hir about hir tendre face.'  
Chaucer, *Marchaundes Tale*, v. 2, p. 223, ed. Morris.
- Houndes-fysshe, mortrus of, 168/2.
- Household bread, 4/55; to be 3 days old, 152/6.
- Housholde, Babees that dwelle in, 251/45; Forewords, pp. ii., x., xi., &c.
- Howndes Dayes, p. 118, Cap. xv., dog-days.
- Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, 82/1230; App. to Russell Pref.
- Hunte, 198/629, huntsman; pl., Hunttes, 198/628, huntsmen.
- Hure, 24/376, hood, cap.
- Hurtilberyes, 7/82; p. 85, n. to l. 81, 152/24.
- Husbands, the duty of, 237/8.
- Hyacinth, 141/11, jacinth, a precious stone.
- Hyzt, 183/201, promised, vowed.
- Jack and Jill, don't chatter with, 271/90.
- Iangelynge, 253/94, chattering, (don't be), p. 258, p. 261, line I.
- Iangle (chatter), don't, 252/68; 229/266.
- Iangylle, 271/90, chatter; 'iangelyn, oriaveryn, iaberyn, *garrulo blatero*.' P. Parv.
- Janitor*, 188/360-1, the porter.
- Iapynges, 253/95, joking.
- Iardyne, almond, 52/744.
- Idle, don't be, 268/32.
- Jealousy, hate it, p. 258, p. 260, line G.
- Jelies, 34/511; iely, 49/693.
- Jelly, 34/511; 35/520; 51/731; 56/825; p. 97.
- Iestis, 59/858, proceedings, dinners.
- Iettis, p. 261, l. N, fashions.
- Iettynges, p. 261, l. I, showing-off,

- 'I *iette* w<sup>t</sup> *facyon* and coun-  
tenaunce to set forthe myselfe,  
*ie braggue.*' Palsgrave, in *Way*.  
Lettynge, 20/300, note<sup>3</sup>. Fr.  
*Poste* a rakehell, or Colledge-  
seruant, thats euer gadding or  
*ietting* abroad. Cot.
- Ignorance, the evils of, 228/230.
- Imbrowe, 255/157, dirty, soil.
- Improberabile, 54/795, very  
proper?
- Impytous, p. 132, impetuous (last  
line).
- Infect, 83/1249. Fr. *infecter*,  
to infect; poison; deprave,  
corrupt. Cot.
- Ingrediendes, 11/144, materials.
- Inhumanitie, 225/155, discour-  
tesy.
- Interrupt no one, 282/69.
- Intrippe, 283/69, interrupt.
- John the Baptist's day to Michael-  
mas, feasts from, p. 164.
- John, Duke, a yeoman in his  
house got a reward, 199/647.
- Iolle of þe salt sturgeoun, 44/  
622; p. 99; 167/23.
- Ioncate, 7/82; p. 85; 152/  
28, junket, orig. cream-cheese  
made in wicker-baskets, from  
L. *juncus*, a rush. Mahn.  
'*Junkets*, Cakes and Sweet-  
meats with which Gentle-  
women entertain one another,  
and Young-men their Sweet-  
hearts; any sort of delicious  
Fare to feast and make merry  
with.' Philipps.
- Iowtes, p. 160, last line; p. 171.
- Irweue, 85/3. ?Fr. *Mulette* . .  
the maw of a Calfe, which being  
dressed is called the Renet-bag,  
*Ireness*-bag, or Cheslop-bag. Cot.
- Judges, the duty of, 241/2.
- Iusselle, 35/520; 54/805; 159/  
28; recipe for, p. 145.
- Justices, the under, rank of, 70/  
1018; 72/1061.
- Ivory comb, 62/902.
- Karle, 267/48, churl, poor man.
- Karpyng, 263/62, talking. Carp-  
ynge, *Loquacitas*, *collocutio*.  
Prompt.
- Kater, 196/580, cater, provide.
- Kepe, 202/760, take care.
- Keyng (stingy), don't be, p. 258,  
p. 261, line K.
- Kercheff, 61/885.
- Kerpe, 272/120, ?is it complain, or  
only talk, chatter; 'carpyn or  
talkyn, *fabulor*, *confabulor*,  
*garrulo*,' Pr. Parv. 'to carpe,  
(Lydgate) this is a farre nor-  
then verbe, *cacqueter*.' Pals-  
grave, *ib.* note. Or is it break  
wind? See Guns. The Sloane  
MS. 2027, fol. 42, has for l. 304  
of Russell, p. 20, 'And alle  
wey be ware thyn ars be  
natte *carpyng*.'
- Keruyng of flesshe, p. 157; of  
fysshe, p. 166.
- Kerver, termes of a, p. 149.
- Keuer, 17/265-6, cover, put covers  
or dishes for.
- Kickshaw, 96/14, a tart.
- Kid, 49/694; 54/807; with  
ginger sauce, 46/537; how to  
carve, 28/441.
- Kidney of fawn, &c. to be served,  
159/9.
- Kind, be always, 183/195.
- Kind, don't be too, p. 258, p. 261,  
line K.
- King ranks with an emperor,  
70/1007; 72/1045.

- King's Messengers, 171/31.  
 King's officers, 171/25.  
 King's servants to be received as one degree higher than they are, 75/1117-27.  
 Knaves' tricks, beware of, p. 258, p. 261, line K.  
 Knee, don't put yours under other men's thighs, 180/119.  
 Kneel on one knee to men, on both to God, 182/163-6.  
 Kneel, the Ewerer to do so, on giving water to any one, 199/653.  
 Kneel to your lord on one knee, 252/62.  
 Knife, don't play with your, 279, 280/54; don't put it in your mouth, 256/162; 180/113; take salt with it, 272/97. (When were saltspoons introduced?)  
 Knife, don't pick your teeth with, 180/94.  
 Knives to be clean, 279, 280/58; to be sharp, 263/42; to be clean and sharp, 255/137; 272/119; to be wiped on a napkin, not on the tablecloth, 22/332.  
 Knives to be put up after meals, 257/191.  
 Knives, for bread, 4/50-2; for the table, *ib.*, l. 63.  
 Knives, the Butler's three, p. 152; the lord's, 200/675.  
 Knight, the rank of a, 70/1016; 72/1058.  
 Knop, 192/453, knob, bunch?  
 Kommande, 253/104, this may possibly be like 254/120, commend (*q. v.*) a cup to you to drink; but 270/71, 'sey welle', looks as if praise were meant.  
 Kymbe, 61/886, comb.  
 Kyn, 217/13, birth.  
 Kynraden, 185/279; A.S. *cynnyrne*, a family course, parentage.  
 Labour not after meals, p. 136.  
 Lace- or buckle-shoes, 62/896.  
 Ladies, how to behave to, 264/73.  
 Ladies soon get angry, 165/8.  
 Lady of low degree has her lord's estate or rank, 171/19.  
 Lakke, 269/76, blame; Du. *laecken*, to vituperate, blame, or reproach. Hexham.  
 Lamb, 54/807; p. 106; how to carve, 28/441.  
 Lamb and ginger sauce, 36/537.  
 Lambur, 193/480. ? has it anything to do with Fr. *lambrequin*, the point of a labell, or Labell of a file in Blazon; *Lambel*, a Labell of three points, or a File with three Labells pendant (Cot.). Ladies wore and wear ornaments somewhat of this kind.  
 Lambskins, p. 131.  
 Lamprey, 50/724; 58/840; p. 119. See Henry V.'s commission to *Guillielmus de Nantes de Britannia* to supply him and his army with Lampreys up to Easter, 1418. From the Camp at Falaise, Feb. 6. *Rymer*, ix. 544.  
 Lamprey, names of a, p. 99, bottom.  
 Lamprey pasty, 167/25.  
 Lampreys, fresh, pie of, how to serve, 44/630-45; p. 99.  
 Lamprey, salt, how to carve, 39/566; 167/2.  
 Lampron, names of a, p. 100.

Lampurnes, 50/719; 55/820; 58/848; bake, 51/725; rost, 51/737; 41/588, lamperns.

Landlords, their duty, 242/13.

Lands of a lord, his Chancellor oversees, 196/571.

Lapewynk, 37/542; p. 98, lapwing.

Lappes, 191/452, wraps.

Lapwing, how to carve, 27/417; p. 158, last line.

Lark (the bird), 28/437, 37/542, 49/698, p. 103.

Laske, 7/91, loose (in the bowels).

Last, 15/227, uppermost.

Laugh, don't, with your mouth full, 179/67; 272/109.

Laugh loudly, don't, 264/75.

Laugh not, 269/57; not too often, 183/215.

Laughing always is bad, 212/85.

Lavour, 16/232, washing-basin? *Lavacrum*, a lavour, Reliq. Ant. i. 7. *Esguiere*: f. An Ewer, a Lauer. Cotgrave (see Halliwell).

Law, how kept, 268/53.

Law, men of, their duty, 242/11.

Law, 187/330, low.

Lawes, 183/217, laughs.

Lawnde, 2/16, and note.

Lay the Cloth, how to, 13/187; 154/23.

Leaking of wine pipes, 8/110; 153/10.

Lean not on the table, 255/146.

Learning, its roots bitter, its fruits pleasant, 228/202.

Leche, a, 51/725, 737; 54/810.

Leche dugard, 50/708.

Leche fryture, 52/749.

Leche Lombard, 48/689; 157/2.

See 'Lumber' in *Nares*. The recipe in *Forme of Cury*, p. 36, is

Take rawe Pork, and pulle of the skyn, and pyke out þe skyn [&] synewis, and bray the Pork in a mortar with ayren rawe; do þerto sugur, salt, raysoñs, corañce, datis mynced, and powdour of Peper, powdour gylofre, and do it in a bladder, and lat it seep til it be ynowh3. and whan it is ynowh, kerf it, leshe it in likenesse of a peskodde, and take grete raysoñs and grynde hem in a mortar, drawe hem up wip rede wyne, do þerto mylke of almandis, colour it with sañders and safroñ and do þerto powdour of peper and of gilofre, and boile it, and whan it is iboiled, take powdour of canel and gynger, and temper it up with wyne. and do alle pise thyngis togyder. and loke þat it be rēnyñs, and lat it not seep after that it is cast togyder, and serue it forth.

Leche, whyte, 157/7.

Leeches, 34/516, strips of meat, &c., dressed in sauce or jelly.

Lees, 26/407; 30/466, strips; 43/610, slices.

Leessez, 33/504; 34/546, strips of meat in sauce.

Lede, 179/78, leaved, left.

Left hand only to touch food, 22/329.

Legate, 70/1013; the pope's, l. 1023.

Legh, 191/441, ? *law*, hill, elevation, A.S. *hlæw*; or *lea* land, ground.

Legs not to be set astraddle, 20/299.

Legs of great birds, the best bits, 26/403, 410; 27/426; 30/471.

Lele, 196/593, loyally?, justly.

Lemman, 44/635, dear young friend; A.S. *leaf*, dear.

Lengthe, 31/488, lengthen.

Lered, 65/956, taught, told.

- Lerynge, 56/831, teaching.
- Lesche, *v. tr.*, p. 151, slice.
- Lessynge, 153/17, remedy, cure.
- Lesynge, 9/116, curing, restoring to good condition.
- Lete, 8/110; p. 86, leak.
- Letters, the use of, 228/186.
- Leues, 202/741, remains.
- Leuys, 203/787, remains.
- Lewd livers to dread, 239/933.
- lewe, *see* drunkelewe.
- Liar, don't be one, 19/292; 183/213.
- Liberal, don't be too, 260/11, p. 263, line L.
- Lice, 18/280; p. 93.
- Lick not the dish, 19/295.
- Licoure, 25/382, sauce, dressing.
- Lie not, 270/75.
- Lie far from your bedfellow, 186/297.
- Lies, 9/116, deposit, settlement.
- Light payne, 22/339, fine bread for eating.
- Lights to be put above the Hall chimney or fire-place, p. 192/467-8.
- Line of the blood royal, 171/24.
- Linen, body-, to be clean, 60/876.
- Linen, used to wipe the nether end, 64/935.
- Ling (the fish), 38/555; p. 98; p. 58, note 8; 59/852; 168/6.
- Lining of a jacket, the best, p. 131.
- Lips; don't put 'em out as if you'd kiss a horse, 211/73.
- Lips, keep 'em clean, 277, 278/34.
- Lis, 3/31, relieve. 'ac *a-lys* us of yfele,' but deliver us from evil, Lord's Prayer. Rel. Ant. i. 204.
- Listen to him who speaks to you, 187/331.
- Lite, 56/830, little.
- Litere, 191/435, litter, straw or rushes for beds.
- Livery of candles, Nov. 1 to Feb. 2, 205/839. Fr. *La Livrée des Chanoines*. their liverie, or corrodie; their stipend, exhibition, dailie allowance in victuals or money. Cot.
- Loaf, small, to be cut in two, 202/735.
- Loaves, *two* to be brought when bread is wanted, 203/781-4.
- Lobster. 'Finallie of the legged kinde we have not manie, neither haue I seene anie more of this sort than the *Polypus* called in English the lobster, crafish or creuis, and the crab, [q. v.]. *Carolus Stephanus* in his *maison rustique*, doubted whether these lobstars be fish or not; and in the end concludeth them to grow of the purgation of the water as dooth the frog, and these also not to be eaten, for that they be strong and verie hard of digestion.' *Harrison*, v. i. p. 224-5.
- Lokere, 268/60, ? not look, oversee, superintend, and so oppress; but from Dutch *Loker*, an allurer, or an inticer, *locken*, to allure or entise, Hexham; *lokken*, to allure, bait. Sewel.
- Lombard, leche, 48/689; 157/2. *See* Leche Lombard. 'Frutour *lumbert* . . . Lesshe *lumbert*.' Oxford dinner, 1452. Reliq. Ant. i. 88.

- Look steadily at whoever talks to you, 252/65.
- London bushel, 20 loaves out of a, 198/625.
- London, Mayor of, 76/1137.
- Londoner, an ex-Mayor, 71 / 1025; 73/1067.
- Long hair is unseemly, 213/126.
- Long pepper, 153/33.
- Longe wortes, 34/518, ?carrots, parsnips, &c.
- Lord, a, how dressed, p. 61-2; p. 168; how undressed and put to bed, p. 65-6; p. 169; his pew and privy, p. 63; washing before dinner, 254/129; after, 257/199. *See* Hands, &c.
- Lord, how to behave before one, 262/3; how to serve one at table, p. 275-6.
- Lord, let yours drink first, 269/69.
- Lord or lady when talking, not to be interrupted, 254/106.
- Lordes nurrieris, 71 / 1039; p. 110.
- Lords' beds, 191/443.
- Lorely, 181/135, loosely about? A.S. *leóran*, *leósan*, to go forth, away, or forward, leese, lose.
- Lothe (be loth to lend), p. 258, p. 261, line L.
- Lothe, 178/48, be disgusted.
- Loud talking and laughing to be avoided, 19/290-1.
- Loued, 197/600, allowed, given credit for.
- Love God and your neighbour, 268/51.
- Love, the fruits of, 237/815.
- Lowly, be, 229/278.
- Lowne, 209/12, lout.
- Lowt, 41/579, lie.
- Lowte, 262/8, do obeisance, bow. 'I lowte, I gyue reuerence to one, *Ie me cambre, Ie luy fais la reuerence.*' Palsgrave, in Way. A.S. *hlútan*, to bow.
- Lumpischli, 276/16, 'to be lumpish, *botachtigh zijn: botachtigh*, Rudish, Blockish, or that hath no understanding.' Hexham.
- Lyer, 146/11, ?the cook's *stock* for soup; glossed 'a mixture' by Mr Morris in *Liber Cure Cocorum*. And make a *lyoure* of brede and blode, and *lye* hit þerwithe . . . *ib.* p. 32, in 'Gose in a Hogge pot.' ?Lat. *liquor*, or Fr. *lier* to soulder, vnite, combine. Cot.
- Lyft, p. 151, carve.
- Lying, against, p. 239, cap. xiii.
- Lykorous, 19/292, lip-licking?
- Lynse wolse, 132/5, linsey-woolsey.
- Lynd, 270/61, Du. *lindt*, soft, milde, or gentle. Hex.
- Lyour, 191/446, a band.
- Lytulle of worde, 178/34, sparing in speech.
- Lyvelode, 74/1087-8, property.
- Lyueray, 188/371, pl. lyuerés, 189/395, allowances of food, &c. *See* Livery.
- Lyuerey, p. 216, No. vii. servant's dress. Fr. *livrée*. . . One's cloth, colours, or deuce in colours, worn by his seruants or others. Cotgrave.
- Mackerel, 39 / 559; p. 41; p. 98; salt, 57 / 834; how to carve, 40/575-6.



- Mackeroone, 96/14, a tart.
- Magistrates, their duty, 242/18.
- Make, 274/143, stroke ?
- Malencolicus*, p. 54 ; p. 104.
- Malice, 237/783, 817.
- Mallard, 164/28 ; how to carve it, 26/402 ; 158/25.
- Mallard, &c., how they get rid of their stink, 165/32-3.
- Maluesy, 153/20 ; Malvesyn, 9/120 ; p. 86 ; p. 90, No. 12 ; p. 93, No. 6 ; the sweet wine Malmsey.
- Malyke or Malaga, figs of, 166/18.
- Mameny, 49/705 ; 52/744 ; recipe at p. 145.
- Manchet, 198/627, fine bread.
- Manerable, 75/1113, well-trained.
- Manerly, 13/195 ; 63/923, neatly.
- Maners, 4 197 / 601, dwelling-houses, mansions, Fr. *manoir*, a Mansion, Mannor, or Man-nor-house. Cot.
- Manger, a horse's, 197/610.
- Mangle your food, don't, 256 / 176-9. 'I mangle a thing, I disfigure it with cuttyug of it in peces or without order. *Je mangonne* . . and *je mutille*. You have mangylled this meate horrybly, it is nat to sette afore no honest men (*nul homme de bien*) nowe.' Palsgrave.
- Manners maketh man, 263/34 ; are more requisite than playing, 233/513.
- Man's arms, the use of, 268/38.
- Manuetely, 61/887. Fr. *mansuet*, gentle, courteous, meeke, mild, humble. Cot.
- Mantle, 65/957, cloak or dress-ing-gown.
- Mantle of a whelk, 44/625.
- Many words are tedious, 252/75.
- Mark, Matthew, Luke, and John, bless yourself by, 181/151.
- Marquess and Earl are equal, 70/1012 ; 72/1049.
- Marshal of the Hall, p. 69-78, p. 170-2 ; his duties, p. 188-90 ; arrests rebels, 189/381 ; seats men by their ranks, 189/403 ; has a short wand, 187/356 ; attends to all bed-chambers except the lord's, 190/427-30.
- Marshal or usher comes up to a guest, 178/30.
- Marshallynge, 78/1165, arranging of guests.
- Martyn, skin or fur of, for garments, p. 139.
- Martynet, 157/9 ; 159/7, the martin (bird).
- Mary, the Virgin, 48/691.
- Mase, 183/216, makes.
- Mass, hear one daily, 266/17.
- Mass heard by the nobles every morning, but not by business men, p. 130.
- Master, don't go before your, 185/281 ; don't waste his goods, 4/47 ; 219/9.
- Master, don't strive with your, 183/226. *Iamais ne gaigne qui plaide à son seigneur ; ou, qui procede à son Maistre*. Pro. No man euer throue by suing his Lord or Maister ; (for either God blesses not so vndutifull a strife, or successe followes not in so vnequal a match.) Cot.
- Master of a craft sits above the warden, &c., 78/1159.
- Master of the Rolls, rank of, 70/1017 ; 72/1060.
- Masters, duties of, p. 241/6.

- Mastic, to be chewed before you rest, p. 139.
- Maistirs of the Chauncery, rank of, 71/1027 ; 73/1068.
- Mawes, 178/55, mocks ; 187/341.
- Mawmeny, recipe for, p. 145.
- Maydelyne gynger, 10/132.
- Mayor of Calais, 70/1020 ; 72/1064.
- Mayor of London, 70/1014 ; 72/1051.
- Mays, 194/533, makes.
- Mead, p. 107.
- Meals, 3 a day to be eaten, p. 135 ; only 2 a day, p. 141.
- Measure is treasure, 232/477.
- Mede, 181/135, reward ; *for no kyn mede*, on no account whatever.
- Medelus (meddlesome), don't be too, p. 258, p. 261, line M.
- Medicinable bath, how to make, p. 67-9.
- Meek, don't be too, like a fool, 182/179.
- Meene, 261/15, mean, middle course. *See* Moderation.
- Melle, 268/56, mix, meddle.
- Men must work, 268/31.
- Mené, smaller, 197/604, lower officers of the household.
- Menewes in sewe of porpas, 166/6 ; in porpas, 167/35.
- Menske, 178/32, civility ; 184/234, favour. From A.S. *menisc*, human : *cf.* our double sense of 'humanity.' H. Cole-ridge. *Cp.* also 'kind' and 'gentle.'
- Menskely, 185/291, moderately.
- Menuce, 55/819 ; menuse, 52/747, minnows.
- Meny, 270/88, household.
- Merchants, duty of, 242/14 ; rank of, 71/1037 ; 73/1071.
- Merlynge, 39/558, the fish whit-  
ing ; 57/834 ; 166/31.
- Mermaid, p. 117.
- Merry, be, before bed-time, p. 128.
- Merry, don't be too, p. 258, p. 261, line M.
- Mertenet, 37/542 ; p. 98, the martin ; Mertenettes, 49/706.
- Mertinet, 28/437 ; p. 95, martin.
- Mess, each, at dinner, to be booked at 6d., 190/413.
- Mess, who may sit 2 or 3 at a, 72/1055 ; who 3 or 4, l. 1057 ; who 4 and 4, l. 1066.
- Message, when sent on, how to behave, p. 236, cap. viii.
- Mesurabli, p. 261, l. ¶, moderate.
- Mesurably, *Mensurate* (*moderate*). Prompt.
- Mesure, 8/107, moderation.
- Metely, 61/890, meet, fitting.
- Metes, 58/845, fish.
- Methe, 58/817, mead.
- Metheglin, p. 107.
- Metis, 8/95, vegetables ; *ib.* l. 101, food.
- Michaelmas to Christmas, feasts from, p. 164.
- Milk, 8/93. '*Vin sur lait, c'est souhait ; lait sur vin, c'est venin.*' Prov. Milke before wine, I would twere mine ; milke taken after, is poisons daughter. Cot. u. *Souhait*.
- Minnows, p. 104 ; 166/6.
- Misreatur*, to be learnt, 181/154.
- Misty, *adj.*, 62/911.
- Mocker, don't be a, 268/59.

- Moderation, 8/107 ; 153/5 ; 232/477. *See* Meene. Cp. p. 104 of the *Old English Homilies*, ed. Morris, 1868. 'Brutes eat as soon as they get it, but the wise man shall have times set apart for his meals, and then in reason keep to his regimen.'
- Mood, temper, passion.
- Morning prayer, p. 225.
- Morter, 66/968, bed-candle ; 160/32 ; 193/503, a kind of candle used as a night-light. Morter, a *Mortarium*, a light or taper set in churches, to burn possibly over the graves or shrines of the dead. *Cowel*. Qu. if not a cake of wax used for that purpose. Note in Brit. Mus. copy of Hawkins's *Hist. of Music*, ii. 294.
- Mortrowes, 35/520 ; 54/805 ; 56/827.
- Mortrus, 164/31.
- Motes, 16/236 ; 18/272, bits of dust, &c.
- Moths in clothes, p. 115, last line.
- Mought, flesche-, 18/280, flesh-moth, louse. 'Mowzte, clothe wyrme (mouhe, mow, mowghe), *Tinea* ; Mought that eateth clothes, *uers de drap*.' Palsgrave ; A.S. *modde*. Prompt.
- Moughtes, 64/945 ; p. 108, moths.
- Mouth, don't eat on both sides of, 179/65.
- Mouth, drink not with a full, 255/149 ; nor speak, 255/152.
- Mouth, wipe it before drinking, 255/155.
- Mowes (faces), don't make, 277, 278/29. Fr. 'Monnoye de Singe. *Moes*, mumps, mouthes ; also, frisks, leaps, gambolls. . . . Mopping, mumping, *mowing* ; also frisks, gambolls, tumbling tricks.' Cotgrave.
- Mowynge, 278/29 ; 19/291 ; making faces in derision, grimacing ; 'mowe or skorne,' *vangia vel valgia*. Pr. Parv.
- Mullet, 58/841, 850 ; 166/13.
- Mulus, a sea-fish, p. 119.
- Muscadelle, 9/118 ; p. 89, No. 6 ; 153/21, a sweet wine.
- Musclade of almonds, 55/821 ; in wortes, 55/821 ; 167/34 ; of minnows, 50/719.
- Muscles (fish), 55/819 ; p. 107 ; p. 116.
- Musculade, 166/6 ; 167/34.
- Musculus, the cocke of balena, p. 119.
- Mustard, 48/686 ; p. 100 ; 54/796 ; 58/843 ; 159/33.
- Mustard and sugar, the sauce for pheasants, &c., 36/538.
- Mustard for brawn, &c., 36/533 ; with fish, 59/853 ; with salt fish, 38/557 ; 57/832.
- Mustela, the see-wesyll, p. 119.
- Mutton, 48/688 ; p. 105. 'The moton boyled is of nature and complexion sanguyne, the whiche, to my judgement, is holsome for your grace.' *Du Guez*, p. 1071.
- Mutton, salt, to be eaten with mustard, 36/533 ; stewed, 54/798.
- Mutton, loin of, how to carve, 25/393.
- Mylet, 51/735, mullet.
- Myllewelle, the fish, 38 555 ; 50/723.
- Myñ, 199/666, less.

- Mynce, p. 151, carve.  
 Mynse, 26/400, mince.  
 Mysloset, 183/208, ? mispraised  
 or misgoing, misleading.  
 Mystere, 199/639, craft, service.  
  
 Nails to be clean, 265/10 ; 277-8/  
 22 ; 18/270 ; not to be picked  
 at meals, 255/150 ; to be kept  
 from blackness, 277-8/49.  
 Nape in the neck, the cony's to  
 be cut out, 29/455.  
 Nape, 199/659, tablecloth.  
 Naperé, 199/642, napry, table-  
 cloths and linen ; /656, table-  
 cloth.  
 Napery, 4/61.  
 Nature, all soups not made by,  
 are bad, 35/523.  
 Neckweed, p. 124, a hempen  
 halter.  
 Neck-towel, 13/194 ; p. 82 ; to  
 wipe knives on, 201/727.  
 Neghe, 178/25, eye.  
 Neeze, 211/61, sneeze.  
 Nereids, p. 119 ; p. 115.  
 Nesche, 45 / 644, tender ; 67 /  
 985, soft.  
 Newfangled, don't be, 258/13.  
 Nice, 33/508, foolish.  
 Nice, don't be too, p. 258, p. 261,  
 line N.  
 Night-cap to be of scarlet stuff, p.  
 129 ; must have a hole in the  
 top, to let the vapour out, p.  
 137.  
 Night-gown, 193/483.  
 No fixed time for meals, p. 141.  
*Noble Lyfe and Natures of Man,*  
*&c.*, by Laurens Andrewe, p.  
 113, &c. &c.
- Nombles, 35 / 521 ; see Promp-  
 torium, p. 360, note 1.  
 Nombles of a dere, 159/29,  
 entrails, from *umbilicus*.  
 Noon, dinner at, 254/128.  
 Norture, give your heart to it, 275,  
 276/5.  
 Nose, don't blow it on your dinner  
 napkin, 263/53 ; when you blow  
 it on your fingers, wipe 'em,  
 179/90.  
 Nose, don't pick it, 275, 276/12 ;  
 at meals, 255/150 ; at table,  
 267/38.  
 Nose *not* to be wiped, 274/141 ;  
 not to be wiped on your cap,  
 &c., 210/47-52.  
 Nose-napkin, 226/94.  
 Nottys, 6/78 ; p. 85, nuts.  
 Nowelte, 53/784, novelty.  
 Nowne, 179/87, own.  
 Nurrieris, 71/1039 ; p. 110.  
 Nurture, 45/651, correct way.  
 Nurture makes a man, 263/34, 30 ;  
 needful for every one, 177/4.  
 Nurtured, pray to be, 254/117.  
 Nuts, 152/19, 20.  
 Nyen, 180/116, eyes.  
  
 Oaths, hate 'em, p. 258, p. 261,  
 line O.  
 Oats, green, in a bath, 69/995.  
 Ob. 198/620, pence.  
 Obedient, servants to be, p. 207,  
 No. vi.  
 Office, 202/738, mark of office ?  
 Officers in Lords' courts, 187/327.  
 Officers, their duty, 242/19.  
 Officers of shires, cities, and  
 boroughs, their ranks to be  
 understood, 76/1130-2.

- Onions with salt lamprey, 40/569 ; p. 198.
- Onone, 196/591, anon, at once.
- Open-clawed birds to be cooked like a capon, 164/23.
- Opon, 196/580, up in ?, about, over.
- Opponents, auswer them meekly, 186/311.
- Orchun, a sea-monster, p. 120.
- Order in speech, keep, 235/696.
- Orders of chastity and poverty, monks, rank of, 71/1030.
- Orped, 258/14 ; p. 261, l. O, daring ; orpud *audax*, bellipotens. Pr. Parv.
- Oryent (jelly), 52/746, bright.
- Osey, 153/19 ; p. 206, asweet wine.
- Osprey, how to carve, 26/402 ; p. 95.
- Osulle, 28/438, the blackbird.
- Ouemast, 200/671, uppermost.
- Ouerþwart (don't be), p. 258, p. 261, l. O ; Fr. *Pervers*, peruerse, crosse, aukeward, *ouerthwart*, skittish, froward, vntoward. Cot.
- Oyster, p. 120.
- Oysters in ceuy (chive sauce), 55/822, and graney ; 167/34.
- Ox ; he is a companionable beast, p. 105.
- Oxen, three in a plough never draw well, 185/287.
- Ozey, 9/119 ; p. 90, No. 10, a sweet wine.
- Page, the King's, 75/1123.
- Pagrus, a fish, p. 120.
- Pale, 101/16, grow pale ?
- Palettis, 197/435, pallets, beds of straw or rushes.
- Palled, 13/183, stale, dead.
- Panter, 200/667.
- Pantere, 3/40 ; pantrer, 190/405, 425 ; originally the keeper and cutter-up of bread, see his duties, p. 4 ; '*Panetier*, a Pantler.' Cot. His duties, to lay the bread, knives, &c., 200/667.
- Panter and butler, p. 208, No. xii.
- Pantry, 193/499.
- Paraunce, heiers of, 193/497, heirs apparent.
- Parelle, 23/343, 'the thoþer parte' in Sloane MS. 1315.
- Parents, salute them, 226/71 ; 229/294 ; wait on 'em at table, 230/337. 'What man he is your father, you ought to make courtesye to hym all though you shulde mete hym twenty tymes a daye.' Palsgrave, ed. 1852, p. 622, col. 1.
- Paris, candles of, 205/836.
- Parish priests, rank of, 71/1032.
- Parker, 196/589 ; 197/599, park-keeper.
- Parsley roots, 56/826.
- Parsons, the duty of, 242/10 ; rank of, 71/1031 ; 73/1069.
- Partridge, 49/697 ; p. 103 ; how to carve, 25/397 ; 26/417 ; or wynges, p. 161.
- Partridge, with mustard and sugar, 36/538.
- Passage, 33/507, ? passage through the bowels, or passing out of the world.
- Past, 203/773, pasty.
- Pastey of venison, &c., 31/490.
- Pasty, lamprey, 44/631 ; p. 100.
- Patentis, 196/566, letters patent, grants, gifts by deed.

- Paternoster, 181/145.
- Patience, the fruits of, 237/821.
- Pavilowne, 73/1079, pavilion, tent.
- Payne puff, 32/497, a kind of pie, 49/699; 157/7; 163/32.
- Peacock in hakille ryally, 49/695; p. 103.
- Peacock, 28/433; and tail, 157/5.
- Pearl-muscle, the, p. 117.
- Pearl-oyster, p. 120.
- Pearls from your nose, do not drop, 18/283.
- Pears, 52/757; 55/813; 57/826; 152/19. 'Après la poire, le vin ou le prestre. Prov. After a (cold) Peare, either drinke wine to concoct it, or send for the Priest to confesse you.' Cot.
- Peas and bacon, 25/392; 34/518.
- Peautre, 153/28, pewter; cp. Margaret Paston's Letter, Dec., between 1461 and 1466, modernized ed. 1841, v. 1, p. 159. 'Also, if ye be at home this Christmas, it were well done ye should do purvey a garnish or twain of *pewter* vessell, two basins and two ewers, and twelve candlesticks, for ye have too few of any of these to serve this place.' Orig. ed. vol. iv. p. 107, Letter xxx.
- Pece, 203/792, cup.
- Peck of oats a day for a horse, 197/608.
- Pecocke of the se, p. 120.
- Pecten, a fish that winks, p. 120.
- Peeres, 6/78, 80, pears.
- Pegyll sauce, 165/4; p. 174. A malard of the downghyll ys good y-nogh for me wythe plesaunt *pylle*, or yt ys elles poyson, perde. Piers of Fullham, l. 196-7. *E. Pop. P.* vol. 2, p. 9.
- Pen, paper, and ink, to be taken to school, 217/116.
- Pentecost to Midsummer, feasts from, 163/13.
- Pepper, 58/843, eaten with beef and goose, 36/536.
- Pepyns, 6/79; p. 85, pippins. Fr. *pepin-percé*, (The name of) a certaine drie sweet apple. Cot.
- Percely, 168/1, parsley.
- Perceue, 62/917, look to, see.
- Perch, 56/824; 58/850.
- Perch (*percus*), p. 120.
- Perch in jelly, 50/707; 52/746; 157/9; 166/16.
- Perche, 10/128; 11/146, suspended frame or rod.
- Perche, to hang cloths on, 152/14.
- Perche for yprocas strainers, 153/26.
- Percher, 66/968, a kind of candle.
- Perchers, 192/467; Perchoures, 169/32; 205/826, candles, lights.
- Per-crucis*, the, 181/152.
- Peregalle, 70/1010, quite equal.
- Pereles, 72/1231, peerless, without equal.
- Pericles, the advice of, 238/891.
- Peritory, 67/991.
- Perueys, or perneys, 32/499; p. 96, a sweet pie.
- Peson, 37/547.
- Peson and porpoise, good potage, 50/720.

- Pessene, 166/23, peason, pease-broth?
- Pestelles, 164/11, 28, legs. Pestle is a hock, Fr. *Faucille* (in a horse), the bought or pestle of the thigh. Cot.
- Pestilence, silk and skins not to be worn during, p. 139.
- Petipetes, or pety-pettys, p. 32, note<sup>2</sup>; l. 499, note<sup>3</sup>. 'Petipetes, are Pies made of Carps and Eels first roasted, and then minced, and with Spices made up in Pies.' R. Holme.
- Petycote, 60/872; 61/891; 168/22, 30. Randle Holme, Bk III., chap. ii. § xxvii., p. 19, col. 1, says, 'He beareth Argent, a Semeare, Gules; Sleeves faced or turned up, Or *Petty-Coat* Azure; the skirt or bottom Laced, or Imbrauthered of the third. This is a kind of loose Garment without, and stiffe Bodies under them, & was a great fashion for Women about the year 1676. Some call them Mantua's; they have very short Sleeves, nay, some of the Gallants of the times, have the Sleeves gathered up to the top of the Shoulders and there stayed, or fastned with a Button and Loope, or set with a rich Jewel.' He gives a drawing of it two pages before.
- Petycote of scarlet over the skirt, p. 131.
- Pety peruaunt, 32/note<sup>2</sup>; 96/xx.
- Pety perueis, or permeis, 50/707; 52/748.
- Petyperuys, 157/9.
- Pewter basons, 153/28.
- Pheasant, how to carve, 27/417; to alaye or carve, p. 161.
- Pheasant to be cooked dry, and eaten with ginger, 163/17; with mustard and sugar, 36/538; stewed, 48/688; p. 101.
- Pick not your nose, teeth, or nails, 255/150; 18/283. See Nose, &c.
- Pick not your teeth with your knife, 277, 278/42.
- Pick yourself, don't, 276/14.
- Pick your teeth with a knife, or fingers, don't, 180/93.
- Pie, how to carve a, 31/482.
- Pie, 203/773.
- Pig, how to carve, 28/446; 48/689; roast, 54/801.
- Pig and ginger sauce, 36/537.
- Pig's feet, 161/9.
- Pigeon, 28/438; baked, 29/491; roast, 54/808.
- Pight, 76/1134, placed.
- Pigmies, p. 102, note.
- Pike, 50/724; p. 119; 57/839; how to carve, 39/562; p. 164, last line; colice of, 56/824.
- Pike, names of a, p. 99.
- Pike not your nose, 18/283.
- Pilgrimages vowed, to be performed, 183/201.
- Pillow, 53/925; 66/965.
- Piment, 153/22, a sweet wine. See Notes to Russell, p. 86-8.
- Pincernarius*, 190/422-3, butler.
- Pinions indigestible, 24/363.
- Pinna, a fish, p. 120.
- Pippins, 50/713; 152/25.
- Pistor*, 198/622-3, the baker.
- Plaice, p. 120; how to carve, 40/570; 167/3.
- Plaice with wine, 57/839.

- Planer, 4/58, (ivory) smoother (for salt); 152/9.
- Platere, 26/408; plater, 44/633, platter.
- Playes, 204/818, folds.
- Plizt, 16/242, fold.
- Plite, 28/434, manner.
- Plommys, 6/77, plums.
- Plover, 36/539; p. 97; 49/697; p. 158, last line; 165/1.  
Seththe sche brouzt hom in haste  
Ploverys poudryd in paste.  
*Sir Degrevant*, p. 235, l. 1402.
- Plover, how to carve, 27/417; to mynce or carve, p. 163.
- Plummets of lead, 131/4.
- Plums, 46/668; 152/20.
- Plyed, 200/690, folded.
- Plyte, 155/31, plait.
- Points, truss your masters, 62/898. To *truss* . . . *the points* was to tie the laces which supported the hose or breeches. Nares.
- Polippus, a fish, p. 117, p. 120.
- Pommander, p. 141, a kind of perfume made up in a ball and worn about the person. *See* recipes in Halliwell's Gloss.
- Poor, think of them first, 265/16.
- Poor men, their duty, 242/17.
- Pope has no peer, 70/1006; 72/1045; his father or mother is not equal to him, 74/1097-1104.
- Pork, 164/12, 28, 30, 32.
- Porpoise, 41/582; 55/823; p. 97, note on l. 533.
- Porpoise, fresh, 58/849; salt, 38/548; 57/835; 166/25.
- Portenaunce, 161/9, belongings, an animal's intestines. Palsgrave (in Halliwell).
- Porter at the gate, 177/6; to have the longest wand, 187/355; his duties and perquisites, p. 188.
- Port-payne, 17/262; p. 93; a cloth for carrying bread. Cp. 'þen brede he brynges, in towelle wrythyñ,' 200/685; cp. 203/784.
- Possate, 8/94; p. 85; posset, 152/33.
- Post, don't lean against it, 253/82; 275/9; 276/10; 186/325.
- Potage, 34/516-17; p. 102; 49/693; 52/745; 56/829; 159/30; 164/10, 13.
- Potage to be served after brawn, 48/687; p. 102; 'physicionsben of opnyon that one ought to begyn the meate of vitayle (*viandes liquides*) to thende that by that means to gyve direction to the remenant.' 1532-3. Giles du Guez's *Introductorie*, ed. 1852, p. 1071.
- Potage, how assayed, 203/765; how to be supped, 234/443-50; to be supped quietly, 179/70; eat it with a spoon, don't sup it, 255/144.
- Potelle, 11/148, a liquid measure.
- Potestate, 62/915, man of power, noble.
- Pouder, 167/16, ? ginger or pepper.
- Poudre, 164/22, ? ginger, see l. 19.
- Poudres, 163/17, spices?
- Powche, 33/501, ? poached-egg, p. 96, 49/700.
- Powder, 42/589, 597; ? salt & spice, 43/620. *The Forme of Cury* mentions 'powdour fort,'



- p. 15, p. 24, and 'powdour douce,' p. 12, p. 14, p. 25. Pegge, Pref. xxix., 'I take *powder-douce* to be either powder of galyngal (for see Editor's MS. II. 20, 24;) or a compound made of sundry aromatic spices ground or beaten small, and kept always ready at hand in some proper receptacle. It is otherwise termed *good powders*, 83. 130. and in Editor's MS. 17. 37. 38 (but see the next article,) or *powder* simply No. 169. 170. (p. 76), and p. 103, No. xxxv.'
- Powder, 40/573, ? not *sprinkle* verb, but *brine* or *salt* sb.
- Powders for sauce, 26/412.
- Powdred, 36/533; p. 97, salted. Dutch *besprenght vleesch*, Powdered or Salted meate. Hexham. Cotgrave has 'Piece de laboureur salé. A peece of *powdered* boefe. Salant . . salting; *powdering* or seasoning with salt. Charnier, a *powdering* tub. Saliere . . a salt-seller, also, a *powdering* house.' 'Item that there be no White Salt [see p. 30] occupied in my Lordis Hous withowt it be for the Pantre, or for *castyng upon meit*, or for seasonyng of meate.' *North. Hous. Book*, p. 57. The other salt was the *Bay-Saltt* of p. 32. '*Powdred* Eales or Lamprons 1 mess. 12d.' *H. Ord.* p. 175.
- Powdur, 57 / 838 ; 58 / 847, ? *blanche* powder. Fr. '*Pouldre blanche*, A powder compounded of Ginger, Cinnamon, and Nutmegs; much in vse among Cookes.' Cotgrave.
- Powt not, 19/294.
- Praised, when, rise up and return thanks, 253/104.
- Praising (flattering), don't be, p. 259, p. 261, line P.
- Pray, pp. 137, 140.
- Prayer, morning, p. 225; evening, p. 240.
- Prayer, the best, 254/117-19.
- Prayers to be said, p. 135.
- Precedence, the degrees of, p. 70-78; p. 110.
- Prechoure of pardon; rank of one, 71/1028; 73/1069.
- Precious stone, to be worn in a ring, p. 141.
- Preket, 193/510, ? not a spike to stick a light on, but a kind of candle. See note <sup>3</sup> on 214/825. One of the said groomes of the privy chamber to carry to the chaundrie all the remaine of morters, torches, quarries, *pricketts*, wholly and intirely, withoute imbesseling or purloynyng any parte thereof. *H. Ord.* p. 157.
- Prelates, the duty of, 241/3.
- Press up among the gentlefolk, don't, 262/25.
- Press not too high, 277, 278/25.
- Prest, 28/434; preste, 254/115; ready.
- Prestly, 62/910, readily.
- Pricks, Pref. p. ci.-ciii.; Sp. *fiél*, the pinne set at butts or *pricks* which archers measure to. Minsheu.
- Priest, don't blame him, 184/244.
- Primate of England, 73/1082.
- Prince, rank of a, 70/1009.
- Princes & dukes, don't be privy with them, p. 259, p. 261, line P.

- Princes, the duty of, 241/1.
- Prior of a Cathedral, 70 / 1015 ;  
simple, l. 1016 ; 72 / 1059 ;  
the ranks of.
- Priors of Canterbury & Dudley  
not to mess together, 77 /  
1145-8.
- Private dinners and suppers not  
to be allowed, p. 218, No. xvii.
- Privehouse, 63/931, privy (to be  
kept clean).
- Privy members not to be exposed,  
20/305 ; 213/141 ; or clawed,  
19/286.
- Privy seat, cover it with green  
cloth, 169/21.
- Promises, keep your, 268/48.
- Property, the difference it makes  
in the way men of the same  
rank are to be treated, p. 76-7.
- Prothonat, p. 170 ; prothonotary,  
72/1063.
- Prouande, 197/605 ; provender,  
forage for horses, used in l. 608  
for oats.
- Provinciale, 70/1021 ; 72/1062 ;  
? governor of a province.
- Prow, 271/86, advantage, duty,  
the correct thing to do.
- Prowe, 16/236 ; advantage.
- Prowl not for fleshmoths in your  
head, 18/280.
- Puff not, 20/303.
- Pullets, p. 164, last line.
- Pulter, 196/581. Fr. *Poullailler*,  
a Poulter or keeper of pullaine.  
Cot.
- Purpayne, 154/11. See Port-payne.
- Purpose, 50/720, porpoise ; roasted  
on coals, 50/724.
- Purveyde, 252 / 71, provided  
beforehand.
- Pyment, 9/118 ; p. 97, No. 4 ; p.  
96, a sweet wine.
- Pyndynge, 33/507, tormenting,  
torturing, A.S. *pinan*.
- Pyntill, a wheelk's, 44/625.
- Quail, to wynges or carve, p. 162.
- Quails, 28/437 ; 37/544 ; p. 98 ;  
49/706.
- Quarelose, p. 261, l. Q, querulous ;  
Quarel, or querel, or playnt,  
*Querela*. Prompt.
- Quarell (square) of a glasse wyn-  
dowe, p. 131, last line.
- Queder, 201/715, whether of two ;  
*never þe queder*, never mind  
which of the two ?
- Queeme, p. 261, l. Q ; A.S. *cweman*,  
to please.
- Quelmes, 201/703, covers.
- Queneborow, the Mayor of, not to  
be put beside the Mayor of  
London, 76/1138.
- Quere, 200/693, circle ?
- Questions, three, to ask your  
companions, 186/299.
- Queynt, don't be, p. 259, p. 261,  
l. 2.
- Quick in serving, be, 279, 280/61.
- Quinces, 56/826 ; baked, 50/  
708 ; in sirup, 168/1.
- Quosshyns, 63/924, cushions.
- Qweche, 186/301, who, what.
- Qwyle, 190/431, while.
- Qwysshenes, 192/456, cushions for  
a bed, ? pillows.
- Qwyte, 201/701, white.
- Rabettes sowkers, 29 / 457 ; p.  
95 ; 49/697, sucking rabbits.
- Rack for horses, 197/610.

- Rage not too much, 259/17 ; p. 261, l. R.
- Rage, p. 264, l. 76, break bounds, riot.
- Rain, the peacock's cry a token of, p. 103, note on Peacock.
- Raisins, 5/74 ; 152/21.
- Rakke, 9/115, rake, go, move, Sw. *råcka*, to stretch or reach to. Wedgwood, u. *rake*.
- Rash and reckless, be not, 19/296.
- Raspise, 9/118 ; p. 98 ; raspys, 153/21, a sweet wine.
- Raw fruits are bad, 8/97 ; 152/35.
- Ready to serve, always be, 254/110, 115.
- Raynes, towaille of, 14/213 ; p. 92. Rennes, in Brittany.  
What avayleth now my  
feather bedds soft ?  
Sheets of *Raynes*, long, large,  
and wide,  
And dyvers devyses of clothes  
chaynged oft.  
*Metrical Visions*, by George  
Cavendish, in his *Life of*  
*Wolsey*, ed. Singer, ii. 17.  
In *Sir Degrevant* the cloths  
are 'Towellys of Elylyssham,  
Whyzth as the seeys fame,'  
225/1385.
- Reason, be ruled by, 219/2 ; 234/627.
- Rebels in court to be arrested, 189/382.
- Reboyle, 8/110 ; 9/113 ; p. 86 ; 153/9, ferment and bubble out of a cask.
- Reboyle, 8/115, fermentation.
- Rechy, 23/359, ? causing belches.
- Receiver of rents, forfeits, &c., the, 196/575, 587 ; his duties, p. 197.
- Receyte, 154/17, sediment, dregs.
- Receytes, 33 / 508, takings-in, stuffing themselves with choice dishes.
- Red landlord or landlady, don't go to any, 186/307.
- Red wyne, properties of, 10/140.
- Refet, 167/8, fish entrails, roe, &c.
- Refett, 40 / 576 ; p. 99 ; ? roe, 57/839 ; p. 108.
- Regardes, 52 / 756, things to look at.
- Rehete, 256/171 ; Fr. *rehaïter*, to reuiue, reioyce, cheere vp exceedingly ; Cotgrave. 'ranimer, réjouir, refaire.' Burguy.
- Rekles, richelees, 275, 276/6, careless.
- Remelant, 178/52, remnant.
- Removing from castle to castle, 188/373.
- Remyssailes, 277/48, ? pieces put on ; Fr. *remettre*, to commit or put vnto. Cot.
- Renners, 10/127, strainers ; 153/27 ; 154/15.
- Renysshe wine, 153/20, Rhenish.  
Sche brouzthe hem Vernage  
and Crete,  
And wyne of the *Reyne*,  
l. 1704.  
And evere sche drow hem  
the wyn,  
Bothe the Roche and the  
*Reyn*,  
And the good Malvesyn,  
l. 1415.  
*Sir Degrevant*, Thornton Ro-  
mances.
- Repairs of castles, &c., the Receiver sees to, 197/601.
- Repeat gossip and secrets, don't, 264/78.

- Replye, 199/661, fold back.  
 Reprove no man, 264/67.  
 Rere, p. 151, carve; 202/754, raise, lift up.  
 Rerynge, 26/399, cutting.  
 Resayue, 196/575, receive.  
*Resceu*, 195/542, received.  
 Residencers, rank of, 73/1069.  
 Resty, 13/359, mouldy, as rusty bacon, wheat, &c., 156/6.  
 Retch not, 18/271.  
 Revelling, don't be, 259/17; p. 261, l. R.  
 Revengeful, don't be, 259/20; p. 261, l. V.  
 Reverence thy fellows, 279, 280/67.  
 Rewarde, 190/421, 418, name of the second supply of bread at table.  
 Rewe, A.S. *hréowan*, to rue, repent; *hréowian*, to feel grieved, be sorry for.  
 Reynes, 155/14. See Raynes.  
 Reynes, a kercher of, 169/28.  
 Reyse, p. 158, last line, cut off; 159/14. 'how many bestis berith lether, and how many skyn? Alle that be . . . *arrucies*, that is to say, the skyn pullyd ovyr the hed, beryth skyn.' Twety, in *Rel. Ant.*, i. 152.  
 Reysons, 5/74, raisins; 152/21.  
 Rialte, 59/858, royalty, courtly customs?  
 Ribaldry, avoid, 264/76; don't talk, 277, 278/44.  
 Rice, standing and liquid, 56/827-8; standing, 168/2.  
 Rich, their duty, 242/16.  
 Right hand, the carver's, not to touch the food, 22/327.  
 Right shoulder after your better's back, 264/85.  
 Right side, sleep on it first, p. 129.  
 Righteousness, the reward of, 182/181.  
 Riotous, don't be, 259/17; p. 261, l. R.  
 Rise when your lord gives you his cup, 254/120.  
 Rise early, 266/11; 226/58.  
 Rising, what to do on, p. 130, 133.  
 River-birds, p. 165. 'And all foules (*uolatilles*) and byrdes of water (*riuiéres*), as ben swannes, gese, malardes, teales, herons, bytters (*butors*), and all suche byrdes ben of nature melancolyke, lesse neverthesse rosted then boyled.' *Du Guez*, p. 1071.  
 River water in sauce, 36/540.  
 Roach, 40/574; p. 98; 58/841, 849.  
 But in stede of sturgen or lamprons  
 he drawyth vp a gurnerd or gogeons,  
 kodlynges, konger, or suche queyse fysche  
 As wolwyche *roches* that be not worth a rusche.  
 Piers of Fullham, l. 17-20, *E. Pop. P.*, v. 2, p. 3.  
 Roast apples and pears, 152/26.  
 Roast beef; garlicitsauce, 36/536.  
 Roast porpoise, 166/8.  
 Rob, 187/327, rub.  
 Robe, 62/908. *Robbe d'autruy ne fait honneur à nulluy*: Prov. No apparell can truly grace him that owes [= owns] it not. Cotgrave, u. *Autruy*.

- Robes ; yeomen and servants to wear, p. 216, No. vii.
- Roche alum, p. 134.
- Rochet, 167/5 ; p. 174, roach. 'Rutilus, the Roach or *Rochet* ; a Fish.' Phillips.
- Rods, four officers to bear, 187/353.
- Romney modoun, 8/96, 104 ; 9/116, 119 ; p. 86 ; p. 89, note 7 and 6 ; 152/34 ; 153/3, 21.
- Roppes, 34/512, bowels.
- Rose, coloured, 153/14, a wine ? 'Eau clairette. A water (made of Aquauite, Cinnamon, Sugar, and old red Rose water) excellent against all the diseases of the Matrix.' Cot.
- Rosewater, 135/2 ; p. 139 ; after a bath, 67/985.
- Roughe, 45/644, roe.
- Rovnynge, 253/95, whispering.
- Rounde, 269/54 ; Fr. *suroreiller*, to round, or whisper in the care. Cot.
- Rownyng, 184/250, whispering.
- Rub yourself every day, p. 133 ; p. 138, 139, 142.
- Rub yourself, don't, 275/14.
- Rub your teeth, p. 133.
- Rubus, a fish, p. 121.
- Ruffelynge, 16/250, ruffling.
- Rumbus, a fish, p. 120.
- Russell, John : his *Boke of Nurture*, p. 1-83 ; describes his position and training, p. 79, 81, 82.
- Rybbewort, 68/992.
- Ryme, 193/507 ? haste ; A.S. *hrým*, *hrúm* is soot ; *rúm*, room, space ; *ryman*, to make room, give place, make way. Bosworth.
- Ryoche, a fish, p. 121.
- Sad, 276/17, steady, fixed.
- Saddles, old, for yeomen, 197/613.
- Sadly, 43/621, quietly ?
- Sadnes, 21/308, sobriety.
- Saffron, capons coloured with, 161/1.
- Sage, frutуре, 50/708.
- Salads, 8/97 ; green, are bad, 152/35. 'He that wine drinks not after a (cold) *sallate*, his health indangers (and does wrong to his palate).' Cot. See a recipe for Salat of 14 vegetables, &c., in *The Forme of Cury*, p. 41, No. 76.
- Sale, 178/44, hall.
- Salens, 166/8 ; p. 174, a fish.
- Salere, 256/159 ; saller, 200/670 ; Fr. *saliere*, a salt-cellar, a table or trencher salt. Cot.
- Salmon, 41/583 ; 57/833 ; p. 121 ; 167/10.
- Salmon bellows, 50/179 ; salted, 38/555.
- Salmon's belly, 55/823.
- Salpa, a fish, p. 121.
- Salt to be white, 4/57 ; put some on your trencher, 256/161 ; take it with your knife, 279, 280/65 ; 232/440 ; don't dip meat into it, 267/29. See Salt-cellar.
- Salt as sauce, p. 161-2.
- Salt and wine, fresh-herring sauce, 45/645.
- Salt fish and salmon, 166/30.
- Salt-fish, how to serve up, p. 38-9.

- Saltcellar, 14/199 ; 155/1, 3.  
 Saltcellar, dip no food into it, 256/159 ; 267/29 ; 181/129.  
 Salt-sellere, 4/60, salt-cellar.  
 Salute thy school-master and -fellows, 227/150-4.  
 Samoun bellows, 50/719.  
*Sanguineus* or Spring, 51/729 ; p. 104 ; 53/769, 787.  
 Sans, 63/922, sense, smell.  
 Sapphire, 141/7.  
 Sarcell (Fr. *cercelle*, (the water-fowle called) a Teale, Cot.), how to breke or carve, p. 163.  
 Sargeaunt of law, rank of, 71/1026 ; 73/1067.  
 Satchell for school-books, 226/110 ; 227/160.  
 Satin, a lord's cloak of, 62/914.  
 Sauce, p. 151, carve.  
 Sauces for flesh, p. 35-7 ; for fish, p. 56-9 ; 166/4 ; for fowles, p. 159 ; for the second course of a dinner, p. 163.  
 Sauerly, 26/415, as if he liked it.  
 Sawcere, 32/495.  
 Sawge, 33/501, ? sage.  
 Say, fruyter, 159/24 ; p. 173.  
 Sayed, 193/495, 498, tried, tasted against poison.  
 Sayes, 202/764, assays, tastes.  
 Sayntis, 183/201, saints' shrines.  
 Scabiose, 69/994 ; p. 109.  
 Scandal, don't talk, 272/99.  
 Scarlet, 62/914, scarlet stuff or cloth.  
 Schone, 196/590, shall.  
 Schyn, shall, 197/607.  
 School, boy going to, how to behave, p. 227 ; what to learn at, p. 181, The Second Book.  
 School, go to, after dinner, 209/19.  
 Schrubbynge, 20/300, rub, scrub.  
 Schyuer, 200/692, slice ; "schy-vyt, *fissula*, *abscindula*." Prompt.  
 Scilla, a sea-monster, p. 121.  
 Scissors for candle-snuff, 205/829.  
 Scorn no one, 253/100 ; 264/65.  
 Scorn not the poor, 268/57.  
 Scoring on a rod the messes for dinner, 190/407 ; done to check the cook, 190/415.  
 Scorning to be avoided, 19/291.  
 Scorpion of the sea, p. 122.  
 Scratch yourself before your lord, don't, 276/14.  
 Screen in hall, 178/28.  
 Screens against heat to be provided, 192/462.  
 Sea-bull (*focas*), p. 118.  
*Seager's Schoole of Vertue*, p. 221-43 ; Pref. to Russell, p. lxxviii.  
 Seal, 55/823 ; 166/13 ; 167/35.  
 Seal ? (zele), 38/548 ; 39/583.  
 Sea-mouse, p. 119.  
 Sea-snails, p. 116.  
 Seaward, 45/642, just from the sea.  
 Seche, 21 / 315, carve certain birds ?  
 Secrets, don't tell 'em to a shrew, 184/245.  
 Seeke, 9/116, sick, (wine) out of condition.  
 Seew, 280/57, ? a stew ; sew, *cepu-latum*. Prompt. See Sewes.  
 Sege, 65/954, evacuating oneself ; p. 63, note <sup>2</sup>.

- Seluage, 199/657, 661, edge of a table-cloth.
- Semblaunt, 183/192, seeming, countenance.
- Semble, 76/1140, putting together.
- Semethe, 43/621, seems good to, it pleases.
- Sen, 250/3, since.
- Sendell, 62/914, a fine silk stuff; Fr. *cedal*. H. Coleridge.
- Seneschallus*, 194/520-1, the steward.
- Sentory, 68/992, centaur.
- Seneca's advice, 238/887.
- Sere, 256/164; 185/262, several, different.
- Serjeant of arms, rank of, 71/1034.
- Serra, a fish, p. 71.
- Seruce, 278, 277/26, food served to a person, allowance.
- Servants, duties of, p. 215; 241/7.
- Servants to sit at meals together, not here 4 and there 3, p. 216, No. ix.
- Server with the dishes, follows the steward, 194/532.
- Service to be fairly to all, p. 217, No. xiii.
- Serving at table, how to behave when, p. 229-31.
- Servitors to carry dishes to the dinner-table, 49/682-3.
- Set not an hawe, 8/99, value not a haw.
- Sewe, p. 146; 164/31, ? stew.
- Sewe, 55/819, course.
- Sewere, 45/654, 657, the arranger of dishes on a table. Du. *een opperste Tafel-dienaer*, A Master-suer, or a Stuard that sets the courses or messes of meate on the table. Hexham.
- Sewer, his duties, p. 46-7; p. 156-7.
- Sewes (service, courses), on fish-dayes, p. 55.
- Sewes, 154/17, stews or dishes of food?
- Sewes, 33/509; 35/523, soups or stews.
- Sewynge, borde or table of, 156/26, serving-up.
- Sewynge of flesshe, p. 156.
- Sewynge, in, 51/734, serving, course; ? not *insewynge*, ensuing.
- Shall, 169/14, for shake. See Pref. p. lxxxix. l. 5.
- Shame the reward of lying, 240/960.
- Share with your fellows, 270/95; 277, 278/47.
- Share fairly a joint gift, 183/197.
- Sheets to be clean, 63/922; to be sweet and clean, 169/14.
- Shene, 198/622, fair, beautiful.
- Shewethe, 45/657, arranges courses and dishes.
- Shirt, a clean, 60/871; 168/22; to be warmed, l. 25.
- Shirt-collar, 226/85.
- Shoes to be clean, 226/92; servants not to wear old ones, p. 216, No. vii.
- Shoeing horses,  $\frac{1}{2}$  a day for, 197/616.
- Shoñ, shoes, 60/874; 65/961.
- Shore, a-; Shaylyng with the knees togyther, and the fete a sonder, a *eschais*. Palsgrave, p. 841,

- col. 2. *Fauquet*, A shaling wry-legd fellow. Cotgrave.
- Short word, the first, is generally true, 183/211.
- Shovelar, Shoveller, 28 / 433 ; 37 / 541 ; p. 98, 157 / 6, the bird.
- Show out thy visage, 279, 280/75.
- Shrimps, how to serve up, 45 / 646-9 ; 52/748 ; 56/824 ; 58 / 850 ; 167/32.
- Shrukkyng, 19/287, shrugging. Schruggyng, *frigulo*. Prompt.
- Shyn, shall, 191/435.
- Sicurly, 73 / 1080, surely, certainly.
- Side, 16/248, breadth.
- Sigh not before your lord, 19 / 297.
- Signet, 36/535, cygnet, swanling.
- Skyft, 183/198. A.S. *scyft*, division ; *scyftan*, to divide.
- Skyfted of, 189/402, shifted off.
- Silence fittest for a child at table, 232/489.
- Silent, he, 209 / 8 ; while your lord drinks, 253/92.
- Silk to be worn in summer, p. 133.
- Silk garments, p. 139.
- Silver, the dishes of, 202/757.
- Silver given away by the almoner as he rides, 202/743.
- Sinews indigestible, 24/362.
- Siren or Mermaid, 'a dedely beste,' p. 121-2.
- Sirippe, 51/733, syrup.
- Sireppis, 33/509 ; 35/524, syrups, t. i. stews or gravies.
- Siruppe, 25/397 ; 26/400 ; sauce for partridges, &c.
- Sit, don't, till bidden, 265/14 ; 270/89 ; sit properly, 214/149 ; sit down when you're told to, 253/97 ; and where you're told, 270 / 91 ; 187 / 345. "*Il se peut seoir sans contredit qui se met là ou son hoste luy dit* : Prov. He needs not feare to be chidden that sits where he is bidden ; (the like is) *Il se peut bien seoir a table quand le maistre luy commande* : Prov. Well may he sit him downe whom he that may sets downe.
- Sixpence, the value of each mess at dinner, 190/413.
- Sixpence the receiver's fee, 197 / 598.
- Skynnery, 64/946, skins, furs.
- Skins, indigestible, 24/367 ; of cloven-footed birds not wholesome, 165/28 ; to be cut off boiled flesh, 165/7 ; to be pared off salt fish, 38/553.
- Skins the huntsman's perquisite, 198/636.
- Skirt of a man's dress, 179/91.
- Slake, appease ; A.S. *slacian*, to slacken.
- Slake, 31/483-4, cut.
- Slander, don't talk, 180/101.
- Sleep at mid-day not wholesome, 65/952.
- Sleep, how much to be taken, 130/5 ; evils of too much, 226 / 54.
- Slegh, 186/300, cunning, careful.
- Sling, p. 19, note ; blow your nose with and through your fingers. 'Still in use in America.' G. P. Marsh.
- Slippers brown as the waterleech, 60/874 ; 67/987 ; 168/31.
- Slutt, 42/590, awkward animal.
- Smack your lips, don't, 232/455



- Small pieces, eat, 267/37.  
 Smallache, 68/993.  
 Small birds, how to carve, 30/473.  
 Sneeze; turn your back to people when you sneeze, 211/61.  
 Smaragd (an emerald) good against falling-sickness, p. 141.  
 Snetyng, p. 262, l. 19, snotting, wiping your nose with your fingers. 'Mouchement: u. A *snyting*, or wiping of the nose.' Cot.  
 Sniff not too loud, 18/284.  
 Snite not (blow with your fingers) your nose too loud, 18/284. 'Deux pour vn. The *Snyte*-knave; teamed so, because two of them are worth but one good *Snyte*.' Cotgrave. 'To *Snite*. To wipe, or slap. *Snite* his snitch; wipe his nose, i. e. give him a good knock.' 1796. *Dict. of the Vulgar Tongue*.  
 Snyte or snipe, how to carve, 27/421; p. 163; 37/544; 98/2; 49/706; p. 104; 165/3.  
 Snuff of candles taken away with scissors, 205/829.  
 Snuffers, 205/830.  
 Snuffle, don't, 211/57.  
 Socks, 60/873; 61/894; 62/895; 65/961; 67/987; 130/12.  
 Socrates wiped his nose on his cap, a bad example, 210/45.  
 Soil the cloth, don't, 255/147.  
 Solaris, a fish, p. 122.  
 Soles, 40/578; 50/724; p. 122; 58/841.  
 Soleyn, 50/709, solemn.  
 Solopendria, a fish, p. 122.  
 Somet, 194/540, summed.  
 Somon, 51/733, salmon.  
 Sops, 33/509.  
 Sore, 178/42, sorrow, pain.  
 Sorrel with goose, 164/2.  
 Sotelte, 202/758, dodge, way.  
 Sotelte, a device after each course of a dinner, 48/690; 49/702; 50/710; 52/726, 738; 52/750, 765; p. 53-54; 157/2. Does Chaucer allude to these when speaking of the 'excesse of divers metis and drinkis, and namely of suche maner of bake metis and dische metes brennyng of wilde fuyr, and *peynted and castelid with papire*, and semblable wast, so that is abusion for to thinke.' *Persones Tale*, ed. Morris, iii. 299. 'A soteltie with writing of balads' came at the end of the first course of Hen. VII.'s marriage-feast in 1487. *Italian Relation*, p. 115. Rabett sowker, in 2nd course, *ib*.  
 Souls in purgatory, pray for, 268/30.  
 Sowkers, 29/457, suckling.  
 Sows fed with fish, p. 104, note on l. 737.  
 Sowse, 23/360, pickled.  
 Spain, tapetis or carpets of, 192/457.  
 Sparling, names of a, p. 99.  
 Sparlynge, 59/833, the fish sperling. Fr. *esperlan*, a smelt, Cot. Spurlin, a smelt, Fr. *esperlan*. Skinner, in Prompt.  
 Sparrows, 28/437; 37/543; 49/706; p. 104.  
 Speak well of all men, 272/100.  
 Speaker of the Parliament, rank of, 72/1052.

- Speche, 205/845, book or division of a poem.
- Speech mars or makes a man, 264/81-2.
- Speke, 156/17, speak of.
- Spermyse chese, p. 84-5, note to l. 74.
- Spiced cakes, 55/816.
- Spicery, 12/171, spices; p. 91.
- Spicery and store; Clerk of the Kitchen keeps the, 195/559.
- Spicery, the officer of the, 46/666.
- Spices, 55/813.
- Spill the gravy on your parents' clothes, don't, 230/342.
- Spill your food, don't, 269/59.
- Spit not, 18/271; modestly, 212/101; not over much at meals, 232/498.
- Spit on or over the table, don't, 267/43; 179/85; 167/43.
- Spit in the washing basin, don't, 271/87; or loosely about, 181/134.
- Spit, when you do, cover your mouth with your hand, 272/117.
- Spit and snite, don't, 262/19; when you do, tread it out, 212/107.
- Splat, 40/576, split open.
- Splatte, p. 151, carve.
- Splaye, p. 151, carve.
- Splayd, 13/186, set out; 63/928, displayed, decked.
- Sponges for bathing, 66/978; 67/979-84.
- Spony stele, 200/677, the spoon handle.
- Spoon, don't leave yours in the dish, 255/145.
- Spoon, not to be filled full, 279, 280/59; not to be put in the dish, 272/125; not to stand in the dish, 179/71.
- Spoon; wipe it clean, 277, 278/35; take it out of the dish when you've finished, 267/42.
- Spowt not with your mouth, 19/293.
- Spoyle, p. 151, carve.
- Spring, the device of, 53/771.
- Sprottes, 167/33, sprats.
- Spycery, 156/25.
- Spyrre, p. 251, l. 37; A.S. *spyrian*, to track, seek, inquire, investigate, Sc. *speir*. O.N. *spiria*.
- Spyrryng, p. 251, l. 39, seeking, inquiring.
- Squatinus, a fish, p. 123.
- Squire's table, who may sit at, 66/1040; 169/3.
- Squirt not with your mouth, 19/293.
- Squyer, his wages paid by the treasurer, 196/586.
- Stabelle, 182/169, support.
- Stamell, 132/5, a kind of fine worsted. Halliwell; Fr. *estamé*, worsted. Cot.
- Stammering is a foul crime, 236/708.
- Stand, if you do, be ware of falling, 184/239.
- Stand not still on stones, p. 132.
- Stand upright, 276/16; 209/1.
- Stans Puer ad Mensam*, two English texts, p. 275-82.
- Standard, 49/694, ? the chief dish at a dinner, served standing, 157/3. 'A large or standing dish,' says Pegge, on Sir J. Nevile's 'a Roe roasted for

- Standert, *Forme of Cury*, p. 173, 'for a Standert, Cranes 2 of a dish,' p. 174, l. 3.
- Standarde, 166/12, ? chief dish of fish.
- Stapulle, 72/1064, Calais.
- Stare about, don't, 252/68; 259/18; p. 261, l. S; 209/3.
- State, 17 / 252, a grand curl-up or arrangement of a cloth or towel.
- State, 17/253; p. 83, master of the house.
- States, 55 / 821, nobles? '*de twaelf Genooten ofte Staten van Vranckrijck*, The twelve Peeres or *States* of the Kingdome of France.' 1660. Hexham.
- Staunche, 12/174; Fr. *estancher*, to stanch or stop the flow of liquid. Sp. *estancar*, to stop a leak; *estanco*, water-tight. A *stanch* vessel is one that will hold the water in or out, whence fig. *stanch*, firm, reliable. Wedgwood.
- Staunche, 185/273, stop, stay.
- Stealing dishes, to be watched against, 47/680.
- Sted, 43/614, treated, served.
- Steward, his duties, 194 / 521 (many are false, l. 522); he sits on the dais in hall, 177/20; carries a staff, 187/354; 188/358; is to keep good order in hall, p. 217, No. xiii.
- Stewe or bath, p. 66.
- Stewed beef or mutton, 54/798.
- Stewed pheasant, 48/688.
- Stinking breath not to be cast on your lord, 20/302.
- Stirring, don't be too, 259/18; p. 261, l. S.
- Stockdove, 25/397.
- Stockfish, 39/558; p. 98; 58/845; p. 121. 'The Icelandic fare is not more inviting than the houses. Stockfish and butter eaten in alternate mouthfuls form the ordinary materials of a meal. The former, however, has to be pummelled on a stone anvil with a sledge hammer before even the natives can bite it; and, after it has undergone this preparation, seems, according to Mr Shepherd, to require teeth to the manner born. The latter is made from sheep's milk, and as it is kept through the winter in skins, becomes "rancid beyond conception in the early spring."—*Chronicle*, Aug. 10, 1867, on *Shepherd's North-West Peninsula of Iceland*.
- Stocks, the porter keeps the, 188 / 362.
- Stomach the body's kitchen, 136 / 14-15.
- Stomacher, 61/893; 168/30.
- Stop strife between brothers, 185 / 271.
- Stork; it snuffles, don't you, 211/59.
- Stork, 28/433; 49/695; 157/4. *See* Pigmies.
- Storuyn, 212/766, spoilt by cold.
- Stounde, 66/965, moment.
- Straddle, don't, 214/151.
- Strangers, honour them, 171/28; always admit, p. 217, No. xv.; share good food with them, 256 / 169; the porter warns them, 188/368.
- Strangers, visitors and residents, 75/1109-10.
- Strawberries, 6/78; 7/82; p. 85, note to l. 81; 152/24.

- Straynoure, p. 146/14, strainer.
- Streets, how boys are to walk in, 227/134.
- Stretch your limbs, pp. 130, 133, 138.
- Strife not to be allowed in a household, p. 216, No. v.
- Strive not with your lord, 183/226. *See* Master.
- Strongere, 204 / 801, stranger, guest.
- Strye, 183/223, destroy.
- Stryke 18 / 280, stroke. ' I stryke ones heed, as we do a chyldes whan he dothe well. *Je applanie*. . . My father sayeth I am a good sonne, he dyd stryke my heed by cause I had conned my lesson without the booke.' Palsgrave. *See* also ' I stryke softly ' and ' I stroke ones heed,' p. 741, ed. 1852.
- Strynge, p. 151, carve.
- Stuff, 42/592, 594, crab's flesh ; 167/16, a crab's inside.
- Stuff, 31/485, gravy ?
- Stuff your jaws, don't, 277, 278/31.
- Sturgeon, 41/583 ; 52/746 ; 58/850 ; p. 122 ; 166/16 ; salt, 57/836.
- Stut, 236/706, to stutter, is a foul crime.
- Subjects, their duty, 242/15.
- Suffrigan, 70/1013 ; Fr. *suffragant*, A Suffragan, a Bishops deputie. Cot.
- Sugar and mustard, the sauce for partridges, &c., 36/538.
- Sugar and salt as a sauce, with Curlews, &c., 36/540.
- Sugar, strewed on baked herrings, 50/722 ; 38/550.
- Sugar candy (*sugre candy*, 10/139) ; 52/757 ; 135/11 ; p. 141 ; 166/18.
- Summedelasse, 204/808, some deal less.
- Summer, the device of, 51/739-43.
- Sun, face and neck to be kept from, 132/8.
- Sup not your food up lowdly, 272/127 ; 277/40 ; 278/37 ; 179/69.
- Supervisor*, 195/544-5, surveyor.
- Suppers to be light, p. 131 ; to be larger than dinners, p. 142. *See* the one in Sir Isumbras, *Thornton Romances*, p. 235, &c.
- Surnape, how to lay, p. 16-17 ; p. 92-3 ; 155/26 ; it was the upper towel or cloth for the master of the house to wipe his hands on after washing them when dinner was done. The sewer to bring it after dinner, 204/809-20.
- Surueynge borde, 47/675, table or dresser on which the cook is to put the dishes for dinner.
- Surveyor of the dishes for dinner, 46/672 ; 47/674, 676.
- Surveyor, his duties, 195/545.
- Suwe, 264/83 ; O.Fr. *seure*, *sevre*, Fr. *suivre*, L. *sequor*, follow.
- Swallow, 28/438 (the bird).
- Swan, 48/688 ; p. 91 ; how to carve, 26/402 ; to lyfte or carve, p. 161.
- Swan ; its sauce is chaudon, 56/535 ; p. 97 ; its skin is to be cut off, 165/15.
- Swashbucklers, hanging good for, p. 125.

- Swear not, 270/75.
- Swear no oaths, 277, 278/44.
- Swearing, against, p. 236, cap. xi. See Ascham's account and condemnation of it in 1545, *Toxophilus*, p. 45, ed. Giles, and in his *Schoolmaster*, p. 131, of the little child of four roundly rapping out his ugly oaths.
- Sweet words, ware; the serpent was in 'em, 183/207.
- Swenge, 96/1, beat up.
- Swordfish, 41/582; p. 118; salt, 57/836.
- Swyng, p. 145, beat, whip, mix.
- Syce, 192/469, candle-stick or holder; but 'Syse, waxe candell, bougee.' Palsgrave in Halliwell.
- Syde, p. 151, carve.
- Syles, 200/695, strains. See *Corrigenda*.
- Sylour, 191/445, tester and valances of a bed.  
Hur bede was off aszure,  
With testur and celure,  
With a bryzt bordure  
Compasyd ful clene.  
*Sir Degrevant*, l. 1473-6; p. 238. A tester ouer the beadde, *canopus*. Withals.
- Symple condicions (how to behave when serving at table, &c.), p. 18; p. 83.
- Synamome, 10/133, 136.
- Syngeler, 79/1184, single.
- Syngulerly, 73/1074, 1079, by itself.
- Table for dinner, how the ewer and panter are to lay it, p. 199-201.
- Table, how to lay and serve the, pp. 13-18; how to wait at, p. 229, cap. iii.
- Table, how to behave when sitting at, 231/423; 255/136; 263/39; 265/15; 270/94.
- Table-cloth, don't dirty it with your knife, 180/110; 272/119; 277/39; 278/40; or wipe your teeth on it, 180/115.
- Table-knife, 22/334, ? a broad light knife for lifting bread-trenchers on to the table.
- Table-knives, 152/13.
- Tacches, 20/306, faults, ill manners.
- Tacchis, p. 261, l. K; 258/10; tricks, ways; tetch'e, or maner of condycyone, *mos, condicio*. Prompt. He that gentyl is, wylle drawe hym vnto gentil *tatches*, and to folowe the custommes of noble gentylnen. Caxton's *Maleore*, v. i. p. 250, ed. 1817.
- Take leave of all the company after dinner, 271/91-3.
- Take the best bit, don't, 277, 278/45.
- Talwys, p. 261, l. T; 259/19; full of slander; A.S. *tal*, reproach, blame, slander, accusation, false witness, a fable, tale, story. Bosworth (from whom all the A.S. words are quoted). Du. *taalwitter*, a censorious critic. Sewel. 'Talv has for its first signification *censure*; and "wise at *censure*," *censorious*, is an ancient Momus.' Cockayne.
- Talk at meals, don't, 267/51; 272/101.
- Talk loud, don't, 277, 278/30.

- Talk too much, don't, 269/58; 219/6; 279, 280/74.
- Talking to any man, how to behave when, p. 235, cap. vii.; 252/64; 270/65; 275, 276/16.
- Tamed, 23/345, trimmed, or ? cut down.
- Tampyne, 5/68, a stopper.
- Tansey, 159/26; is good hot, 33/503.
- Tansy cake, p. 96.
- Tansye fried, 161/10.
- Tansey gyse, a, 52/749, a dish of tansey of some kind.
- Tantablin, 96/14, a kind of tart.
- Tapet, 193/484, cloth.
- Tapetis, 192/457, 460, cloths, carpets, or hangings.
- Tarrer, p. 5, l. 65, l. 71, an auger. *Tarere* por percier. *De L'Ous-tillement au Villain*. ed. 1833, p. 10. *Tarré* . . Having an ouerture or hole. *Taré*, worme-eaten, or full of holes. Cot.
- Tarryours, 152/14, augers.
- Tartlett, 35/521.
- Tarts, 161/4; 164/29.
- Tast, 63/922, test, try.
- Taste every dish, 256/165.
- Tastynges, 80/1195-9 (tasting or testing food to see that there's no poison in it), is only done for a king, &c., down to an earl, 193/495-6. *See* Credence.
- Tattle, don't, 264/78.
- Tayme, p. 151, cut up.
- Teal, p. 164, last line; how to carve, 26/401; p. 95; p. 163.
- Teal pie, 31/481.
- Teeth, to be washed, 226/100; to be kept white, 213/121; how to keep clean, p. 134.
- Teeth not to be picked at meals, 255/150; 263/54; 20/301; 232/495; not to be picked with a knife, 277, 278/42; or a stick at meals, 180/93.
- Temper, 42/595, season, sauce; 44/636, mix.
- Temper thy tongue and belly, 232/476.
- Temperance is best, p. 261, l. T; 259/19.
- Temporaunce, 130/4, moderate temperature.
- Tenants, to be asked after, p. 218, No. xvi.
- Tench, how to carve, 41/586; p. 122.
- Tenche in gelly, 166/14.
- Tene, 21/319, trouble.
- Tene, 64/934, vex, trouble.
- Tent, heed, attention.
- Tent, 190/430, attend to, take charge of.
- Tepet, 179/92, a man's tippet.
- Testudo, p. 123, the tortoise or turtle.
- þan, 53/785, that, which.
- Thank him who gives you food, 271/92.
- þanghe, 52/761, though.
- The, 263/32, thrive.
- þegre, 264/66, degree, state.
- Theologicium, 87/7, the monks wine.
- Think before you speak, 252/71.
- Third man, never be, 185/287.
- þo, 262/5, do, put.
- Thornback, 41/584; p. 99, two notes; 58/844; 167/10; 168/11.
- Thorpole, 167/10. *See* Thurle-polle.

- Three or four at a mess, 171/13 ; 72/1057.
- Threpole, 168/8 ; ?thurlepolle.
- Throat, don't get food into your wrong one, or it will do for you, 180/99.
- Thrushes, 28/438 ; 37/543 ; 165/3.
- Thumb, don't dip yours into your drink, 181/127.
- Thurle-polle, 41/584 ; p. 99 ; salt, 57/837.
- Thye, p. 151, carve.
- Tizt, 74/1095, draws, grows, from A.S. *teon*.
- Time (a) for all things, 234/587.
- Tintern, the abbot of, the poorest of all abbots, 76/1142.
- Tintinalus, a fish, p. 122.
- Toes, keep 'em still, 186/320.
- Tome, 177/10, opportunity.
- Tongue ; don't let yours walk, 232/472 ; don't poke it out and in, 212/97 ; charm it, 229/284.
- Tooth-picker (A.D. 1602), p. 136, p. 142 ; Sp. *escarvadiantes*, a tooth-picker, a tooth-scraper. 1591, Percivale, by Minshew, 1623.
- Top crust for the lord, 139/342 ; p. 271.
- Torches, 193/508 ; 205/825.
- Torn clothes to be mended, 226/102.
- Tornsole, 153/25 ; 154/1 ; Pegge says 'Not the flower Heliotrope, but a drug. Northumb. Book, p. 3, 19. I suppose it to be *Turmeric*. V. Brooke's Nat. Hist. of Vegetables, p. 9, where it is used both in victuals and for dying.' *Forme of Cury*, p. 38. See Turnsole.
- Torrentyne of Ebrew, 9/119 ; p. 90, No. 11 ; a sweet wine.
- Torrentyne, 57/835 ; p. 107 ; the trout. Fr. *torrentin* is 'Belonging to, or abiding in, torrents, or swift and violent streames.' Cot. See Turrentyne.
- Torrentille, 38/548 ; p. 98, a fish. ? what.
- Tortes, 193/492 ; p. 193, note 2, a kind of light ; 193/510 ; 205/825 ; 204/note 1
- Totter, don't, 214/151.
- Towel, don't dirty it at dinner, 263/52.
- Towel, a narrow and a broad, to wash with after dinner, 204/811.
- Towel, 2 knights to hold before the lord's sleeves, 201/713.
- Towse, 53/781, ? oakum.
- Trace, 46/664, way ; 234/630, track, path.
- Trample not with your feet, 20/299.
- Transsene, p. 151, cut up.
- Traunche, p. 151, cut up.
- Tre, 201/701, wood.
- Treasurer, his duties, 196/573-94 ; he sits on the dais in hall, 177/20.
- Treatable, 230/323, distinctly.
- Trencher bread, 4/56 ; p. 84 ; to be 4 days old, 152/7. 'Item that the *Trencher Brede* be maid of the Meale as it cummyth frome the Milne.' *Northumberland H. Book*, p. 58.
- Trenchere lovis, 14/197 ; p. 84 ; 154/35 ; p. 157 ; loaves of coarse unsifted meal ; the panter to bring in three, 200/667.

- Trencher-knife, p. 22, note <sup>2</sup>; 152/3.
- Trencher, no filth to be on, 269/73; not to be loaded with scraps, 277/48; 278/48.
- Trenchers, how to be laid on table, p. 22; four to the lord, and one a-top, 201/723; p. 160, and the collations of the first edition.
- Trestis, 204/822, trestles.
- Trestuls, 189/389; trestles, 192/464.
- Tretably, 235/673, ? Fr. *traictable*, courteous, gracious, tractable, pliant, facile, intreatable. Cotgrave.
- Trete, 43/612, trouble?
- Treteable, 279, 280/78; Fr. *traictable*.
- Trifelynge, 19/287, ? rocking, swaying about.
- Trinity, bless oneself with, 181/149.
- Trompe, the crane's, 28/431-2; 159/5.
- Trout, 40/578; 51/735; p. 123; 167/9.
- True, be, in word and deed, 268/41.
- Trusse, 62/898, pull.
- Tunny, p. 97, note on l. 533.
- Turbot, 41/583; 51/735; 167/10; fresh, 59/852.
- Turnsole, 9/123; 11/143; p. 91; turnesole is used to make *pownas* colour (? *pownas*, puce) in *Forme of Cury*, recipe 68, p. 38. See Turnsole.
- Turrentyne salt, 168/7.
- Turrentyne, sele, 166/25; p. 174.
- Tursons, p. 50, note <sup>6</sup>.
- Tuske, p. 151, carve.
- Tutia, 135/10, for Tutia; Fr. *Tuthie*: f. Tutie; a medicinable stone or dust, said to be the heauier foyle of Brasse, cleauing to the vpper sides and tops of Brasse-melting houses: and such doe ordinary Apothecaries passe away for *Tutie*; although the true *Tutie* be not heauie, but light and white like flocks of wooll, falling into dust as soon as it is touched; this is bred of the sparkles of brasen furnaces, whereinto store of the mineral Calamine, beaten to dust, hath been cast. Cotgrave.
- Two at a mess, who may sit, 72/1049; 179/7; who, two or three, 72/1051-5; carver is to put on, 179/9.
- Two fingers and thumb, carver is to put, on a knife, 21/320; p. 157.
- Two fingers, a lord to eat with, 30/467.
- Twopence or threepence a day, the wages of a groom or page, 198/619-20.
- Twynkelynge, 18/281, blinking.
- Twyte, 256/179, hack; 'telwyn, or thwytyyn (twhytyyn, twytyyn). *Abseco, reseco.* P. Parv.
- Tyer, 153/21, Tyrian wine.
- Tyere, p. 151, cut up.
- Tymbre that fyre, p. 151, put wood on it.
- Tyre, 9/119; p. 90, No. 9, a sweet wine.
- Unbrace, p. 151, carve.
- Unbrushen, 64/944.
- Uncleanness to be abhorred, p. 140.
- Uncountabulle, 195/544, not accountable to any other officer of the household?



- Uncover thy head when talking to any man, 236/722.
- Undefined, 23/359, ? unqualified, unguarded against, uncooked.
- Undercrust of a loaf to be cut in three, 178/39.
- Undertraunche, p. 151, cut up.
- Undress by the fire, p. 136; in winter, p. 142.
- Undressing described, p. 169; and going to bed, 193/487, &c., 194/516.
- Unfed, better than untaught, 236/725.
- Unjoint, p. 151, carve.
- Unlace, 21/315, 322; p. 151, carve (a cony); 26/410 (a capon).
- Unsunken, 191/441.
- Untache, p. 151, carve.
- Upbrayde, 25/395, reproach.
- Upper-crust of a loaf for the lord, 23/342; p. 157 at foot; to be cut in four, 178/37.
- Upright, sit, 270/93.
- Upright, p. 129, with the face upwards. "I throwe a man on his backe or *upright*, so that his face is upwarde. *Je renverse*." Palsgrave.
- Urinal, 169/34. See *Vrnelle*.
- Urine, retain it not, 214/145.
- Usher, the duties of one, p. 69-78; p. 170-2.
- Usher of the Chamber, 190/432; his duties, 192/473 to 194/520; he carries the smallest wand, 187/354.
- Usher and marshal; all other household officers obey him, 79/1180.
- Valadyne gynger, 10/132.
- Valance, 191/447, hangings of a bed.
- Vampeys, 61/894.
- Vantage, 198/635, gain, perquisites.
- Vaunte, fryter, 157/2, ? meat.
- Veal, 54/807.
- Veal, verjuice its sauce, 36/534.
- Veele, 31/486, veal.
- Velany, 178/56, abusing.
- Velvet, 62/914.
- Venator*, 198/628-9, the huntsman.
- Venemous, don't be, p. 261, l. V.
- Venesoun, how to carve, 25/383-91; Andrew Borde's opinion of, p. 94-95.
- Veniable, p. 261, l. V, revengeful.
- Venison, 37/542; how to carve, 158/13.
- Venison baked, 48/689; p. 101; roast, 28/444; 49/694; 165/2.
- Venison pastey, 31/489.
- Venprides, 55/820. ?
- Ventes, 159/13, anus; p. 162, l. 3 from foot.
- Venure, 31/489, beast that is hunted.
- Vewter, 198/631, fewerer; 'in hunting or coursing, the man who held the dogs in slips or couples, and loosed them; a dog-keeper.' Halliwell. *Vaultre*, a mongrel between a hound and a maistiffe; fit for the chase of wild bears and boars. Cot. 'The Gaulish hounds of which Martial and Ovid speak, termed *vertagi*; or *veltres*, appear to have been greyhounds, and hence the appellations *veltro*, Ital., *viautre*, *vaultre*, Fr., *Welter*, Germ. The Promptorium gives

- "Grehownde, *veltres*," p. 209. Various details regarding the duties of the "foutreres," and their fee, or share of the produce of the chace, will be found in the *Mayster of Game*, Vesp. B. xii., fol. 99, 104, b.' Way in *Promptorium*, p. 291.
- Verjuice, 58/841, 843.
- Verjuice, p. 159, 168/9, at foot.
- Verjuice, the sauce for boiled capon, &c., 36/534; for crab, 42/596; with goose, 164/3.
- Vernage, 9/118; p. 87, No. 1; 153/22.  
Ryche she tham drewe  
Vernage and Crete.  
*Sir Degrevant*, p. 235, l. 1408, l. 1703.
- Vernagelle, 9/118; p. 87, No. 2.
- Viant, 33/501, ? meat.
- Viaunt, friture, 48 / 689, meat fritters ?
- Vicars, rank of, 71/1031.
- Vice, avoid, 234/610.
- Vilony, 265 / 8; 266 / 10, discourtesy, rudeness; p. 261, l. V.
- Vinegar, 57/835; 58/847.
- Vinegar as a sauce, 36/536.
- Vinegar for crayfish, 43/611.
- Vines, tender, with goose, 164/2.
- Virtue, the first of, 232/493.
- Viscount, rank of, 70 / 1013; 72/1049.
- Vngryȝt, 202/751, undished ?, not uncooked.
- Vnhynde, 179/80, ungentle, un-courteous.
- Vnkende, 204/816, ? unsuitably; A.S. *uncynd*, unnatural, unsuitable.
- Vnkunnyng, 252/54, want of knowledge.
- Vnskillfully, without reason; O. N. *skil*, reason.
- Voider, put your scraps into it, 272/131; one to be on the table, 230 / 376, 358; 231 / 382. 'A Voider to take vp the fragmentes, *vasculum fragmentarium, analactarium, vel aristophorum.*' Withals. Fr. *Portoire*, Any thing that helpes to carry another thing; as a *Voyder*, Skep, Scuttle, Wheelebarrow, &c. Cotgrave.
- Vomit away from company, 213 / 117.
- Voyd, 50/716, clear.
- Voydance, 262/20. The side-note is doubtless wrong; the getting it out of the way applies to the *snetying* of the line above. But see 214/145-7.
- Voyder, 272/131, vessel to empty bones and leavings into.
- Vrbamitatis*, p. 262-4.
- Vre, 78/1173; 236/716, custom, practice.
- Vrinal, 137/15, a glass vessel in which urine could be looked at and through.
- Vrnelle, 63/926; 66/971; Fr. *Vrinal*, an *Vrinal*; also, a Jordan, or Chamberpot. Cot.
- Wade not too deep, 259/21; p. 261, l. W.
- Wadrop, 190/429, wardrobe.
- Wafers to eat, 50/715; 52/759; 55/816; 157/11; 166/19.
- Wager, don't lay with your lord, 184/227.
- Wages of grooms and yeomen kept account of by the Clerk of the Kitchen, 195/556; of

- grooms and pages, 197/617-20 ; paid by the Treasurer, 196/585.
- Walk gently in the morning, p. 140.
- Walk decently, 214/157.
- Wall, don't make it your mirror, 275, 276/11.
- Walle-wort, 68/992.
- Waloande, 179/63, guggling, speaking with the mouth full.
- Wand, teeth not to be picked with, 180/94.
- Wanhope, 3/30, despair.
- Wanton laughing is wrong, 276/20.
- Wantons, young, want hanging, p. 125.
- Warden of a craft, 78/1160.
- Wardrobe, 64/940 ; is in the Usher's charge, 193/479.
- Wardrop, 196/565.
- Wardropere, 193/481, keeper of the wardrobe.
- Warm water to wash hands in, 62/902.
- Warm your clothes in winter, p. 143.
- Warming-pan, p. 136, last line.
- Wash (vasshe) before going to bed, a lord does, 194/513.
- Wash in summer, not winter, p. 138.
- Wash on rising, your hands, 226/74 ; before eating, 187/343 ; 265/9 ; and face, 266/13 ; before leaving the table, 271/84 ; after meals, 257/193 ; p. 142.
- Washing after dinner, how done, 201/713-21 ; 231/403-416 ; 257/200.
- Washing directed, p. 130 ; p. 139.
- Wastable, 13/179.
- Waste not, 259/20 ; p. 261, l. W ; 269/56.
- Wate, 201/739, know.
- Water, how to assay, 202/702.
- Water, Ewerer to give, to all, 200/643.
- Water for the teeth, W. Vaughan's, p. 134.
- Water-leech, slippers to be brown like one, 60/874.
- Watery, 18/282.
- Wax, all candles & morters of, 204/827-33.
- Wayte, 17/265, watch ; 28/436 take care.
- Wayue, 186/322, glance, move, let wander.
- Wearisome, 52/751.
- Weldsomy, 2/17, at will.
- Welke, *marceo*, to welke, *sicut flores. marcidus*, welked. *emerceo*, to wax drie and welkyng. Gloss. *Relig. Ant.* v. 1, p. 6.
- Wesselle clothes, 188/367, l. cloths, for vessells.
- Weste, Richard, his *Schoole of Vertue*, referred to, p. 207 ; his acrostic, p. 208.
- Westminster, the Abbot of, 76/1141.
- Wether or ram, p. 105, note on l. 779.
- Whale, likes harmony, p. 116. Fr. *Tinet* : m. The Whall teamed a Horlepoole, or Whirlepoole. Cot.
- Whale, roast, how to carve, 41/581 ; salt, 57/837 ; 168/8.
- Whelk, how to carve a, 44/624.

- Whelks, 52/747 ; 166/17. Fr. *Turbin*. The shell-fish called a *Welke* or *Winkle*. Cot.
- Whene, 195/548, ? same as *cweme*, agreeable.
- Whileere, 24/377, a time ago, before.
- Whils, 254/133, until.
- Whisper, don't, 253/95; 269/54.
- Whispering, avoid it, 184/250.
- White bread, 7/92 ; 200/686.
- White herrings, 45/642.
- White payne or bread, 14/204.
- Whiting, 40/575 ; 58/845 ; how to carve, 167/6.
- Whole-footed fowls, skin of, is wholesome, 165/19.
- Whot, 52/757, ?white, not "hot," as in side note : cf. *blaudrelle*, 50/714.
- Widgeon, 165/1.
- Wife, is to honour her husband, 185/267 ; takes her husband's rank, 74/1092. On the first of June, 1582, John Wolfe paid the Stationers' Company 8*d.* for a licence "to imprinte two ballades," of which the latter was "a settinge forth of the variety of mens mindes, esteaminge rather welth with a wanton wife, then vertue in a modeste mayde." *Collier's Extracts*, ii. 165. For *variety* in this entry, Mr Collier proposes to read *vanity*. See also the ballad,  
     Faine would I have a vertuous wife  
     Adorned with all modestie,  
 in *Collier's Extracts*, i. 162-3.
- Wight, quick, nimble. Swed. *vig.*
- Wild, don't be, 182/156.
- Wild boar, 48/686.  
     Sche brouzt fram the kychene  
     A scheld of a wyld swyne,  
     Hastelettus in galantyne.  
*Sir Degrevant*, p. 235, l. 1397-9.
- Wind, let it out with secrecy, 214/145.
- Windows of a bedroom to be shut at night, p. 129.
- Wine, livery or allowance of, 205/843.
- Wines, 8/109 ; sweet, p. 9 ; p. 86-7 ; the names of, p. 153.
- Wing, cut under, not over, in whole-footed birds, 164/5.
- Wings of smaller birds, the best bits, 27/418 ; 30/473.
- Winter, the Device of, 52/766.
- Wipe your mouth before drinking, 272/105.
- Wipe your nose, don't, 274/141.
- Wise men eat the fish, 219/12.
- Wisps of straw for bed-making, 191/439.
- Wite, wct, know, A.S. *witan*.
- Withy leaves in a bath, 69/995.
- Wives, the duty of, 242/9.
- Wolfskin garments for winter, p. 139.
- Woman (?) not to sit at a Bishop's table, p. 216, No. x.
- Woman-kind, speak never uncourteously of, 184/259.
- Woman's milk, 135/13.
- Wombelunge, 29/451, belly-wise, on its belly.
- Won, 197/605, supply.
- Wont, 182/190, wants, fails.
- Woodcock, 37/542 ; p. 98 ; 49/697 ; 165/1 ; how to carve, 27/421 ; p. 163.

- Woollen cloth to be brushed every week, 64/943.
- Work after meals to be avoided, p. 131.
- Worship God, 182/157.
- Worshipfulle, sb., 45/655, worshipful person.
- Worth, 272/114, estimation.
- Worthier men, let them be helped first, 263/45.
- Wortus, 34/517; A.S. *wyrt*, *wurt*, 1. wort, a herb, plant, a general name for all sorts of herbs, scented flowers, and spices; 2. a root. (Bosworth.)
- Wralling, 211/60, wawling, caterwauling, 'quarrelling or contending with a loud voice.' Halliwell.
- Wrap bread stately, how to, 14/209; 155/10.
- Wrappe, sb., 14/212 cover.
- Wrappe, 14/212, wrap, cover.
- Wrapper, 15/224; 155/13.
- Wrast, 178/26, wresting, twist.
- Wrawd, 42/590, froward.
- Wrinkled, don't let your countenance be, 210/41.
- Wry not your neck askew, 19/285.
- Wyn, 191/447; A.S. *wyn*, joy, pleasure.
- Wyneberries, 6/78; p. 85.
- Wyngge, p. 151, carve.
- Wynkyn de Worde's *Boke of Keruyngge*, p. 147-74.
- Wynkyngge, 18/282.
- Wynne, 270/79; A.S. *win*, labour (not *wyn*, *win*, pleasure).
- Wyt, 268/41, will.
- Yardchok, 67/991.
- Yawn not, 19/294; when you do, hide behind a napkin, 211/82.
- Y-chaffed, 61/893, warmed; Fr. *chauffé*.
- Yeoruyn, 203/765, carved, cut.
- Yeoman of the Crown, 71/1033.
- Yeoman-usher is under the marshal, 189/383.
- Yeomen in hall, 178/27.
- Yerbis, 48/687, herbs.
- ȝett, 22/339, formerly ȝ, see l. 204.
- ȝes, 35/527, eyes.
- ȝgraitthed, 15/225, prepared.
- ȝnons, 40/569; p. 98, onions.
- ȝn-same, 271/93, in the same way. Cut out the hyphen.
- ȝomon of chambur, 193/507.
- ȝomon-ussher, sleeps all night on the floor at his lord's door, 194/519.
- York, Archbp. of, 73/1078; Bps. of, 1 1081.
- Youth, if lawless, old age despised, 219/14.
- ȝpocras, how to make it, p. 9-12; p. 153.
- ȝpocras, 52/759; 166/19.
- ȝpocras to drynk, 50/715.
- ȝoxinge, 19/298, note 4. I *yeske*, I gyue a noyse out of my stomacke. *Je engloute*. When he *yesketh* next, tell hym some straunge newes, and he shall leave it. Palsg.
- ȝpullished, 4/63, polished.
- ȝse, 81/1222, look at.
- ȝwys, 250/12; A.S. *gewis*, certainly.
- ȝane, 19/294, yawn; A.S. *ganian*.
- Zole, 51/737, sole?

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JOHN CHILDS AND SON, PRINTERS.

[*Postscript, added after the Index had been printed.*]

## How to serve a lord.

[*From the Rev. Walter Sneyd's copy of Mr Davenport Bromley's MS.*]

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MR SNEYD has just told me that Mr Arthur Davenport's MS. *How to serve a Lord*, referred to in my Preface to Russell, p. lxxii., is in fact the one from Mr Sneyd's copy of which his sister quoted in her edition of the 'Italian Relation of England' mentioned on pp. xiv. xv. of my *Forewords*. Mr Sneyd says: 'I made my copy nearly forty years ago, during the lifetime of the late Mr A. Davenport's grandfather, who was my uncle by marriage. I recollect that the MS. contains a miscellaneous collection of old writings on various subjects, old recipes, local and family memoranda, &c., all of the 15th century, and, bound up with them in the old vellum wrapper, is an imperfect copy of the first edition of the Book of St Alban's. On Mr Arthur Davenport's death, last September, the MS. (with the estates) came into the possession of Mr Davenport Bromley, M.P., but a long time must elapse before it can be brought to light, as the house you mention is still unfinished, and the boxes of books stowed away in confusion.' On my asking Mr Sneyd for a sight of his copy, he at once sent it to me, and it proved so interesting—especially the Feast for a Bride, at the end—that I copied it out directly, put a few notes to it, and here it is.<sup>1</sup> For more notes and explanations the reader must look the words he wants them for, out in the Index at the end of Part II. The date of the Treatise seems to me quite the end of the 15th century, if not the beginning of the 16th. The introduction of the Chamber, p. 356, the confusion of the terms of a Carver, 'unlose or tire or display,' p. 357—enough to make a well-bred Carver faint: even Wynkyn de Worde in 1508 and 1513 doesn't think of such a thing—the cheese shred with sugar and sage-leaves,

<sup>1</sup> Though it goes against one's ideas of propriety to print from a copy, yet when one wants the substance of a MS., it's better to take it from a copy, when you can get it, than fret for five years till the MS. turns up. When it does so, we can print it if necessary, its owner permitting.

p. 355, the 'Trenchours of *tree or brede*,' l. 16, below, &c., as well as the language, all point to a late date. The treatise is one for a less grand household than Russell, de Worde, and the author of the *Boke of Curtasye* prescribed rules for. But it yields to none of the books in interest: so in the words of its pretty 'scriptur' let it welcome all its readers:

"Welcombe you bretheren godely in this hall!  
 Joy be unto you all  
 that en<sup>1</sup> this day it is now fall!  
 that worthy lorde that lay in an Oxe stalle  
 mayntayne your husbonde and you, *with* your gystys all!"

[I. *Of laying the Cloth and setting out the Table.*]

1. Have your  
table-cloths and  
napkins ready,  
  
also trenchers,  
salts, &c.

Ffirst, in servise of all thyngs in pantery and botery, and also for the ewery. ffirst, table-clothis, towelles longe and shorte, covertours<sup>2</sup> and napkyns, be ordeyned clenly, clene and redy accordyng to the tyme. Also basyns, ewers, Trenchours of tree or brede, sponys, salte, and kervyng knyves.

2. Bring your  
cloths folded,  
  
lay them on the  
table,  
  
then cover the  
cupboard, the  
side-table, and  
the chief table.

Thenne ayenst tyme of mete, the boteler or the ewer shall brynge forthe clenly dressed and fayre ap-plied<sup>3</sup> Tabill-clothis, and the cubbord-clothe, cowched uppon his lefte shulder, laying them uppon the tabill ende, close applied<sup>3</sup> unto the tyme that he have firste covered the cubbord; and thenne cover the syde-tabillis, and laste the principall tabill with dobell clothe draun, cowched, and spradde unto the degre, as longeth therto in festis.

3. Bring out the  
chief salt-cellar,  
and pared leaves,  
  
and hold the  
carving-knives in  
your right hand.

Thenne here-uppon the boteler or panter shall bring forthe his pryncipall salte, and iiij or v loves of paryd brede, havyng a towaile aboute his nekke, the tone half honge or lying uppon his lefte arme unto his hande, and the kervyng knyves holdyng in the ryght hande, iuste unto the salte-seler beryng.

<sup>1</sup> on.

<sup>2</sup> For bread, see § III., p. 352.

<sup>3</sup> Folded. Cf. 'a towaile applied dowble' below. Fr. *plier*, to fould, plait, plie. Cotgrave.



Thenne the boteler or panter shall sette the seler in the myddys of the tabull accordyng to the place where the principall soverain shalle sette, and sette his brede iuste couched unto the salte-seler; and yf ther be trenchours of brede, sette them iuste before the seler, and lay downe faire the kervyng knyves, the poynts to the seler benethe the trenchours.

4. Put your chief salt-cellar before the chief person's seat, his bread by it,

and his trenchers before it.

Thenne the seconde seler att the lower ende, with ij paryd loves<sup>1</sup> therby, and trenchours of brede yf they be ordeyned; and in case be that trenchours of tree shalbe ordeyned, the panter shall bryng them with nappekyns and sponys whenne the soverayne is sette att tabill.

5. Put the second salt-cellar at the lower end.

If wooden trenchers are used, bring them on.

Thenne after the high principall tabill sette with brede & salte, thenne salte-selers shall be sette uppon the syde-tablys, but no brede unto the tyme such people be sette that fallith to come to mete. Thenne the boteler shall bryng forth basyns, ewers, and cuppis, Pecys,<sup>2</sup> sponys sette into a pece, redressing all his silver plate, upon the cubbord, the largest firste, the richest in the myddis, the lighteste before.

6. Put salt-cellars on the side-tables.

7. Bring out your basins, &c., and set all your plate on the cupboard.

## [II. *Of Washing after Grace is said.*]

Thenne the principall servitours moste take in ij handys, basyns and ewers, and towell, and therwith to awayte and attende unto the tyme that the grace be fully saide; and thenne incontynent after grace saide, to serve water with the principall basyn and ewer unto the principall soverayne, and ij principall servitours to

8. Let the chief servants have basins, &c., ready,

and after Grace, hold the best

<sup>1</sup> What is done with these loaves does not appear. The carver in Motion 12, Section IV., pares the loaves wherewith he serves the guests.

<sup>2</sup> Gohlets or cups: ? also ornamental pieces of plate. 'A peece of wyne' occurs in *Ladye Bessye*, Percy Folio, Ballads & Romances, vol. iii., and in the Percy Society's edition. John Lord Nevill of Raby, in 1383, bequeaths 48 silver salt-cellars . . . 32 *pees*, 48 spoons, 8 chargers, 27 jugs, &c. *Domestic Architecture*, ii. 66. 'Diota. Horat. Any drinking *peece* having two eares, a two-eared drinking cup.' *Nomenclator* in Nares.

basin to the chief lord, with the towel under;

and then let his messmates waab.

holde the towell under the basyn in lenght before the sovrayne; and after that the sovrayne hath wasshe, to yeve thenne water unto such as ben ordeyned to sytte at the sovrayne-is messe.

[III. *Of the Lord & Guests taking their Seats, & getting their Trenchers, Spoons, Napkins, & Bread.*]

9. The chief lord takes his seat, then his messmates theirs;

then the lower-mess people theirs.

(When Grace begins, the bread cover is to be taken away.)  
10. The Carver takes 4 trenchers on his knife-point,

and lays them before the chief lord, (one to put his salt on,) and 3 or 2 before the less people.  
11. The Butler gives each man a spoon and a napkin.

12. The Carver pares 2 loaves,

lays 2 before his lord, and 2 or 1 to the rest.

Thenne after the wesshing servid, the sovrayne will take his place to sitte, and to hym such persons as hit pleaseth hym to have. uppon which tyme of sitting, the servitours moste diligently a-wayte to serve them of qussyons, and after that done, to make such personys to be sette at the lower messe as the principall soverayne agrees that be convenyent.

Be it remembrid that evermore at the begynnyng of grace the covertour of brede shalbe avoyded and take away. thenne the karver, havng his napkyn at all tymes uppon his left hand, and the kervyng knyf in his right hande, and he shall take uppon the poynte of his knyf iiij trenchours, and so cowche them iustely before the principall, ij lying iustely to-geder, ij under, and one uppon, and the fowerth before, iustely for to lay uppon salte. and the next, lay ij trenchours; and soo ij or ij after her degree. therto the boteler most be redy with sponys and napkyns, that ther as the trenchours be cowched, lay the spone and the napkyn therto, and soo thorowe the borde.

Thenne the kerver shall take into his hande on or ij loves, and bere hem to the syde-tabill ende, and ther pare hem quarter on first, and bring hym hole to-geder, and cowche ij of the beste before the sovrayne, and to others by ij or on after ther degree.

[IV. *Of the Courses of the Dinner.*]

[*First Course.*]

Thenne the kerver or sewer most asserve<sup>1</sup> every

<sup>1</sup> † Assewe,

disshē in his degre, after order and course of servise as folowith : first, mustard and brawne, swete wyne shewed therto.<sup>1</sup>

## POTAGE.

Befe and moton. swan or gese. grete pics, capon or fesaunt ; leche or fretours. Thenne yef potage be chaungeabill after tyme and season of the yere as fallith, as here is rehersed : by example, ffor befe and moton ye shall take

Pestelles or chynys of porke,  
or els tonge of befe,  
or tonge of the harte powderd ;<sup>2</sup>  
Befe stewed,  
chekyns boylyd, and bacon.

beef, swan,  
pheasant, fritters.

As a change for  
beef,

have legs or  
chines of pork, or  
tongue of ox or  
hart.

## [The Second Course.]

Thenne ayenste the secunde cours, be redy, and come in-to the place. the kerver muste avoyde and take uppe the service of the first cours,—begynnyng at the lowest mete first,—and all broke cromys, bonys, & trenchours, before the secunde cours and servise be served. thenne the secunde cours shall be served in manner and fourme as ensample thereof here-after folowyng :

14. Clear away  
the 1st course,

crumbs, bones,  
and used  
trenchers.

15. Serve the  
Second Course :

Potage. pigge  
Conye  
Crane  
heronsewe  
betoure  
Egrete  
Corlewe  
wodecok  
Pert[r]igge  
Plover  
Snytys  
quaylys  
fretours  
leche

lamme stewed  
Kide roasted  
Veneson roasted  
heronsewe  
betoure  
pigeons  
Rabetts  
a bake mete

Small birds,  
lamb,  
kid, venison,

rabbits,  
meat pie,

Stokke-dovys stewed  
cony           | malard  
telys           | wodecok  
grete byrdys

teal, woodcock.

Great birds.

<sup>1</sup> Sewed or served therewith.

<sup>2</sup> salted or pickled.

[V. *How to clear the Table.*]

16. Fill men's cups and remove their trenchers.

17. Collect the spoons.

18. Take up the lowest dishes at the side-tables, and then clear the high table.

19. Sweep all the bits of bread, trenchers, &c., into a voyder.

After the seconde cours served, kerved, and spente, hit must be sene, cuppys to be fillid, trenchours to be voyded. thenne by goode avysement the tabill muste be take uppe in manner as folowith:—first, when tyme foloweth,<sup>1</sup> the panter or boteler muste gader uppe the sponys; after that done by leyser, the sewer or carver shall be-gynne at the loweste ende, and in order take uppe the lowest messe; after the syde-tabill be avoyded and take uppe, and thenne to procede to the Principall tabill, and ther honestly and clenly avoyde and withdrawe all the servise of the high table. ther-to the kerver muste be redy, and redely have a voyder to geder in all the broke brede, trenchours, cromys lying upon the tabill; levying none other thyng save the salteseler, hole brede (yf any be left), and cuppys.

[VI. *How to serve Dessert.*]

20. Take away the cups, &c., from all the messes, putting the trenchers, &c., in a voyder,

and scraping the crumbs off with a carving-knife.



21. Serve wafers in towels laid on the table,

After this done by goode delyberacion and avysement, the kerver shall take the servise of the principall messe in order and rule, begynnyng at the lowest, and so procede in rule unto the laste,<sup>2</sup> and thieruppon the kerver to have redy a voyder, and to avoyde all maner trenchours [&] broke brede in a-nother clene disshe voyder, and cromys, which with the kervyng-knyf<sup>3</sup> shall be avoyded from the tabill, and thus procede unto the tabill be voyded. Thenne the kerver shall goo unto the cuppebord, and redresse and ordeyne wafers in to towayles of raynes or fyne napkyns which moste be cowched fayre and honestly upon the tabill, and thenne serve the principall messe first, and so thorowe the

<sup>1</sup> foloweth

<sup>2</sup> firste. The directions for taking-away seem repeated here, unless these second ones apply only to the spoons, napkins, &c. The cups are wanted for dessert.

<sup>3</sup> crumb-brushes were not then invented.

tabill .j or ij yf hit so requere : therto moste be servid  
 swete wyne  and in feriall<sup>1</sup> tyme serve chese shraped  
 with sugur and sauge-levis,<sup>2</sup> or ellis that hit be faire  
 kervid hole, or frute as the yere yeveth, strawberys,  
 cherys, perys, appulis; and in winter, wardens,<sup>3</sup> costardys  
 roste, rosted on fische-dayes with blanche powder, and  
 so serve hit forth  Thenne aftur wafers and frute  
 spended, all maner thinge shalbe take uppe and avoyded,  
 except the principall salt-seler, hole brede, and kervyng-  
 knyves, the which shalbe redressed in maner and  
 fourme as they were first sette on the table; the which,  
 principall servitours of the pantre or botery, havyng his  
 towaile, shall take uppe, and bere hit into his office in  
 like wyse as he first brought hit unto the Tabill.

and sweet wine.  
 In holiday  
 time serve cheese,  
 or fruit;

in winter, roast  
 apples.

22. Clear away  
 all except the  
 chief salt-cellar,  
 whole bread, and  
 carving-knives;

take these to the  
 pantry.

[VII. *How the Diners shall wash after Dessert.*]

Thenne the principall servitours, as kerver and  
 sewer, moste have redy a longe towaile applied dowble,  
 to be cowched upon the principall ende of the table;  
 and that towell must be iustely drawen thorowe the  
 tabill unto the lower ende, and ij servitours to awayte  
 theruppon that hit be iustely cowched and sprad. after  
 that done, ther muste be ordeyned basyns, and ewers  
 with water hote or colde as tyme of the yere requerith,  
 and to be sette upon the tabill, and to stonde unto the  
 grace be saide; and incontynent after grace seide, the  
 servitours to be redy to awayte and attende to yeve  
 water, first to the principall messe, and after that to the

23. Lay a fresh  
 cloth all along the  
 chief table.

24. Have ready  
 basons and jugs  
 with hot or cold  
 water;  
 and after Grace,  
 hand basins and  
 water to the first  
 mess,

then the second.

<sup>1</sup> Fr. *ferial*, of or belonging to a holyday. *Vn ferial beuveur*, a square drinker, a faithfull drunkard; one that will take his liquor soundly. Cotgrave. *Feries*, Holydaies, feastiull daies, properly such holydaies as Monday and Tuesday in Easter week, &c. Cot.

<sup>2</sup> So "Apples and Cheese scraped with Sugar and Sage" at the end of the Second Course of the Dinner at the Marriage of Roger Rockley & Elizabeth Nevile, daughter of Sir John Nevile, the 14th of January in the 17th year of Henry the VIIIth. (A.D. 1526.) *Forme of Cury*, p. 174.

<sup>3</sup> Wardens are baking pears; costards, apples.

25. Take off and fold up the towels and cloth, and give 'em to the Panter.

seconde. incontynent after this done, the towayle and tabill-clothis most be drawn, cowched, and sprad, and so by litill space taken uppe in the myddis of the tabill, and so to be delyvered to the officer of pantery or botery.

[VIII. *Of the Removal of the Table, and the separate Service to grand Guests in the Chamber.*]

26. Clear away tables, trestles, forms; and put cushions on other seats.

27. Butler, put the cups, &c., back into your office.

28. Serve knights and ladies with bread and wine, kneeling.

29. Conduct strangers to the Chamber.

30. Serve them with dainties:

junket, pippins,

or green ginger;

and sweet wines.

Thenne uprissing, servitours muste attende to avoyde tabills, trestellis, formys and stolys, and to redresse bankers and quyssyons. then the boteler shall avoyde the cupborde, begynnyng at the lowest, procede in rule to the hieste, and here hit in-to his office. Thenne after mete, hit moste be awayted and well entended by servitours yf drinke be asked. and yf ther be knyght or lady or grete gentil-woman, they shall be servid uppon kne with brede and wyne. Thenne it moste be sene yf strangers shalbe brought to chamber, and that the chamber be clenly appareld and dressed according to the tyme of the yere, as in wynter-tyme, fyer, in somur tyme the bedd couerd with pylawes and hedde-shetys in case that they woll reste. and after this done, they moste have chere of neweltees in the chamber.<sup>1</sup> as Iuncate,<sup>2</sup> cheryes, pepyns, and such neweltees as the tyme of the yere requereth; or ellis grene ginger com-fetts,<sup>3</sup> with such thyng as wynter requereth; and swete wynes, as ypocrasse, Tyre, muscadell, bastard

<sup>1</sup> I do not suppose that each guest retired to his own bed-room, but to the general withdrawing-room, — possibly used as a general bed-room also, when the Hall had ceased to be it. “The camera usually contained a bed, and the ordinary furniture of a bed-chamber; but it must be remembered that it still answered the purpose of a parlour or sitting-room, the bed being covered over during the daytime with a handsome coverlid, as is still the custom in France & other foreign countries to this day.”—*Domestic Architecture*, iii. 94-5.

<sup>2</sup> See *Iuncate* in Index, and Russell, l. 82.

<sup>3</sup> See Russell, l. 75, and, for wines, l. 117, and notes p. 86-91.

vernage, of the beste that may be had, to the honor and lawde of the principall of the house.

[IX. *How to Carve.*]

to lose and t[i]re or sawse a capon :<sup>1</sup> begynne at the lifte legge first of a Swan ;<sup>2</sup> & lyfte a gose y-reared at the right legge first, and soo a wilde fowle. To unlose, tire, or display a crane :<sup>3</sup> cutte away the nekke in a voyde plate, rere legge and whyngge as of a capon ; take of ij leches of the briste, and cowche legge and whyngge and lechis into a faire voyde plater ; mynse the legge, and poyntes of whinge ; sawse hym *with* mustard, vinager, and poudier gynger, and serve hit before the sovrayne, and the carcas in a charger besyde : serve it hole before the sovrayne. and he<sup>4</sup> may be served and dressed as a capon, save one thyng, his breste bone.<sup>5</sup> To tyre or ellis to dismember an heronsew :<sup>6</sup> rere legge and whinge as of a crane ; cowche them aboute the body on bothe sydes, the hedde and the nekke being upon the golet : *serve* him forth, and yf he be mynsed, sawse hym with mustard, burage,<sup>7</sup> suger, and powder of gynger.

To lose or untache a bitorn :<sup>8</sup> kitte his nekke, and lay hit by the hedde in the golette ; kitte his whynge by the joynte ; rere hym legge and whynge, as the heron ; serve him fourth ; no sawse unto hym but only salte.

To lose or spoyle an Egrete<sup>9</sup> : rere uppe his legge

<sup>1</sup> There must be some omission here. See Russell, l. 409, and W. de Worde, pp. 161, 163.

<sup>2</sup> See Russell, l. 403. Wynkyn de Worde, p. 161, directs the swan to be carved like the goose is, on p. 163.

<sup>3</sup> See Russell, l. 427-32 ; Wynkyn de Worde, p. 162. *Rere* is cut off.

<sup>4</sup> that is, the crane.

<sup>5</sup> See Russell, l. 431 and note ; W. de Worde, p. 159, l. 5 ; p. 162.

<sup>6</sup> Russell, l. 422 ; Wynkyn de Worde, p. 162, p. 164, l. 20.

<sup>7</sup> Borage is a favourite flavouring for eups and other drinks.

<sup>8</sup> Russell, l. 421 ; Wynkyn de Worde, p. 162.

<sup>9</sup> Russell, l. 421 ; Wynkyn de Worde, p. 162.

and whynge, as of a henne, aboute the carcass: no sawse to him but salte.

Partridge, Quail, To tyre or to ele<sup>1</sup> a partorich<sup>2</sup> or a quayle<sup>3</sup> y-whyngged: rere uppe whynge and legge, as of an henne; cowche them aboute the carcass; no sawse save salte, or mustard and sugar. To lose or unlase a Pheasant. fesaunt:<sup>4</sup> rere uppe legge and whynge as an henne; cowche legge and whynge aboute the carcass; serve hym fourth; no sawse but salte: but and yf he be mynsed, take whyte wyne, sugur, mustard, and a lyttell of powder gynger.

A Bridal Feast.  
First Course.

ffor to make a feste for a bryde.

Boar's head, and  
a Device

The ffirst cours: brawne, with the borys hed,<sup>5</sup> lying in a felde, hegge<sup>6</sup> about *with* a scriptur, sayng on this wyse;

of Welcome.

“ Welcombe you bretheren godely in this hall !<sup>7</sup>  
Joy be unto you all  
that en<sup>8</sup> this day it is now fall !  
that worthy lorde that lay in an Oxe stalle  
mayntayne your husbonde and you, *with* your gystys,  
alle ! ”

Venison and  
Custard, with a  
Device of

Ffurmente *with* veneson, swanne, pigge.  
Ffesaunte, *with* a grete custard, *with* a  
sotelte,

Meekness.

A lambe stondyng in scriptour, sayng on this wyse :  
“ I mekely unto you, sovrayne, am sente,  
to dwell with you, and ever be present.”<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Fr. *aile*, wing; but *ailer*, to give wings unto. Cotgrave.

<sup>2</sup> Russell, l. 397, l. 417; W. de Worde, p. 161.

<sup>3</sup> Russell, l. 437; W. de Worde, p. 162.

<sup>4</sup> Russell, l. 417; Wynkyn de Worde, pp. 161, 164.

<sup>5</sup> See the carol from the Porkington MS., “ The Boris hede furste; ” in *Reliq. Ant.* vol. ii., and above, p. 264\*, and p. 388.

<sup>6</sup> hedged or edged. <sup>7</sup> The verse is written as prose. <sup>8</sup> on



## The second course.

*Second Course.*

Veneson in broth, viaunde Ryalle,<sup>1</sup> veneson roasted, crane, cony, a bake mete, leche damaske,<sup>2</sup> with a sotelte: An antelope sayng<sup>3</sup> on a sele that saith with scriptour

Venson,  
Crane, &c.,  
and a Device of

“beith all gladd & mery that sitteth at this messe, and prayeth for the kyng and all his.”<sup>4</sup>

Gladness and  
Loyalty.

## The thirde course.

*Third Course.*

Creme of Almondys, losynge in syruppe, betoure, partrich, plover, snyte, pouder veal, leche veal, wellis<sup>5</sup> in sotelte, Roches in sotelte,<sup>6</sup> Playce in sotelte; a bake mete with a sotelte: an angell with a scriptour, “thanke all, god, of this feste.”

Sweets, &c.,  
Game, with aDevice of  
Thankfulness.

## The iiij cours.

*Fourth Course.*

Payne puff,<sup>7</sup> chese, freynes,<sup>8</sup> brede hote, with a cake,<sup>9</sup> and a wif lying in childe-bed, with a scriptour

Cheese and a cake  
with a Device of  
Child-bearing

<sup>1</sup> Here is the Recipe in *Household Ordinances*, &c., p. 455, for “Viande Rial for xl. Mess:”

Take a galone of vernage, and sethe hit into iij. quartes, and take a pynte therto, and two pounce of sugre, ii lb. of chardekoynes [quinces? ‘Quynce, a frute, *pomme de quoyne*, Palsgrave], a pounce of paste-roiale, and let hit sethe untill a galone of vernage. Take the yolkes of 60 eyren, and bete hom togeder, and drawe hom thurgh a straynour, and in the settinge doune of the fyre putte the yolkes therto, and a pynte of water of ewrose, and a quartrone of pouder of gynger, and dresse hit in dysshes plate, and take a barre of golde foyle, and another of sylver foyle, and laye hom on Seint Andrews crosse wyse above the potage; and then take sugre plate or gynger plate, or paste royale, and kutte hom of losenges, and plante hom in the voide places betweene the barres: and serve hit forthe.

<sup>2</sup> Leye Damask. Leland, Coll. iv. p. 226; Leche Damaske, *ibid.* vi. p. 5; in *Forme of Cury*, p. 141.

<sup>3</sup> ? Fr. *seoir*, to sit.

<sup>4</sup> Written as prose, which it is.

<sup>5</sup> ? welkis.

<sup>6</sup> Roches or Loches in Egurdouce. *H. Ord.* p. 469.

<sup>7</sup> See the Recipe for it, p. 32, note <sup>2</sup>; and in *Household Ordinances*, p. 450.

<sup>8</sup> flaunes? see p. 173; or *chese-freynes* for cheese-cakes.

<sup>9</sup> Were the cheese and cake meant as a symbol of the Groaning

and a promise of  
babies.

saing in this wyse, "I am comyng toward your bryde.  
yf ye dirste onys loke to me ward, I wene ye nedys  
muste."<sup>1</sup>

Another course or servise.

Brawne with mustard, umblys of a dere or of a  
sepe ;<sup>2</sup> swanne, capon, lambe.

Cake & Cheese (so called in allusion to the mother's complaints  
at her delivery) mentioned by Brand, *Pop. Ant.* ii. 44, ed. 1841,  
or was the cake the wedding-cake ?

<sup>1</sup> ? must get a baby : or is *ye = I* ?

<sup>2</sup> sheep.

## Suffer, &amp; hold your tongue.

[Balliol MS. 354, ff ij Cxv, or leaf 231.]

On the subject of this song, compare, among many others, "Whate-uer thow sey, avyse thee welle," above, p. 244; "I hold hym wyse and wel-i-tauzt, Can ber an horn and blow it nauzt," in the Percy Society's Songs and Carols, p. 23. Lydgate's "Lyke thyn Audience, so vttyr thy Langage," in my *Polit. Rel. & Love Poems*, p. 25; &c.

he is wise, so most I goo,  
that cañ be mery, & suffer woo.

Be mery, & suffer, as I thé vise.  
wher-euer thow sytt or rise,  
be weñt ware whom̄ thow dispise.  
*thou* shalt kysse who is thy ffoo.  
he is wise, so most I goo,  
that cañ be mery, & suffer woo.

Beware to whom̄ *thou* speke thy wiñt,  
ffor thy speche may greve thé yñt;  
here & see, & goo than stiff;  
but weñt is he *that* can do soo.  
he is wise, so most I goo,  
that cañ be mery, & suffer woo.

Many a man holdyth hym so stowght,  
what-so-euer he thynke, he seyth it owt;  
but if he loke weñt a-bowt,  
his tonge may be his most ffoo.  
he is wise, so most I goo,  
that cañ be mery, & suffer woo.

Be mery now, is all my songe;  
*the* wise man tawght both old & yonge,  
'who can suffer & hold his tonge,  
he may be mery, & no-thing woo.'  
he is wise, so most I goo,  
that cañ be mery, & suffer woo.

Yff any mañ displese thé owght,  
Suffer *with* a mery thowght,  
let care away, & greve *thee* nowght,  
& shake thy lappe, & lat it go.  
he is wise, so most I goo,  
that cañ be mery, & suffer woo.

Explicit.

## The Household Stuff occupied at the Lord Mayor's Feast, a.d. 1505.

[Balliol MS. 354, ff C iii. All the final ll's are  
crossed in the MS.]

here ffolowith suche howshold stuff as must  
nedis be occupied at *the* mayres fest yerely  
kepte at *the* yelde hall.

ffirst, v diaper table clothes // iiij Cowchers<sup>1</sup> of  
playn clothe // iiij longe towellis of dyaper // Item x  
doz napkyns / Item ij doz Ewry towellis. Item viij  
shetis for coberde clothes // Item a doz couer-payns<sup>2</sup>  
ffor wafere.

¶ Receyte for ypocras.

¶ Item Cynamon x ll / Gynger iiij ll / Grayns j ll /  
Suger iiij ll //

¶ Butlers towellis.

¶ xxxvj butlers towellis, *the* length of a towell an  
ell & a half<sup>3</sup> // & quarter brode / *that* is, iiij towellis  
of an ell & a half,<sup>3</sup> of ell brode clothe.

¶ ffor *the* mayres offessers.

¶ ffirst ffor sewers & carwers / iiij towellis of fyne  
clothe, ij ellis longe, & half a yarde brode, *summa* iiij  
ellis.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Russell, I. 187, p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> See Russell's *portpayne*, I. 262, p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> MS. ell d.

ffor drawers of ale & wyne.

[ff C iij back.

viiij apurns, *summa* viij ellis ¶ Item x portpayns  
to bere in brede / ¶ *summa* xxxviiij ellis.

¶ wyne.

Rede wyne, a tonne / Claret wyne, a pipe; whit  
wyne, a hoggishede / ypocras xl. galons.

¶ Brede.

viiij quarters of chet brede / In *manchettis* vij<sup>s</sup> 1 In  
*trenchar* brede viij<sup>s</sup> / In ob<sup>2</sup> brede iiij; Item in wafers  
ix<sup>xx</sup> messe<sup>3</sup> / & the waferer must brynge Couerpayns for  
to serue owt his wafers.

¶ Ale pottis & Tappis.

xxviiij barrellis ale / Ertheñ pottis for wyne & ale  
lx doz // pychars xij doz / ij doz stenys<sup>4</sup> Item viij C  
assheñ cuppis / iiij doz tappis.

¶ plate.

Item iiij doz stonyng Cuppis / xxiiij doz bollis  
Item v doz saltis: xl doz spones / ij doz gilt sponys /

<sup>1</sup> I suppose this and the following s'es to mean *shillings*.

<sup>2</sup> ob bred is ha'penny bread. On ff C xviiij of the MS. is

The Assise of Bred with-in London.

The quarter whet at iij<sup>s</sup> // after v<sup>s</sup>.

The fferdyng whit loff coket / xvij oz & d [=½]	& ob weight *
The ob [ha'penny] whit loff	xxxv vncis & j d weight
The q <sup>a</sup> + symnell	xv oz ij d ob in weight
The ob whet loff	lij oz d. & j d ob weight
The peny whet loff	Cv oz d & quarter & ob weight
The ob lof of all graynes	lxx oz & ij d weight

<sup>3</sup> ix xx=9 × 20, =180. *messe* may be *in effe*: the long s'es are  
crossed like f's.

<sup>4</sup> *Stean*, a stone vessel. 'A great pot or *stean*,' Hollyband's  
Dictionary, 1593. Halliwell.

\* Half a pennyweight.

+ ? *quadranta*, farthing.

xviiij basons *with ewers* / a payyer of gilt basons // xx siluer pottis.

Explicit *the butlers charge*  
that he must speke ffor.

---

pewter at the feste  
ffirst in platters gret & small xij<sup>xx</sup> x dozen <sup>1</sup>  
Item dyshis gret & small—xij<sup>xx</sup> x dozen <sup>1</sup>  
Item in sawsers gret & small xij<sup>xx</sup> x dozen <sup>1</sup>  
Item in chargers gret & small x dozen

At *the gyvyng vp of the verder of the wardmot*  
Inquestis after xij<sup>th</sup> day.

In dishis xx dozen // In platers x dozen //  
In sawsers iij dozen // In chargers j dozen

ffor the wacche at mydsomer  
In platters xij dozen // In dyshes xxiiij dozen

all this was in *the tyme of Iohñ wyngar, mayre*  
of london.

for *the hire viij<sup>d</sup> the garnyshe of pewter*

---

Lord Mayor Whyngar was Richard Hill's master. On fol C lxxvj of the MS. is the entry, "Iste liber pertineth Rycardo Hill, seruant with Master Wynger alderman of london."

At the back of fol ijC xx of the MS., in the list of Mayres & Sheryffis, is this entry :

[1]505 Johñ Wyngar	Roger Acheley	} A <sup>o</sup> xx <sup>o</sup>
	William brown	
	(K yng Henry the vij <sup>th</sup> ).	

<sup>1</sup> † (12 × 20 + 10) 12 = 3000.

## The ordre of goyng or sittynge.<sup>1</sup>

[*Balliol MS. 354, ff C lxxxxi, or leaf 203, back.*]

A pope hath no pere <sup>2</sup>	A dea <sup>n</sup> e
An emprowre A-lone	An Arche-deko <sup>n</sup>
A kyng A-lone	<i>the Master of the rollis</i>
An high cardynall	<i>the vnder Ingis</i>
A prince, A kyngis son	<i>the vnder barons of the</i>
A duke of blod Royall	cheker
A busshop	the mayre of caleis
A markes	A provyncyall
An erle	A doctur of diuinite
A vycownt	A prothonotory ys boue <sup>3</sup>
A legate	the popes colectour <sup>4</sup>
A baro <sup>n</sup>	A doctur of both lawes
An abbot mytered	A sergeant of lawe
the ij cheff Ingys	the Masters of channsery
<i>the mayre of london</i>	A perso <sup>n</sup> of Chyrche
<i>the chif baro<sup>n</sup> of the</i>	A seculer prest
cheker //	A marcha <sup>n</sup> t
An Abbot <i>without myter</i>	A gentylma <sup>n</sup>
A knyght	An Artificer
A pryoure	A yeman of good name

<sup>1</sup> Compare with Russell, p. 70-71, and Wynkyn de Worde, p. 170-1. It differs little from them.

<sup>2</sup> This is struck through with a heavy black-line.

<sup>3</sup> Last letter blotched.

<sup>4</sup> Struck through with several thin lines.

## Latin Graces.

(From the Balliol MS. 354, leaf 2.)

[“These graces are the usual ones still said in all colleges and religious communities abroad, and are for some part those given at the end of each of the four volumes into which our Roman Breviaries for the year are divided. As a youth, while studying at Rome, I used to hear them in our hall; and, knowing them by heart, never found them too long.”—Daniel Rock, D.D.]

<i>A general Grace.</i>	The grace <i>that</i> shuld be said affore mete & after mete / at the tymes in the yere.
The eyes of all wait upon thee, O Lord.	Benedicite; <i>dominus</i> . Oculi <i>omnium</i> in te sperant, domine / et tu das escam <i>illorum</i> in tempore oportuno. Aperis tu manum tuam / & Imples omne Animal benedictione.
Glory be to the Father. &c.	Gloria patri & filio: & <i>spiritui sancto</i> . Sicut erat in principio, & nunc, et semper: & in secula <i>seculorum</i> .
Lord, have mercy upon us.	Amen. <i>kyrieleyson, christeleyson, kyrieleyson: pater noster</i> . Et ne nos: Sed libera nos: Oremus.
Lord, bless us.	<i>Benedic, domine, nos, &amp; dona tua que de tua largitate sumus sumpturi / per / Iube domine benedicere</i> .
Make us partakers of the heavenly table.	<i>Mense celestis participes faciat nos Rex eterne glorie / Amen / Deus caritas est: &amp; qui manet in aritate, in deo manet, &amp; deus in eo: Sit deus in nobis, &amp; nos maneamus in ipso. Amen.</i>
<i>Grace after Dinner.</i>	post prandium.
May the God of peacs be with us!	<i>Deus pacis &amp; dileccionis maneat semper nobiscum: Tu autem, domine, miserere nostri: Deo gracias / Confiteantur tibi, domine, omnia tua. Et sancti tui benedicant tibi / Gloria: Agimus tibi gracias, omnipotens deus, pro vniuersis beneficijs tuis. Qui uiuis &amp; regnas deus: Per omnia secula seculorum: Amen.</i>
We thank thee, O Lord, for thy benefits.	



Laudate dominum, omnes gentes : laudate eum, omnes populi. Quoniam confirmata est super nos misericordia eius : & veritas domini manet in eternum. Gloria patri : Sicut erat : kyrieleyson, christeleyson, kyrieleyson / Pater noster / Et ne nos. Sed libera.

Lord, have mercy upon us !  
Christ, have mercy upon us !

Dispensit, dedit pauperibus : Iusticia eius manet in seculum seculi : Benedicam dominum in omni tempore : Semper laus eius in ore meo : In domino laudabitur anima mea : Audiant mansueti, & letentur : Magnificate dominum mecum. Et exaltemus<sup>1</sup> nomen eius in id ipsum : Sit nomen domini benedictum : Ex hoc nunc & vsque in seculum : Oremus : Retribuere dignare, domine deus, omnibus nobis bona facientibus propter nomen sanctum tuum, vitam eternam : Amen : Benedicamus domino : Deo gracias. Ave regina celorum, mater regis angelorum : O maria, flos virginum, velut rosa vel lilium, funde preces ad filium pro salute fidelium. Ave maria. Meritis & precibus sue pie matris, benedicat nos filius dei patris / Amen.

I will bless the Lord alway.

May the name of the Lord be blessed for ever !

Hail, Queen of Heaven,  
flower of virgins !  
pray thy Son to save the faithful !

On ffishes days.

Grace on Fish-Days.

Benedicite ; dominus. Edent pauperes, & saturebuntur : et laudabunt dominum qui requirunt eum ; vivent corda eorum in seculum seculi : Gloria patri. Sicut erat &c. kyrieleyson. christeleyson / kyrieleyson / pater noster. Et ne nos : Sed libera : Oremus : Benedic domine : Iube domine : Cibo spiritualis alimonie reficiat nos rex eterne glorie / Amen. Gracia domini nostri Ihesu christi, & caritas dei, & communicacio sancti spiritus sit semper cum omnibus nobis. Amen / & in lent leve / Gracia domini // & say // Frange esurienti panem tuum, & egenos vagosque induc in domum tuam : cum videris nudum operi eum. [et c]arnem tuam ne despexeris : ait dominus omnipote[ns].

The poor shall eat and be satisfied.

Glory be to the Father, &c.

The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ

be with us all.

In Lent.  
Break thy bread to the hungry, and take the wanderer to thy home.

Grace after dynere.

Grace after Dinner.

Deus paci[s] &c. Memori]am<sup>2</sup> fecit mirabilium suorum

<sup>1</sup> MS. exultemus.

<sup>2</sup> Only half the *a* is left.

misericors & [miserator *dominu*]s ; *escam* dedit timentibus se. Gloria. Sic[ut erat, &c.]

*Four Short Graces.*

Short *grace* affore *dyner*.

1. *Before Dinner.*

**Benedicite**; *dominu*[s].<sup>1</sup> . . . Apponenda *benedicat* *dei* *dextera*. [In nomine *patris* &] *fili* & *spiritus sancti* / *amen*.

[leaf 2, back.]

2. *After Meals.*

Shorte *grace* after *dyner* / & after *soper* / bothe.

Bless the Lord for this meal.

**Pro** tali *convivio* *benedicamus* *domino* : *Deo* *gracias*.

Mary, pray for us!

**Mater**, ora *filiu* *vt* post hoc *exilium* nobis donet *gaudium* sine fine. **Aue** *maria* : / *Oremus*. *Merit* & *precibus*.

3. *Before Supper.*

Grace affore *soper*.

Giver of all, anoint this supper.

**Benedicite**<sup>2</sup>; *dominus* : *Cenam* *sanctificet* *qui* nobis *omnia* prebet : **In** nomine *patris*.

4. *After Supper.*

¶ Grace after *soper*.

The Lord is holy in all his works.

**Benedictus** *deus* in donis suis : **Et** *sanctus* in *omnibus* *operibus* suis / **Adiutorium** *nostrum* in nomine *domini* :

Blessed be the name of the Lord.

**Qui** fecit *celum* et *terram*. **Sit** *nomen* *domini* *benedictum* / **Ex** hoc *nunc*, et *vsque* in *seculum* / **Oremus** : *Merit* et *precibus* *sue* *pie* *matris* *benedicat* nos *filius* *dei* *patris*.

On *Easter-Eve*.

¶ **In** *vigilia* *pasche*.

Christ, have mercy upon us!

**Benedicite**; *dominus*. **Edent** *pauperes* &c. **Gloria** *patri*, **Sicut** *erat* : *kyrieleyson*. *christeleyson*. *kyrieleyson*.

Seek those things that are above.

**Pater** *noster* : **Et** ne nos. **Set** *libera*. **Oremus** / **Benedic** *domine* : **Iube** *domine* *benedicere* / **Cibo** *spiritualis* *alimoniae* & *cetera* / **leccio** / **Si** *consurrexistis* *cum* *christo*, *que* *sursum* *sunt*, *querite* *vbi* *christus* *est* in *dextera* *dei* *sedens*.

Grace after *Dinner*.

post *prandium*.

God of Peace,

**Deus** *pacis* & *dileccionis* : **Memoriam** *fecit* / **Gloria**

<sup>1</sup> An inch of the MS. broken away.

<sup>2</sup> MS. *Benedictus*, altered to *Benedicite*.

patri Sicut erat; **A**gimus tibi gracias. **L**audate dominum omnes gentes: **Q**uoniam confirma[ta]: **G**loria patri: Sicut erat. **D**ominus vobiscum: **E**t cum spiritu tuo. **O**remus / **S**piritum in nobis, domine, tue caritatis infunde, vt quos sacramentis paschalibus saciasti: tua facias pietate concordes // **P**er eundem dominum nostrum ihesum christum, filium tuum: qui tecum viuit & regnat in vnitatem eiusdem spiritus sancti, deus / **p**er omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

We give thee thanks, O Lord.

Pour into us thy Spirit,

through Jesus Christ our Lord.

¶ In die pasche.

On Easter-Day.

**B**enedicite dominus. Hec dies quam fecit dominus, exultemus & letemur in ea. **G**loria patri. Sicut: kirieleyson. christeleyson. kyrieleyson: **P**ater noster / **E**t ne / **O**remus. **B**enedic domine: **I**ube domine benedicere / **M**ense celestis **E**xpurgate vetus fermentum<sup>1</sup> vt sitis noua conspersio, sicut estis asimi: **E**tenim pascha nostrum immolatus est christus, itaque epulemur in domino.

This is the day which the Lord hath made: Let us rejoice and be glad in it.

Bless us, O Lord!

Our passover is slain, even Christ.

¶ post prandium.

After Dinner.

**Q**ui dat escam omni carni, confitemini deo celi. **T**u autem: **L**audate dominum. **Q**uoniam confirmata / **G**loria patri. **I**n resurrectione tua, christe. **C**eli & terra letentur / alleluia. **O**remus. **S**piritum in nobis &cetera. **P**er eundem: **I**n vnitatem eiusdem. **B**enedicamus domino, deo gracias / ¶ **E**odem modo dicitur per totam ebdomadam. **R**etribuere.

Of thy resurrection, Christ, the heavens and the earth are glad.

Thanks be to God!

Ante cenam.

Before Supper.

**B**enedicite dominus. cenam sanctificet qui nobis omnia prebet / **I**n nomine patris & filii & spiritus sancti: Amen.

¶ post cenam.

After Supper.

**H**ec dies / : / **v**ersus. **I**n resurrectione tua, christe / **C**eli & terra letentur. alleluia. **D**ominus vobiscum: **E**t cum spiritu tuo. **S**piritum in nobis: **B**enedicamus domino: **D**eo gracias.

This is the day, &c.

Hallelujah.

Let us bless the Lord!

Explicit.

<sup>1</sup> MS. sermentum.

Having thus given the Graces as they stand in the Manuscript, I add the scheme of them which Mr Bradshaw has had the kindness to draw out. He says, "Here is a case in which nothing but parallel arrangement can afford a clue to the apparent confusion. The people who used these services were so thoroughly accustomed to them, that a word or two was enough to remind them of what was to follow—sometimes a whole series of prayers, or verses and responds, or suffrages. If your

THE GRACE THAT SHULD BE SAID  
AFFORE METE AND AFTER METE ALL  
THE TYMES IN THE YERE.

1.1

*(Sacerdos)* Benedicite.*(Resp.)* Dominus.*(Psalm)* Oculi omnium in te sperant, domine: et tu das escam illorum in tempore oportuno.

Aperis tu manum tuam: et imple omne animal benedictione.

Gloria patri et filio: et spiritui sancto.

Sicut erat in principio, et nunc, et semper: in secula seculorum. Amen.

Kyrieleyson.

Christeleyson.

Kyrieleyson.

Pater noster . . . [i.e. the Lord's prayer.]

*(Sacerdos)* Et ne nos [inducas in tentationem.]*(Resp.)* Sed libera nos [a malo.]*(Sacerdos)* Oremus.

Benedic, domine, nos, et dona tua que de tua largitate sumus sumpturi. Per [christum dominum nostrum.]

*(Resp.)* Amen.]*(Lector)* Iube domine benedicere.*(Sacerdos)* Mense celestis participet faciat nos rex eterne glorie. Amen.*(Lectio)* Deus caritas est, et qui manet in caritate, in deo manet, et deus in eo. Sit deus in nobis, et nos maneamus in ipso.*(Resp.)* Amen.

ON FISSHE DAYS.

1.2

*(Sacerdos)* Benedicite.*(Resp.)* Dominus.*(Psalm)* Edent pauperes, et saturabuntur, et laudabunt dominum qui requirunt eum: vivent corda eorum in seculum seculi.

Gloria patri . . . .

Sicut erat, &amp;c. . . . .

Kyrieleyson.

Christeleyson.

Kyrieleyson.

Pater noster . . . .

*(Sacerdos)* Et ne nos . . . . .*(Resp.)* Sed libera . . . . .*(Sacerdos)* Oremus.

Benedic domine . . . . .

*(Lector)* Iube domine . . . . .*(Sacerdos)* Cibo spiritualis alimonie reficiat nos rex eterne glorie. Amen.\**(Lectio)* Gracia domini nostri ihesu christi, et caritas dei, et communicatio sancti spiritus, sit semper eum omnibus nobis.*(Resp.)* Amen.\* *And in lent leve* 'Gracia Domini,' *and say:**(Lectio)* Frange esurienti panem tuum, et egenos vagosque induc in domum tuam: cum videris nudum, operi eum, et carnem tuam ne despexeris. Ait dominus omnipotens.*(Resp.)* Amen.]

object is to give people of the present day an idea of the meaning of these things, it is almost useless to print them straight as they are in the MS. Even as I have written them out, *inserting* nothing whatever except the names of the speakers in a bracket, you will perhaps not catch much of the thread. You may remember that at Trinity even now it takes two people to say what is substantially the same Grace as this."

## IN VIGILIA PASCHE.

## IN DIE PASCHE.

	1.3		1.4
( <i>Sacerdos</i> ) Benedicite.		( <i>Sacerdos</i> ) Benedicite.	
( <i>Resp.</i> ) Dominus.		( <i>Resp.</i> ) Dominus.	
( <i>Psalms</i> ) Edent pauperes . . . .		( <i>Psalms</i> ) Hec dies quam fecit dominus : exultemus et letemur in ea.	
Gloria patri . . . .		Gloria patri . . . .	
Sicut erat . . . .		Sicut erat . . . .	
Kyrieleyson.		Kyrieleyson.	
Christeleyson.		Christeleyson.	
Kyrieleyson.		Kyrieleyson.	
Pater noster . . . .		Pater noster . . . .	
( <i>Sacerdos</i> ) Et ne nos . . . .		( <i>Sacerdos</i> ) Et ne . . . .	
( <i>Resp.</i> ) Sed libera . . . .		( <i>Sacerdos</i> ) Oremus.	
( <i>Sacerdos</i> ) Oremus.		Benedic domine nos . . . .	
Benedic domine . . . .			
( <i>Lector</i> ) Iube domine benedicere.		( <i>Lector</i> ) Iube domine benedicere.	
( <i>Sacerdos</i> ) Cibo spiritualis alimonie, &c.		( <i>Sacerdos</i> ) Mense celestis . . . .	
( <i>Leccio</i> ) Si consurrexistis cum christo, que sursum sunt querite, ubi christus est in dextera dei sedens.		( <i>Lectio</i> ) Expurgate vetus fermentum, ut sitis nova conspersio sicut estis asimi: etenim pascha nostrum immolatus est christus. Itaque epulemur in domino.	
[ <i>Resp.</i> Amen.]		[ <i>Resp.</i> Amen.]	

## POST PRANDIUM. 2.1

(*Sacerdos*) Deus pacis et dilectionis maneat semper nobiscum. Tu autem domine, miserere nostri.

(*Resp.*) Deo gracias.

(*Psalm*) Confiteantur tibi, domine, omnia tua : et sancti tui benedicant tibi.

Gloria [patri] . . . .

(*Capitulum*) Agimus tibi gracias, omnipotens deus, pro universis beneficiis tuis, qui vivis et regnas deus per omnia secula seculorum. amen.

(*Psalm*) Laudate dominum omnes gentes : laudate eum omnes populi.

Quoniam confirmata est super nos misericordia ejus : et veritas domini manet in eternum.

Gloria patri . . . .

Sicut erat . . . .

Kyrieleyson.

Christeleyson.

Kyrieleyson.

Pater noster . . . .

(*Sacerdos*) Et ne nos . . . .

(*Resp.*) Sed libera . . . .

(*Sacerdos*) Dispensit, dedit pauperibus :

(*Resp.*) Iustitia ejus manet in seculum seculi.

(*Sacerdos*) Benedicam dominum in omni tempore :

(*Resp.*) Semper laus ejus in ore meo.

(*Sacerdos*) In domino laudabitur anima mea :

(*Resp.*) Audiant mansueti, et letentur.

(*Sacerdos*) Magnificate dominum mecum :

(*Resp.*) Et exaltemus nomen ejus in id ipsum.

[*On Fish Days.*]

## GRACE AFTER-DYNER. 2.2

(*Sacerdos*) Deus pacis . . . .

(*Psalm*) [Memoriam] fecit mirabilium suorum misericors, et miserator dominus : escam dedit timentibus se.

Gloria . . . .

Sic[ut erat . . . . (*an inch of the MS. broken away.*) . . .]

<p>[<i>On Easter Eve.</i>]          POST PRANDIUM. 2.3          (<i>Sacerdos</i>) Deus pacis et dilec-          tionis . . . .</p> <p>(<i>Psalm</i>) Memoriam fecit . . . .</p> <p>Gloria . . . .          Sicut erat . . . .</p> <p>(<i>Capitulum</i>) Agimus tibi gracias . . . .          . . . .</p> <p>(<i>Psalm</i>) Laudate dominum omnes          gentes . . . .          Quoniam confirmata . . . .</p> <p>Gloria patri . . . .          Sicut erat . . . .</p> <p>. . . .</p> <p>. . . .</p> <p>. . . .</p>	<p>[<i>On Easter Day.</i>]          POST PRANDIUM. 2.4          (<i>Sacerdos</i>) Qui dat escam omni          carni: confitemini deo celi. Tu autem          . . . .          [<i>Resp.</i> Deo gracias.]          . . . .</p> <p>(<i>Psalm</i>) Laudate dominum . . . .          Quoniam confirmata . . . .</p> <p>Gloria patri . . . .</p> <p>. . . .</p> <p>(<i>Sacerdos</i>) In resurrectione tua,          Christe:          (<i>Resp.</i>) Celi et terra letentur.          alleluia.</p>
---	---

[*After Dinner.*] 3.1

[*On Fish Days.*] 3.2

(*Sacerdos*) Sit nomen domini benedictum :

[*Blank.*]

(*Resp.*) Ex hoc nunc, et usque in seculum.

. . . .

(*Sacerdos*) Oremus.

Retribuere dignare, domine deus, omnibus nobis bona facientibus, propter nomen sanctum tuum, vitam eternam. amen.

(*Sacerdos*) Benedicamus domino :

(*Resp.*) Deo gracias.

(*Antiphona de sancta maria.*)

Ave regina celorum

Mater regis angelorum

O maria flos virginum

Velut rosa vel lilium

Funde preces ad filium

Pro salute fidelium.

(*Vers.*) Ave Maria . . . .

(*Oratio*) Meritis et precibus sue pie matris, benedicat nos filius dei patris. amen.



[*On Easter Eve.*] 3.3[*On Easter Day.*] 3.4*(Sacerdos)* Dominus vobiscum :*(Resp.)* Et cum spiritu tuo.*(Sacerdos)* Oremus.

Spiritum in nobis, domine, tue caritatis infunde, ut quos sacramentis paschalibus sanciasti, tua facias pietate concordēs. *Per eundem* dominum nostrum ihesum christum, filium tuum, qui tecum vivit et regnat *in unitate* ejusdem spiritus sancti, deus per omnia secula seculorum. amen.

. . . .

*(Sacerdos)* Oremus.

Spiritum in nobis, &c. Per eundem, &c., in unitate . . . .

*(Sacerdos)* Benedicamus domino :*(Resp.)* Deo gracias.

*Et eodem modo dicitur per totam ebdomadam.*

Retribuere . . . .

. . . .

4.1

[On Fish Days.]

4.2

SHORT GRACE AFFORE DYNER.

*(Sacerdos)* Benedicite.

[Blank.]

*(Resp.)* Dominus.

*(Sacerdos)* . . . . apponenda benedicat dei dextera . . . . [In nomine patris et] filii et spiritus sancti. amen.

SHORTE GRACE AFTER DYNER &  
AFTER SOPER BOTHE.

*(Sacerdos)* Pro tali convivio benedicamus domino.

*(Resp.)* Deo gracias.*(Antiphona de sancta maria)*

Mater ora filium

Ut post hoc exilium

Nobis donet gaudium

Sine fine.

*(Vers.)* Ave Maria . . .*(Sacerdos)* Oremus

Meritis et precibus . . . .

LATIN GRACES.

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[*On Easter Eve.*]

4.3

[*On Easter Day.*]

4.4

[*Blank.*]

[*Blank.*]

5.1

[*On Fish Days.*]

5.2

## GRACE AFFORE SOPER.

*(Sacerdos)* Benedicite.[*Blank.*]*(Resp.)* Dominus.*(Sacerdos)* Cenam sanctificet qui  
nobis omnia prebet. In nomine  
patris . . . .

## GRACE AFTER SOPER.

*(Sacerdos)* Benedictus deus in  
donis suis :*(Resp.)* Et sanctus in omnibus  
operibus suis.*(Sacerdos.)* Adjutorium nostrum  
in nomine domini :*(Resp.)* Qui fecit celum et terram.*(Sacerdos)* Sit nomen domini  
benedictum :*(Resp.)* Ex hoc nunc et usque in  
seculum.

. . . .

*(Sacerdos)* Oremus.Meritis et precibus sue pie ma-  
tris, benedicat nos filius dei patris.

[*On Easter Eve.*]

5.3

[*Blank.*][*On Easter Day.*]

5.4

ANTE CENAM.

*(Sacerdos)* Benedicite.*(Resp.)* Dominus.*(Sacerdos)* Cenam sanctificet qui  
nobis omnia prebet. In nomine patris,  
et filii, et spiritus sancti. amen.

POST CENAM.

*(Sacerdos)* Hec dies . . . .*(Sacerdos)* In resurrectione tua,  
christe:*(Resp.)* Celi et terra letentur.  
alleluia.*(Sacerdos)* Dominus vobiscum :*(Resp.)* Et cum spiritu tuo.*(Sacerdos.)*

Spiritus in nobis . . . .

*(Sacerdos)* Benedicamus domino :*(Resp.)* Deo gracias.

EXPLICIT.

## SCHEME OF THE LATIN GRACES.

	Common Days.	Fast Days.	Easter Eve.	Easter Day.	
Before dinner	1.1 A	1.2 D	1.3 H	1.4 L	Before dinner
After dinner	2.1 B	2.2 E	2.3 I	2.4 M	After dinner
	3.1 C	3.2 blank	3.3 K	3.4 N	
Short Graces	4.1 F	4.2 blank	4.3 blank	4.4 blank	Short Graces for either dinner or supper
Before and after supper	5.1 G	5.2 blank	5.3 blank	5.4 O	Before and after supper
	Common Days.	Fast Days.	Easter Eve.	Easter Day.	

The alphabetical order is that in which the matter is found written in the manuscript.

HENRY BRADSHAW.

## Symon's Lesson of Wysedome for all Maner Chyldryn.

[From MS. Bodl. 832, leaf 174.]

[The Rev. J. R. Lumby has kindly sent me the following amusing 'lesson of wysedome' to 'all maner chyldryn', signed Symon, which he found in the Bodleian. Mr G. Parker has read the proof with the MS. Lydgate sinned against most of its precepts. It makes the rod the great persuader to learning and gentleness.]

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| All maner chyldryn, ye lyften & lere  | Children, attend!  |
| A leffon of wyfedome þat ys wryte here !  |  |
| My chyld, y rede þe be wys, and take hede of<br>þis ryme !                              |  |
| 4 Old men yn prouerbe fayde by old tyme<br>' A chyld were beter to be vnborne           | You'd be better<br>unborn than<br>untaught.                              |
| Than to be vntaught, and fo be lore. <sup>1</sup>                                       |  |
| The chyld þat hath hys wyll alway   | You mustn't have<br>your own way<br>always.                              |
| 8 Shal thryve late, y thei <sup>2</sup> wel fay,<br>And þer-for euery gode mannys chyld |  |
| That is to wanton and to wyld,<br>Lerne wel this leffon for fertayn,                    |  |
| 12 That thou may be þe beter man.<br>Chyld, y warne þee yn al wyfe                      |  |
| That þu tel trowth & make no lyes.<br>Chyld, be not froward, be not prowde,             | Tell the truth,<br>don't be froward.                                     |
| 16 But hold vp þy hedde & fpeke a-lowde ;<br>And when eny man fpekyth to the,           | hold up your<br>head,<br>take off your hood<br>when you're<br>spoken to. |
| Do of þy hode and bow thy kne,<br>And wayfch thy handes & þy face,                      | Wash your hands<br>and face.   |
| 20 And be curteys yn euery place.   | Be courteous,  |

<sup>1</sup> Compare "Better vnfedde then vntaughte" in *Seager's Schoole of Vertue*, above, p. 236, l. 725.

<sup>2</sup> thee

- And where þou comyft, *with* gode chere  
 In halle or bowre, bydde "god be here !"  
 Loke þou caft to no mannes dogge,  
 24 *With* staff ne ftone at hors ne hogge ;  
 Loke þat þou not fcorne ne iape  
 Noper *with* man, maydyn, ne ape ;  
 Lete no man of þee make playnt ;  
 28 Swere þou not by god noper by faynt.  
 Loke þou be *curteys* ftondyng at mete ;  
 And þat men zeuyth þee, þou take & ete ;  
 And loke that þou nother crye ne crave,  
 32 And fay "that and that wold y have ;"  
 But ftond þou ftyle be-fore þ<sup>e</sup> borde,  
 And loke þou fpeke no lowde worde.  
 And, chyld, wyrthep thy fader and thy moder,  
 36 And loke þat þou greve noper on ne oper,  
 But euer among þou fhalt knele adowne,  
 And afke here bleffyng and here benefowne.  
 And, chyld, kepe thy cloþes fayre & clene,  
 40 And lete no fowle fylth on hem be fene.  
 Chyld, clem þou not ouer hows ne walle  
 For no frute <sup>1</sup>, bryddes, ne balle ;  
 And, chyld, caft no ftonys ouer men hows,  
 44 Ne caft no ftonys at no glas wyndowys ;  
 Ne make no crying, yapis, ne playes,  
 In holy chyreche on holy dayes.  
 And, chyld, y warne þee of anoþer thyng,  
 48 Kepe þee fro many wordes and yangelyng.  
 And, chyld, whan þou goft to play,  
 Loke þou come home by lyght of day.  
 And, chyld, I warne the of a-noper mater,  
 52 Loke þou kepe þee wel fro fyre and water ;  
 And be ware and wyfe how þat þou lokys  
 Ouer any brynk, welle, or brokys ;

Don't throw  
stones at dogs  
and hogs.

Mock at no one.

Don't swear.

Eat what's given  
you,

and don't ask for  
this and that.

Honour your  
father and  
mother :

kneel and ask  
their blessing.

Keep your clothes  
clean.

Don't go bird's-  
nesting,  
or steal fruit,

or throw stones  
at men's windows,

or play in church.

Don't chatter.

Get home by  
daylight.

Keep clear of fire  
and water,

and the edges of  
wells and brooks.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Lydgate's Tricks at School, *Forewords*, p. xliv.



- And when þou stondyft at any schate <sup>1</sup>,
- 56 By ware and wylfe þat þou cacche no ftake,  
 For meny chyld *with-out* drede  
 Ys dede or dyffeyuyd throw ywell hede.
- 60 Chyld, kepe thy boke, cappe, and glouys,  
 And al thyng þat þee behouys ;  
 And but þou do, þou fhaf fare the wors,  
 And þer-to be bete on þe bare ers.  
 Chyld, be þou lyer noþer no theffe ;
- 64 Be þou no mecher <sup>2</sup> for myfcheffe.  
 Chyld, make þou no mowys ne knakkes  
 Be-fore no men, ne by-hynd here bakkes,  
 But be of fayre femelaunt and contenance,
- 68 For by fayre manerys men may þee a-vaunce.  
 Chyld whan þou goft yn eny ftrete,  
 Iff þou eny gode man or woman mete,  
 Auale thy hode to hym or to here,
- 72 And bydde, "god fpede dame or fere !"   
 And be they fmalle or grete,  
 This leffon þat þou not for-gete,—  
 For hyt is femely to euery mannys chylde,—
- 76 And namely to clerkes to be meke & mylde.  
 And, chyld, ryfe by tyme and go to fcole,  
 And fare not as Wanton fole,  
 And lerne as faft as þou may and can,
- 80 For owre byfchop is an old man,  
 And þer-for þou moft lerne faft  
 Iff þou wolt be byfthop when he is pafte.
- 84 Chyld, y bydde þe on my bleffing  
 That þou for-3ete nat þis for no thyng,  
 But þou loke, hold hyt wel on þy mynde,

(leaf 175.)  
 Take care of your  
 book, cap, and  
 gloves,  
 or you'll be  
 birched on your  
 bare bottom.

Don't be a liar or  
 thief,

or make faces at  
 any man.

When you meet  
 any one,

lower your hood  
 and wish 'em  
 "god speed."

Be meek to  
 clerks.  
 Rise early,  
 go to school,

and learn fast

if you want to be  
 our bishop.

Attend to all  
 these things,

<sup>1</sup> ? meaning. *Skathie*, a fence. Jamieson. *Skait*, hurt, harm. Halliwell.

<sup>2</sup> A mychare seems to denote properly a sneaking thief. Way. Prompt., p. 336. *Mychare*, a covetous, sordid fellow. Jamieson. Fr. *pleure-pain* : m. A niggardlie wretch ; a puling *micher* or miser. Cotgrave.

- For þ<sup>e</sup> best þu fhalt hyt fynde ;  
 For, as þe wyfe man fayth and pr<sup>e</sup>uyth,  
 88 A leve chyld, lore he be-houyth ;  
 And as men fayth þat ben leryd,  
 He hatyth þ<sup>e</sup> chyld þat sparyth þ<sup>e</sup> rodde ;  
 And as þe wyfe man fayth yn his boke  
 92 Off prouerbis and wyfedomes, ho wol loke,  
 "As a sharppe spore makyth an hors to renne  
 Vnder a man that fhold werre wyne,  
 Ryzt fo a zerde may make a chyld  
 96 To lerne welle hys leffon, and to be myld."  
 Lo, chyldryn, here may ze al here and fe  
 How al chyldryn chaftyd fhold be ;  
 And þerfor, chyldere, loke þat ye do well,  
 100 And no harde betyng fhall ye be-falle :  
 Thys may ze al be ryght gode men.  
 God graunt yow grace fo to preterue yow.

Amen !

Symon.

## The Birched School-Boy

OF ABOUT 1500 A.D.

(From the Balliol MS. 354, ff ij C xxx.)

[As old Symon talks of the rod (p. 383-4, ll. 62, 90), as Caxton in his Book of Curtesye promises his 'lytyl John' a breechless feast, or as the Oriel MS. reads it, a 'byrchely' one,<sup>1</sup> & as the Forewords have shown that young people did get floggings in olden time, it may be as well to give here the sketch of a boy flea-bitten, no doubt, with little bobs of hazel twigs, that Richard Hill has preserved for us. Boys of the present generation happily don't know the sensation of unwelcome warmth that a sound flogging produced, and how after it one had to sit on the bottom of one's spine on the edge of the hard form, in the position recommended at College for getting well forward in rowing. But they may rest assured that if their lot had fallen on a birching school, they'd have heartily joined the school-boy of 1500 in wishing his and their masters at the devil, even though they as truant boys had been 'milking ducks, as their mothers bade them.']

hay ! hay ! by this day !  
what avayleth it me thowgh I say nay ?

<p>¶ I wold ffayn be a clarke ; but yet hit is a strange werke ;<sup>2</sup> the byrchyn twyggis be so sharpe, hit makith me haue a faynt harte. what avaylith it me thowgh I say nay ?</p>	<p>Learning is strange work ;  the birch twigs are so sharp.</p>
---	--

<p>¶ On monday in the mornynge whan I shall rise at vj. of the klok,<sup>3</sup> hyt is the gise</p>	<p>I'd sooner go 20 miles than go to school on Mondays.</p>
--	---

<sup>1</sup> See Caxton's Book of Curtesye, in the Society's Extra Series, 1868.

<sup>2</sup> Compare the very curious song on the difficulty of learning singing, in *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, i. 291, from Arundel MS. 292, leaf 71, back.

<sup>3</sup> See Rhodes, p. 72, l. 61 ; and Seager, p. 226, l. 58.

to go to skole *without* a-vise  
 I had lever go xx<sup>th</sup> myle twyse !  
 what avaylith it me thowgh I say nay ?

My master aska  
 where I've been.

'Milking ducks,'  
 I tell him,

¶ My master lokith as he were madde :  
 " wher hast *thou* be, thow sory ladde ?"  
 " Milked dukkis, my moder badde :"  
 hit was no *mer*vayle thow I were sadde.  
 what vaylith it me thowgh I say nay ?

and he gives me  
 pepper for it.

¶ My master pepered my ars *with* well good spede :  
 hit was worse than ffynkll sede ;  
 he wold not leve till it did blede.  
 Myche sorow haue be for his dede !  
 what vaylith it me thowgh I say nay ?

I only wish he  
 was a hare, and  
 my boke a wild  
 cat,

¶ I wold my master were a watt <sup>1</sup>  
 & my boke a wyld Catt,  
 & a brase of grehowndis in his toppe :  
 I wold be glade for to se that !  
 what vayleth it me thowgh I say nay ?

and all his books  
 dogs.

Wouldn't I blow  
 my horn !  
 Don't I wish he  
 was dead !

¶ I wold my master were an hare,  
 & all his bokis howndis were,  
 & I my self a Ioly hontere :  
 to blowe my horn I wold not spare !  
 ffor if he were dede I wold not care.  
 what vaylith me thowgh I say nay ?

Explicit.

<sup>1</sup> a hare.

## The Song of the School Boy at Christmas.

[Printed also in *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, i. 116, 'From MS. Sloane, No. 1584, of the beginning of the sixteenth century, or latter part of the fifteenth, fol. 33<sup>ro</sup>., written in Lincolnshire or Nottinghamshire, perhaps, to judge by the mention of persons and places, in the neighbourhood of Grantham or Newark.' J. O. Halliwell.]

**Ante finem termini** Baculus portamus,  
 Caput hustiarii ffrangere debemus ;  
 Si preceptor nos petit quo debemus Ire,  
 Breuiter respondemus, "non est tibi scire."  
 O *pro nobilis docter*, Now we youe pray,  
 Vt velitis concedere to gyff *hus* leff to play.  
 Nunc proponimus Ire, *without* any ney,  
 Scolam dissolvere ; I tell itt youe in fey,  
 Sicut istud festum, merth-is for to make,  
 Accipimus *nostram* diem, ovr leve for to take.  
 Post natale festum, full sor shall we qwake,  
 Quum nos Revenimus, latens for to make.  
 Ergo nos Rogamus, hartly and holle,  
 Vt isto die possimus, to brek upe *the* scole.

---

Non minus hic peccat qui sensum condit in agro,  
 Quam qui doctrinam Claudet in ore suo.

## The Boar's Head.

[*Balliol MS.* 354, *ff* ij C xij, or leaf 228.]

Caput Apri Refero,            }  
Resonens laudes domino.       } fote<sup>1</sup>

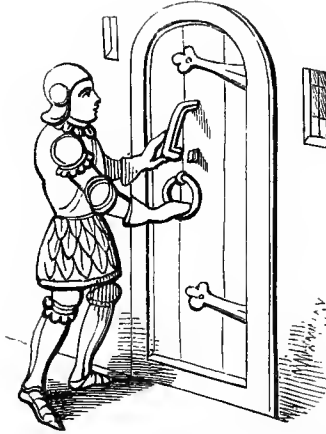
The boris hed In hondis I brynge  
with garlondis gay & byrdis syngynge :  
I pray you all helpe me to syng,  
    Qui estis in conviuio.

The boris hede, I vnderstond,  
ys cheffe seruyce in all this londe :  
wher-so-ever it may he fonde,  
    Seruitur cum sinapio.

The boris hede, I dare well say,  
anon after the xij<sup>th</sup> day  
he taketh his leve & goth a-way,  
    Exiuit tunc de patria.

See other carols on the Boar's Head, in *Songs and Carols*, Percy Soc., p. 42, 25 ; Ritson's *Ancient Songs* ; Sandys's *Carols*, and *Christmastide*, p. 231, from Ritson, —a different version of the present carol,—&c.

<sup>1</sup> I suppose this means the *foot*, the burden.



KNIGHT KNOCKING AT A DOOR. 15th Century MS. of the French translation of Valerius Maximus. Imp. Lib. Paris, No. 6984. Wright, p. 361.



RECEIVING A STRANGER. MS. of Launcelot, 14th Century. Imp. Lib. Paris, No. 6956. Wright, p. 332.



RECEIVING A GUEST. Harl. MS. 1527. A.D. 1250-60. Wright, p. 332.



WASHING BEFORE DINNER. Imp. Lib. Paris, MS. No. 6988. "Livre de la Vie Humaine." Wright, p. 156.







MONASTIC DEVOTIONS. Sloane MS. No. 2435. fol. 44 b. Ab. 1280 A.D. Wright, p. 164. (The cut does no sort of justice to the expression of the eye.)



TAPSTER. From a carved Seat or Miserere in Ludlow Parish Church, Shropshire.



MS. Reg. 10. E. iv. Brit. Mus. 14th Century. Wright, p. 150.



MS. Harl. No. 1527. Ab. 1250-60. Wright, p. 150.



GLUTTONY. Arundel MS. No. 91. 12th Century. Wright, p. 163.

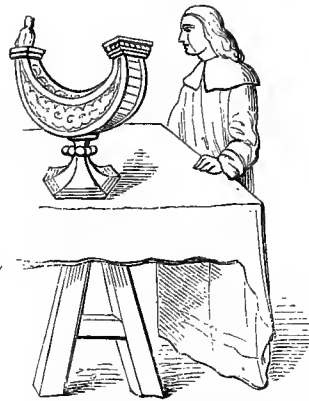




STEWARD. SERVANTS BRINGING DISHES.  
15th Century. In M. du Sommerard's *Mediæval Art*. Wright, p. 151.

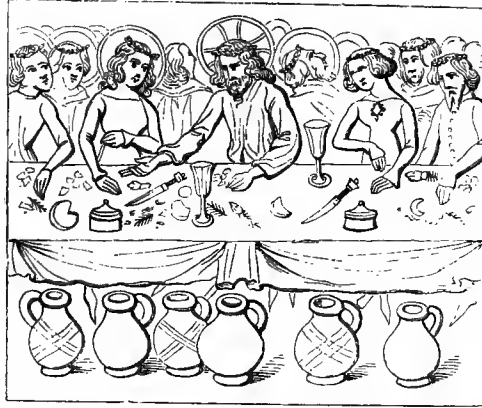


SEAT ON THE DAIS. Imp. Lib. Paris, No. 6961.  
Wright, p. 154.

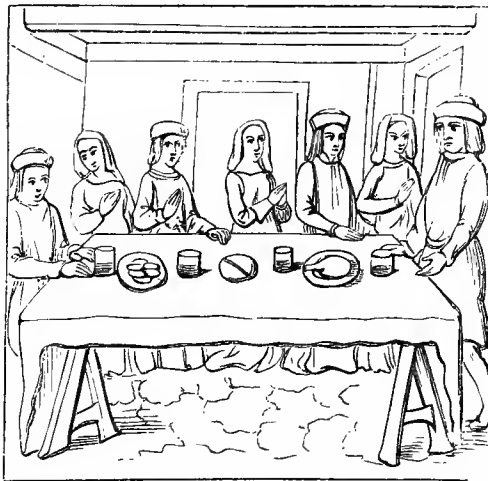


NEF, or SALTCELLAR. MS. Imp. Lib.  
Paris. Wright, p. 163.  
(See a gold one on wheels. Addit. MS.  
12,228, fol. 226, fol. 226 b, &c.)





MARRIAGE FEAST AT CANA OF GALILEE. (? early 14th Century) MS. Imp. Lib. Paris, No. 7210.  
 "Pèlerinage de la Vie Humaine." Fish-bones left on table, Bread, Salts, Knives, Cup.  
 Wright, p. 159.



A FRUGAL REPAST. MS. of Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles, Hunterian Museum, Glasgow.  
 15th Century. Wright, p. 173.





HEROD AND HERODIAS. Harl. MS. No. 1527. Ab. 1250-60 A.D. Wright, p. 168.



SERVANTS BRINGING IN DISHES, PREFACED BY MUSIC. Early 14th Century. MS. Reg. 2, B. vii. Brit. Mus. Wright, p. 152.



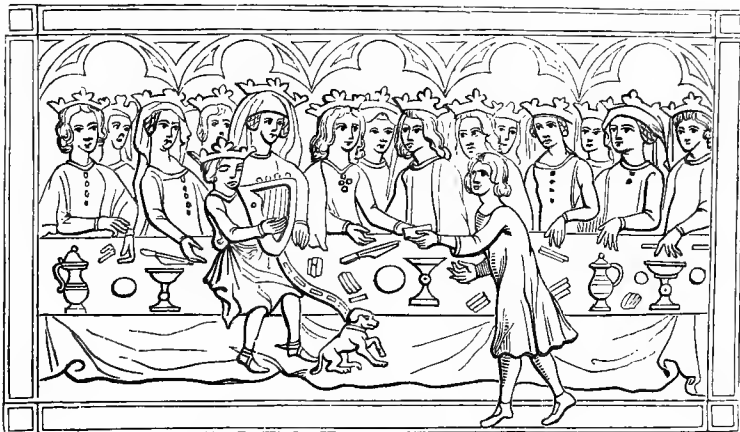
KING HEROD AND HIS DAUGHTER HERODIAS. Early 14th Century. MS. Reg. 2, B. vii. Wright, p. 167.





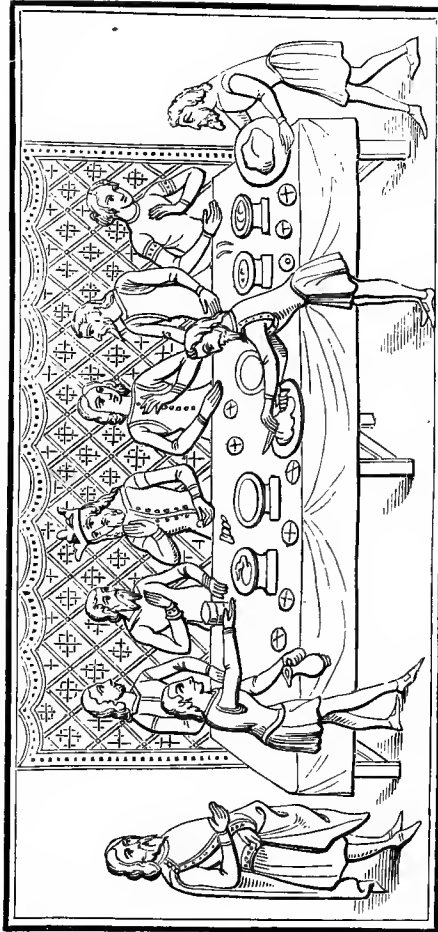


A MONASTIC FEAST (a Woman present). From a 15th Century MS. Bible. Imp. Lib. Paris, No. 6829. Wright, p. 368.



A ROYAL FEAST. 14th Century. Wright, p. 161.





Steward.

Cup-bearer.

Carver.

Attendant.

A KING AT DINNER. The Romance of Meliadus, Addit. MS. 12,228, fol. 126. 14th Century. Wright, p. 160.  
 (The woodcut spoils the faces of the lady on the right, and the man next her, as also the man's forked beard.)





A PRIVATE DINNER. 15th Century, from the French Translation of the "Decameron."  
Imp. Lib. Paris, No. 6887. Wright, p. 364.



THE HARPER IN THE HALL. MS. Reg. 2, B. vii. fol. 71 b. and fol. 203 b. Early 14th Century.  
Wright, p. 164.

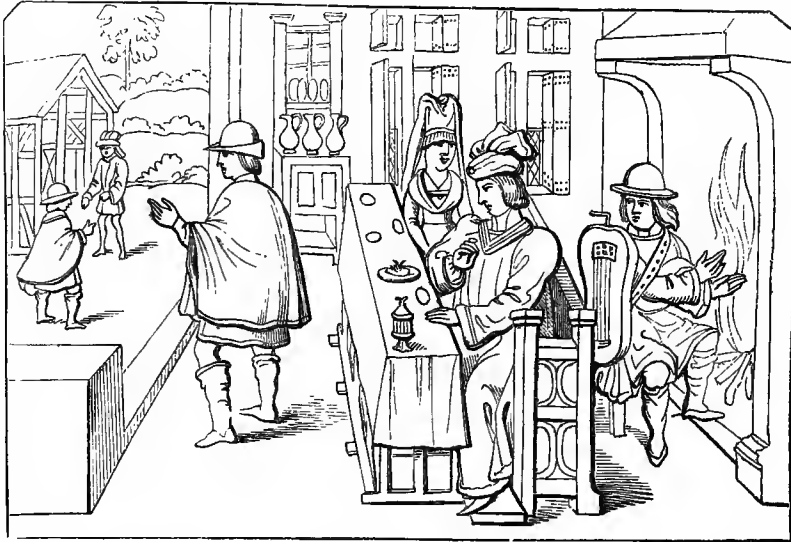


HOLY WATER CLERK.

DINNER TETE-A-TETE.

MS. Reg. 10, E. iv. 14th Century. Wright, p. 171.





RECEPTION OF THE MINSTREL (who is at the fire). From the 15th Century MS. "Roman de la Violette," at Paris. Note the Table Dormant, with fixed legs and top. Wright, p. 366.



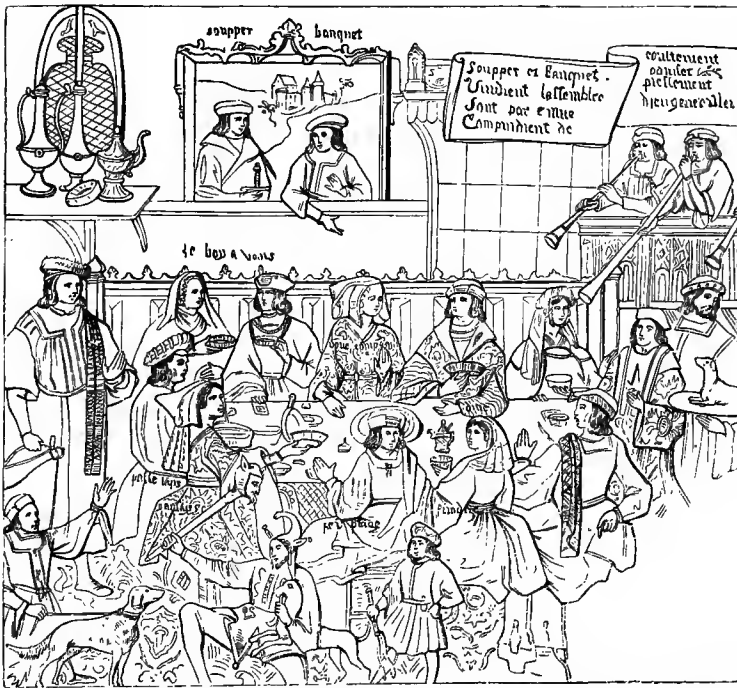
A ROYAL PARTY. From a 15th Century MS. of the "Comte d'Artois," formerly in the possession of M. Barrois, and now of Lord Ashburnham (?). Wright, p. 363.





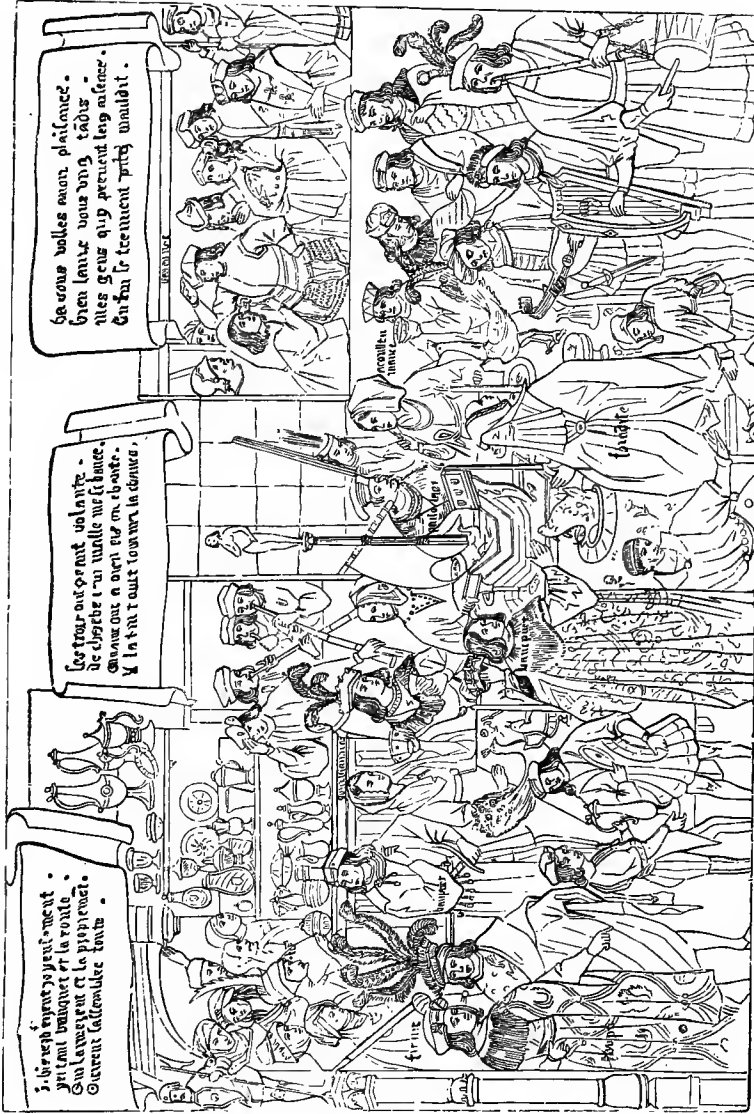


FEASTING ON A PASTY. Early 16th Century. From a pane of painted glass of Flemish workmanship. "The Prodigal Son." Wright, p. 170.



DINNER'S FEAST TO SUPPER AND BANQUET, or a Seignorial Repast, late in the 15th Century. From the Tapestry at Nancy, in Lorraine. Wright, pp. 387-91.





Le banquet se fait en ce lieu  
 En tout banquet et en route  
 On s'en va par le puyement  
 On s'en va par le puyement

Les tournois se font en ce lieu  
 De cheste t'en vult mes liance  
 On s'en va par le puyement  
 On s'en va par le puyement

Les vous vellez en ce lieu  
 En tout banquet et en route  
 On s'en va par le puyement  
 On s'en va par le puyement

BANQUET'S FEAST TO DINNER AND SUPPER. From the Nancy Tapestry. Late 15th Century. Wright, p. 391.

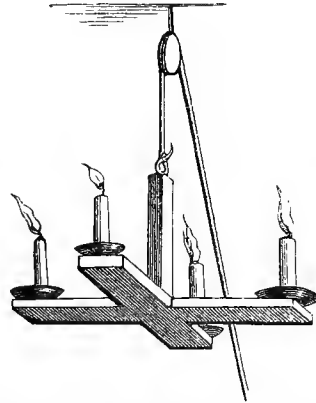




A CONVERSATION SCENE. From the 15th Century MS. romance of the "Comte d'Artois." Wright, p. 384.

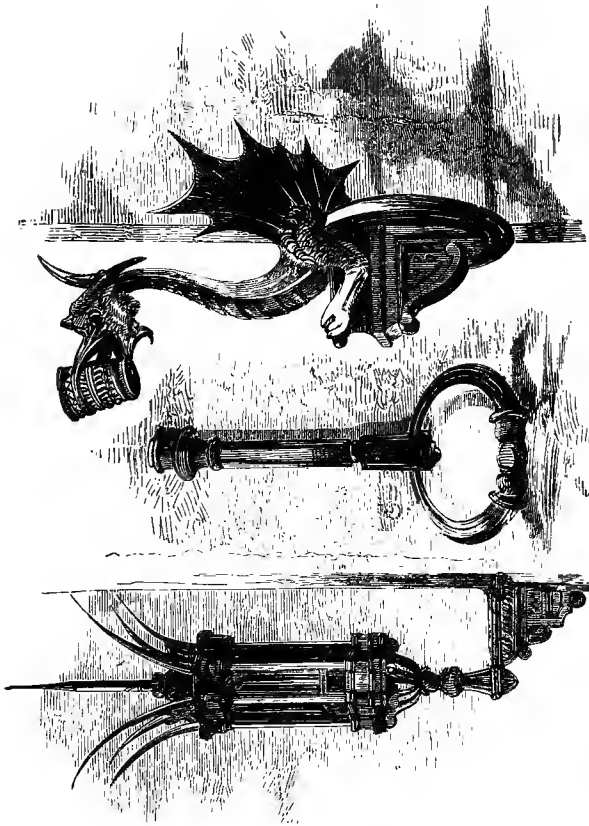


LADY BATHING. MS. of the St. Graal, about 1320 A.D. MS. Addit. Brit Mus. No. 10,292, fol. 266. Wright, p. 259.



CANDELABRUM OF A PRINCELY HALL. 15th Century MS. of the "Treatise of Tournaments." Imp. Lib. Paris, No. 8352. Wright, p. 376.

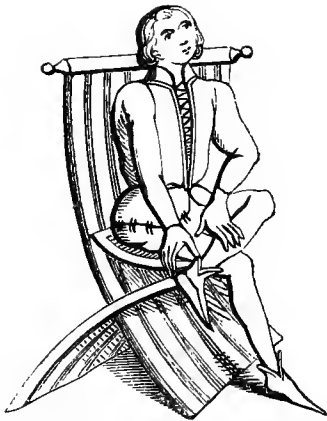




CANDLE AND TORCH HOLDERS. (p. ab. 1500.) The frame still preserved in the Palazzo Strozzi at Florence. Wright, pp. 377-8.



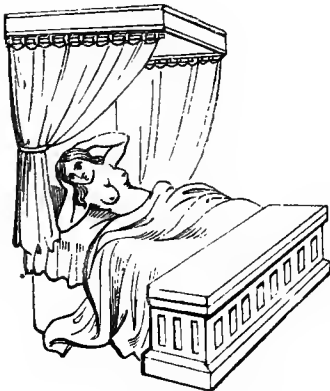




A BEDROOM CHAIR. 15th Century  
MS. "Comte d'Artois." Wright, p. 375.



BEDROOM SCENE, with a Hutch or Treasure Chest.  
From a 15th Century Latin Bible.  
Imp. Lib. Paris, No. 6829. Wright, p. 409.



LADY IN BED.  
From the 15th Century Latin Bible,  
No. 6829 above. Wright, p. 411.

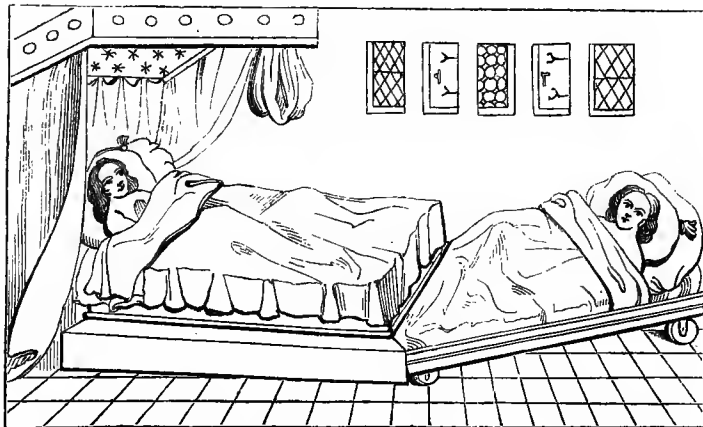


KING AND QUEEN IN BED. MS. Addit. 10,292, fol. 21,  
about 1320 A.D. Wright, p. 258.



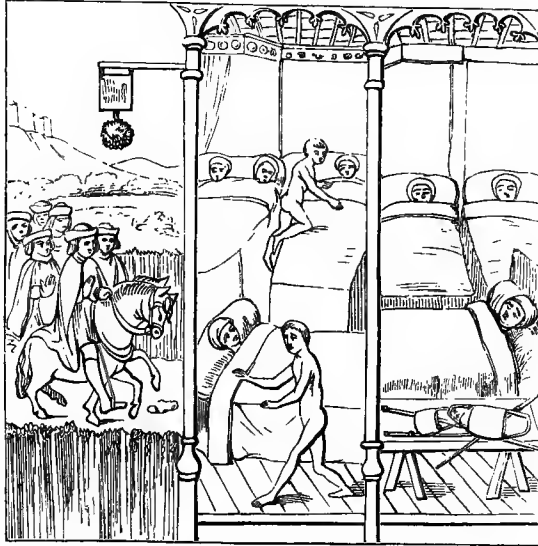


BED OF A COUNTESS OF THE 15TH CENTURY. From the MS. romance of the "Comte d'Artois." Wright, p. 404.



CANOPIED BED OF THE COUNT D'ARTOIS, and TRUCKLE BED OF HIS VALET (here his wife in disguise). From the 15th Century MS. romance of the "Comte d'Artois." Wright, p. 408.





HOSTELRY AT NIGHT. 15th Century MS. of the Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles, Hunterian Museum, Glasgow. Wright, p. 334.



NIGHT SCENE IN A HOSTELRY. Late 14th Century MS. of "Les Quatre Fils d'Aymon." Imp. Lib. Paris, No. 6970. Wright, p. 258.















